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MODERN PHILOLOGY

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Modern Philology

VOLUME XIII

May 1915

NUMBER I

THE DUNCIAD OF 1728

All I could hear of you of late hath been by advertisements in the newspapers by which one would think the race of Curls was multiplied; and by the indignation such fellows show against you, that you have more merit than any body alive could have. Homer himself hath not been worse used by the French.—Gay to Pope, August 2, 1728.

The origin and the progress of the *Dunciad* have been discussed in the biographies of Pope and in several investigations.¹ In the present article I shall pass silently over the matter of origin, and treat only of the events of 1728. I desire, after resuming briefly what is known of the preparation of the poem for the press and of the preparation of the public to receive it, to submit the results of a recent investigation of the contemporary periodicals and pamphlets in so far as they afford information concerning the advertisements of the *Dunciad*, the dates and varieties of early editions, and their printers and publishers.

I. THE PREPARATION OF THE POEM FOR THE PRESS

The beginning of the year found the poem well along in composition, if not complete. The earliest reference to the *Dunciad* is—in

¹ John Nichols, in the seventeen volumes of the *Anecdotes* and the *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, devotes a chapter to the subject, and alludes to it in other places. There is much information scattered through the pages of *Notes and Queries*, particularly in First Series, X, 197–200, 477–78, 497–98, 517–20; XII, 161 (1854–55). In the Elwin-Courthope edition of Pope's *Works* (1871–89), Mr. Elwin gives to it some nineteen of the thirty-eight pages of the Introduction to Vol. IV (pp. 3–19, 36–38); and Mr. Courthope reverts to it in chap. x (pp. 211–31) of the *Life*, which constitutes Vol. V. George Paston has several breezy chapters upon it in her *Mr. Pope: His Life and Times*, 1910 (I, 341 to Vol. II, 389, and 646–87). The most elaborate treatment is that of Professor Lounsbury in *The Text of Shakespeare*, 1906 (chaps. xi, xii, and *passim*).

an Irish manner of speaking—not to the *Dunciad* but to *Dulness*. The full name first decided upon was, apparently, *The Progress of Dulness*, though, so far as I recall, only the final word was used in references to it in the correspondence of the poet and his friends. In January Pope wrote to Swift:¹

It grieves me to the soul that I cannot send you my *chef-d'œuvre*, the poem of Dulness, which, after I am dead and gone, will be printed with a large commentary, and lettered on the back, Pope's Dulness. I send you, however, what most nearly relates to yourself, the inscription to it.² In what is, I think, the earliest reference at all to the poem, no name is given to it. So far back as October 22, 1727, Pope had written to Swift:

My poem (which it grieves me that I dare not send you a copy of, for fear of the Cullis and Dennises of Ireland, and still more for fear of the worst of traitors, our friends and admirers), my poem, I say, will show you what a distinguishing age we live in. Your name is in it, with some others, under a mark of such ignominy as you will not much grieve to wear in that company.

Whether thou choose Cervantes' serious air,
Or laugh and shake in Rab'lais' easy chair;
Or in the graver gown instruct mankind,
Or, silent, let thy morals tell thy mind.³

In February it was still not quite finished, however; for Bolingbroke wrote to Swift:

In the meantime his Dulness grows and flourishes as if he were there [in Dublin] already.—E.-C., Pope's *Works*, VII, 113.

The growing was probably in the way of polishing, rather than in change of structure or length. For on the 26th, Swift wrote to Gay, asking: "Why does not Mr. Pope publish his Dulness?"—implying, evidently, that he thought the poem ready for the printer. We know, indeed, that Swift had seen at least a part of it in manuscript, though how large a part remains undetermined.⁴

¹ Perhaps I ought to point out that the date of this letter is supplied conjecturally by the editor.

² And he quotes thirteen lines of verse, most of which did not appear till the 1729 quarto version (Elwin-Courthope, *Works*, VII, 109 ff.).

³ *Works*, VII, 104. Cf. modern editions of the *Dunciad*, Book I, ll. 21–24.

⁴ He was with Pope at Twickenham more than half the period March to August, 1726, and made a second visit in the earlier half of 1727, leaving Twickenham August 31, but remaining a short time in London, where the two friends still met occasionally. After the Dean's return to Ireland, the two never met again. Some of the time of the latter, or

We infer that the end of February found the satire about ready for the press, though one notable change was yet to be made.

II. THE PREPARATION OF THE PUBLIC TO RECEIVE IT

Pope was an extremely skilful advertiser. While, as yet, he did not mean to publish the *Dunciad* over his own name, he was determined to see that it did not fall flat from the press. He went now about the task of piquing the curiosity of the public. The poem was held back that it might be preceded by a sort of prose *Dunciad*. This was the "Bathos, or the Art of Sinking in Poetry," contributed by Pope to the third volume of *Miscellanies in Prose and Verse*, the so-called "The Last Volume," published March 7.¹ Swift apparently had no part in the "Bathos," and did not see it in manuscript,² though he and Pope together had prepared the matter for the first two volumes of the *Miscellanies*. Part of the materials of the "Bathos" was gathered together by Arbuthnot,³ but Pope prepared the piece for the press, and is, in a general sense, at least, its author.

of both, of these visits, Pope gave to the *Dunciad*, as is shown by a note in the first edition of the poem in 1729:

" . . . Dr. Swift, who whether Publisher or not, may be said in a sort to be the Author of the Poem: For when He, together with Mr. Pope, (for reasons specify'd in their Preface to the Miscellanies) determin'd to own the most trifling pieces in which they had any hand, and to destroy all that remain'd in their power, the first sketch of this poem was snatch'd from the fire by Dr. Swift, who persuaded his friend to proceed in it, and to him it was therefore Inscribed."—*Dunciad*, 4to, 1729, p. 87, n.

There is abundant confirmatory evidence; see E.-C., *Works*, IV, 5.

¹ I have not found a positive statement that it appeared on the 7th, but, because of the following advertisements, I take that to be the correct date:

Saturday, March 2, *The London Evening Post*, No. 36, p. 4, col. 1, middle:

"On Thursday next will be published, *Miscellanies. The Last Volume.* By the Rev. Dr. Swift, Alexander Pope, Esq; &c. consisting of several Copies of Verses, most of them never before printed. To which is prefix'd, *A Discourse on the Profound, or the Art of Sinking in Poetry.* Printed for Benj. Motte at the Middle Temple Gate in Fleet-street."

Wednesday, March 6, *The Daily Courant*, No. 8238, p. 2, col. 2, middle:

"To-morrow will be published, *Miscellanies. The Last Volume . . . [Rest as the preceding].*"

Friday, March 8, *The Daily Post*, No. 2640, *The Daily Courant*, No. 8240, and *The Daily Journal*, No. 2232:

"This Day is publish'd, *Miscellanies. The Last Volume. . . .*"

Saturday, March 9, *The Daily Journal*, No. 2233, and *The Country Journal; or, Craftsman*, No. 88, repeat this notice.

Since it was customary in this generation for a paper to repeat for weeks, or even for months, an advertisement beginning "This Day is published," it is necessary to exercise care in determining a date upon its authority.

The date on the title-page of the "Last Volume," at any rate in some copies, is 1727.

² "As for these scribblers . . . how much that nest of hornets are my regard will easily appear to you when you read the Treatise of the Bathos."—Pope to Swift, March 23.

³ There are several references; one will suffice: ". . . The Doctor grew quite indolent in it, for something newer, I know not what."—Pope to Swift, *Works*, VII, 110.

Its nature is indicated by the subtitle. The reception it had "at the hands of the town" was a warm one, though not so warm as the following extract from an exaggerated account¹ would indicate:

.... In which [the "Bathos"] was a chapter, where the species of bad writers were rang'd in classes, and initial letters of names prefix'd, for the most part at random. But such was the number of poets eminent in that art, that some one or other took every letter to himself. All fell into so violent a fury, that for half a year or more the common News papers (in most of which they had some property, as being hired writers) were filled with the most abusive falsehoods and scurrilities they could possibly devise:

....

Professor Lounsbury has presented at length the thesis, suggested by Elwin, that the purpose of the "Bathos" was to incite the Dunces to a retaliatory attack upon Pope, so that he might reply with the *Dunciad*. The current of his argument is indicated by the following quotations:

The real firebrand thrown into the literary powder-magazine was the prose preface with which the third volume opened. No one doubts now that it was prepared with the intent of creating the explosion which followed. More than a score of authors, indicated by their initials, were classified under the names of various members of the animal creation. This [chapter] Pope desired and expected to be followed by an outcry that would furnish in turn the needed pretext for the publication of the satire which, long contemplated, had now been brought substantially to completion. As a matter of fact, the attacks upon the poet, compared with the provocation given, were exceedingly few. Not a single pamphlet was published. All the articles of any nature, whether in prose or verse, whether the briefest of paragraphs or the longest of letters, which appeared between the dates of the "Essay on the Profund" and of "The Dunciad," were collected soon after into a single volume. They were just twenty in number. Of these it is perfectly clear that four either came directly from Pope himself or were instigated by him. —*The Text of Shakespeare*, 203-8.

The "single volume" here referred to is *A Compleat Collection of all the Verses, Essays, Letters and Advertisements . . . occasioned by the . . . Miscellanies by Pope and Company*, long ago mentioned by

¹ Published first as a part of "The Dedication" of *A Collection of Pieces in Verse and Prose, Which have been publish'd on the Occasion of the Dunciad*, ostensibly by Savage, in 1732; and incorporated later, with slight changes, among the notes to the *Dunciad*, making its initial appearance in *Works*, Vol. II, 1735 (4to and folio), where it is appended to the note on Swift's rescue of the *Dunciad* manuscript from the flames.

Pope.¹ It did make an almost clean sweep of the papers. My search has revealed only two pieces to be added: one from the *Craftsman* of April 20, and another from the *British Gazetteer* of the same date. All included, the journals printed, in the space of eight weeks, seventeen skits about the *Miscellanies*, chiefly concerning the "Bathos." In addition, against Pope personally, there were five pieces, one of which appeared in two different periodicals. And besides these there were printed several books and pamphlets, for some of which the advertisements constituted a sort of ancillary attack upon the *Miscellanies* or the poet.²

The month of March saw, also, at least one alteration in the *Dunciad*, and that a capital one. The vision of a book lettered on the back, *Pope's Dulness*, was too much for the poet's sense of humor; so the title was changed. March 23 he wrote again to Swift of:

. . . . My Dulness (which, by the way, for the future you are to call by a more pompous name, the Dunciad),

That Pope was writing a poem to be called "The Progress of Dulness" was but an imperfectly kept secret. On May 11 the *Daily Journal* contained an anonymous letter (next year attributed by Pope to John Dennis), in which the final paragraph opens thus:

¹ Published not later than June 12, it contains a dedication "To the Author of the *Dunciad*," and reprints of twenty-one pieces from the periodicals, with a note on the personal names occurring in the *Miscellanies*. The first of the reprints is from a journal of November 25, 1727; the remaining twenty bear dates from March 18 to May 11, 1728. To sixteen of these Pope refers by name and date in the quarto *Dunciad* of 1729, p. 92, where he hypothesizes an author for most of them.

² April 13. *Daily Journal*. The promise of *Gulliveriana*.
 " 24. " " *The Knight of the Kirk*.
 " 29. " " " " " 2d. ed.
 May 4. *Mist's Journal*. " " " " "
 " 9. *Daily Journal*. *The Twickenham Hotch-Potch*.

As permitting an insight into the ways of literary warfare, I quote from the first and last of these advertisements:

"In the Press, and speedily will be Publish'd, *Gulliveriana*. . . . To which will be added, A Comparison between the Ecclesiastical and Poetical Pope; wherein will be contained many curious and entertaining Pieces, both in Verse and Prose, relating to the latter.

"The whole being a 4th Volume of Modern *Miscellanies*: Or, A Supplement to the 3 Volumes of *Miscellanies*, publish'd by Dr. Swift and Mr. Alexander Pope, &c.

"Any pieces proper for this Work, sent to me, at the Rainbow, St. Martin's Lane; or to Mr. Whitridge's, the Corner of Castle Alley, at the Royal Exchange, shall be inserted in this *Miscellany*.

"MATTHEW JOHNSON."

"This Day is Published the Twickenham Hotch-Potch Printed for J. Roberts A. Dodd. . . .

"N.B. This Design is to be carried on for the Good of the Publick. Any Letters directed for Peter Henning, Esq; to be left at Hurt's Coffee-house against Catherine-Street in the Strand, will come safe to the Compiler."

Yet notwithstanding his [Pope's] Ignorance and his Stupidity, this *Animalculum* of an Author, is, forsooth! at this very Juncture, writing the *Progress of Dulness*.

III. THE ADVERTISEMENT OF THE POEM

The *Dunciad* made its appearance on Saturday, May 18. It was not infrequent at the time to advertise the coming of a book,¹ but I find no evidence of any preliminary campaign of the sort for the *Dunciad*. The satire was left to be its own herald. It must have been widely purchased, for several editions appeared within a few weeks. Let me here place together, for the sake of comparison, all the advertisements of the *Dunciad*, of the *Key to the Dunciad*, and of other pamphlets, that I wish to use. The vagaries of type, spelling, and line formation I shall not attempt to indicate; but significant changes are pointed out. It is interesting to observe the publisher's skilful discriminations among the daily, thrice-a-week, and weekly papers.

The Daily Post, 2701, Saturday, May 18, 1728, p. 2, col. 2, middle:

This Day is publish'd, The *Dunciad*. An Heroic Poem. In Three Books. Dublin, printed, London reprinted for A. Dodd, 1728.²

The same advertisement, but with different type, line division, and capitalization, and without the year date, was carried by *The Daily Journal*, 2293, May 18, p. 2, col. 2, top. In the Monday papers I found no *Dunciad* advertisements. On Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday the *Post* (2703–5) and the *Journal* (2295–97) repeated the advertisement as above, adding at the end "Price 1s." On Friday, May 24, there were two alterations:

The Daily Post, 2706, p. 2, col. 3, upper middle:

The Daily Journal, 2298, p. 1, col. 3, upper middle:

This Day is publish'd, The *Dunciad*. An Heroic Poem. The 2d Edition. Dublin, printed, London reprinted for A. Dodd, 1728. Price 1s.

N.B. Next week will be publish'd the Progress of Dulness, by an Eminent Hand.

¹ Cf. the anticipatory notices of the *Miscellanies*. My investigations were confined to the Burney Collection at the British Museum, which lacks some papers of that age.

² This advertisement is quoted by C. W. Dilke in *N. and Q.*, 1 S., X, 198, who also refers, but vaguely, to advertisements of May 25, 27, and 29.

The same, omitted by the Saturday dailies, appeared in the weekly *The Country Journal: or, The Craftsman*, 99, May 25, p. 3, col. 1, middle.¹ Further change was made on Monday, thus:

The Daily Post, 2708, May 27, p. 2, col. 1, lower middle:

The Daily Journal, 2300, May 27, p. 2, col. 2, upper middle:

This Day is publish'd, The Second Edition of, The Dunciad. An Heroic Poem. In Three Books.

He, as an Herd
Of Goats or timorous Flock together throng'd,
Drove them before him, Thunder-struck pursu'd,
Into the vast Profund.

—Milton.

Dublin, printed, London reprinted for A. Dodd, 1728. Pr. 1s.

And speedily will be publish'd, which will serve for an Explanation of this Poem, The Progress of Dulness. By an Eminent Hand.

Tuesday the dailies omitted the advertisement, but a thrice-a-weekly —*The London Evening Post*, 73, May 25–28, p. 4, col. 2, top—took up the burden. The dailies repeated the notice on Wednesday (*Post*, 2710, Journal, 2302), but not in the next three issues; on Thursday it reappeared in the *London Evening Post* (74); and on Saturday in the weeklies—*Mist's Weekly Journal*, 163, June 1, p. 3, col. 2, middle; *The Craftsman*, 100, June 1, p. 3, col. 1, bottom. The next alteration occurred a week later:

Mist's Weekly Journal, 164, Saturday, June 8, p. 3, col. 1, bottom:

This Day is published, the 3d Edition of, The Dunciad. An Heroic Poem. In three Books. [4-line quotation from Milton.] Dublin, Printed, London Reprinted for A. Dodd, without Temple Bar. Price 1s. Where may be had² the Dunciad, in octavo. Price 1s. 6d. Speedily will be published, which will serve for an Explanation of this Poem, The Progress of Dulness. By an Eminent Hand.

The same announcement, with just the slightest of changes, appeared in *The London Evening Post*, 79, June 8–11 (Tuesday), p. 3, col. 2, top. And this, for the time being, ended the advertisement of the *Dunciad*.

In the meanwhile, however, and slightly later, several books related to the *Dunciad* were being advertised.

¹ In *N. and Q.*, 1 S., X, 298, Thoms quotes or refers to advertisements in the *Craftsman*, May 25 and June 1; and *Mist's*, May 25 and June 8.

² By current convention an advertisement beginning "Where may be had . . ." implied that a book had been public for some time. Cf. my discussion of editions, *infra*.

Concerning the *Key to the Dunciad*, I have noted the following:

The Daily Journal, 2300, Monday, May 27, p. 2, col. 1, bottom:

This Day is publish'd, Adorn'd with Cuts, The Supernatural Philosopher:
Or, . . .

Printed only for E. Curll, against Catherine-Street in the Strand.
Price 5s.

N.B. A Compleat Key to the Dunciad will be published next Wednesday.
Price, 6d.¹

The Daily Journal, 2302, May 29, p. 2, upper middle:

This Day is publish'd (In the same Size to bind up with it) Price 6d.
A Compleat Key to the Dunciad. Explaining all the Passages, Pieces, and
names of Persons, libelled in that scurrilous, obscene, and impious Satire.
With a Character of Mr. Pope and his profane Writings, by Sir Richard
Blackmore, Kt. M.D.

Printed for A. Dodd without Temple-Bar; and sold by E. Curll in the
Strand; A. Whitridge near the Royal Exchange; N. Blandford at Charing-
Cross; J. Jackson near St. James's House; and M. Turner at the Post-
House in Covent-Garden.

Where may be had, New Editions of, Three Books, viz.

I. Mr. Pope's Court Poems, viz. 1. The Basset-Table. 2. The Toilet.
3. The Drawing-Room. 4. Moore's Worms. A Satire. 5. A Version of
the First Psalm, &c. Pr. 1s.

II. The Knight of the Kirk: Or, The Ecclesiastical Adventures of Sir
John Presbyter. The 2d Edit. Pr. 1s. 6d.

III. The Parson's Daughter. A Tale. For the Use of Pretty Girls
with small Fortunes. Price 6d.

This latter advertisement was placed in the same column as, and
immediately under, that of the Second Edition of the *Dunciad*
quoted *supra*. On Monday the second edition of the *Key* was
announced in *The Daily Journal*, 2306, June 3, p. 2, col. 3, upper
middle. Another notice of it was affixed by Curll to an advertise-
ment of other books in *The Daily Journal*, 2310, June 10, p. 1, col. 3,
top. And still another, in 2314, is quoted *infra*. The third edition
of the *Key* was published July 5.

A different *Key* must have been printed about this time (June ?),
though I have found no advertisement of it. The only two copies of
it of whose existence I am aware are the one in Yale University

¹ How keenly Pope's friends were on the watch is shown by Lord Oxford's letter to him written on this same day (May 27, 1728):

" . . . I see Curll has advertised a Key to the *Dunciad*. I have been asked for
one by several; I wish the true one was come out. . . ." E.-C., *Works*, VIII, 236.

Library and the one I own. It is not listed in any of the bibliographies. Apparently Professor Lounsbury and I are the only students of the *Dunciad* who have seen a copy. It is a small sheet folded once to make four 12mo pages, showing no title-page, and no indication of place, date, or publisher. It may be the *Key* mentioned by Lord Oxford in his letter of May 27. And again it may be the one concerning which some entertaining but vague information is quoted by Thoms from the back of an early pamphlet.¹ But, rendering either conclusion dubious, both the Yale copy and mine of this *Key* are bound up with edition CC of the *Dunciad*, Curril's pirated edition.

In some of the advertisements of the *Dunciad* in the newspapers and in a notice in two editions of the *Dunciad* itself there was promised a *Progress of Dulness*. A reader might reasonably have inferred that this was a poem by Pope. A *Progress* did appear shortly, but it was not written by Pope; it was signed "H. Stanhope," and was dated June 8; and probably, though not certainly, was published by Curril.² The initial advertisement of it appeared in—

The Daily Journal, 2314, Wednesday, June 12, p. 2, col. 2, middle:

This Day is publish'd, (Which will serve for an Explanation of the Dunciad) With Two remarkable Letters to Mr. Booth the Player, The Progress of Dulness. A Poem. By an Eminent Hand.

Nought but himself can be his Parallel. Theobald.

Printed: And sold by A. Dodd without Temple-Bar; all the Booksellers in St. Paul's Church-yard; J. Brotherton in Cornhill; W. Lewis in Covent Garden; J. Jackson near St. James's Palace; J. Pote near Suffolk-Street, Charing-Cross; and E. Curril in the Strand. Price 1s.

Where may be had, just Publish'd, Six Books, viz. I. Mr. Pope's Court Poems II. The Parson's Daughter III. The Key to the Dunciad. 2d. Edition IV. The Confederates V. The New Rehearsal VI. Woman's Revenge. . . . Price 1s. 6d. All printed for E. Curril in the Strand.

Speedily will be publish'd, The Popiad.

This notice was repeated in 2315 and 2316, June 13 and 14. In the Monday issue, 2318, June 18, the first words were altered to:

Just publish'd, Being truly Genuine, (Which will serve)

¹ *N. and Q.*, 1 S., XII, 161-62. Cf. also Lounsbury, *The Text of Shakespeare*, p. 234.

² Query: "H. Stanhope" equals William Bond or Daniel Defoe? The poem was reprinted, with some annotations, by Thoms in *N. and Q.*, 2 S., II, 201-4.

This, with the further change of the last line to the following, reappeared in—

The Daily Journal, 2322, June 21:

Next Week will be publish'd, The Popiad. A Counterpart to the Dunciad. Price 1s. Bella plusquam Civilia.

On Monday the "Next Week" became "This Week." Then, after a wait of more than a week, the public was rewarded thus:

The Daily Journal, 2334, Friday, July 5, p. 2, col. 3, top:

This Day is publish'd, The Popiad. A Counterpart to the Dunciad.

Bella plusquam Civilia.—Lucan.

His own Example strengthens all his Laws,
He is Himself, the Bathos that He draws.

—Ess. on Crit.

Printed for S. Chapman at the Angel in Pall-Mall; J. Jackson near St. James's Palace; M. Boulter at Charing-Cross: E. Curril against Catherine-street in the Strand; A. Dodd without Temple-Bar; and J. Brotherton in Cornhill. Price 1s.

N.B. To keep Pace with Mr. Pope, this Day is likewise publish'd, the Third Edition, of

1. A Compleat Key to the Dunciad. Containing an exact Account of all the Persons abused, and Books mentioned, in that scurrilous and obscene Libel. With a Character of Mr. Pope Price 6d.

2. The Progress of Dulness. A Poem. (Which will serve to explain the Dunciad.) The True Copy, no other Piece, under this Title, being intended to be publish'd. Price 1s.¹

3. The Confederates. A Farce. By Mr. Joseph Gay, i.e. Captain Breval, for which he is put into the Dunciad. Price 1s.²

4. The New Rehearsal: Or, Bays the Younger. A Dramatic Entertainment. By Charles Gildon, Esq; in which for characterizing Pope under the Name of Sawney Dapper, he is put into the Dunciad. Price 1s. 6d.

VI. Woman's Revenge

6. Mr. Pope's Court Poems, viz.

7. The Parson's Daughter Price 6d.

¹ The wording of Curril's advertisement here implies that he was not responsible for the initial advertisement of a "Progress of Dulness." It is probable that Pope arranged for that first advertisement, meaning thereby further to mystify the public as to the authorship of the *Dunciad*.

² Cf. Pope's *Dunciad*, 4to, 1729, p. 93;

"Others of an elder date, having layn as waste paper many years, were upon the publication of the Dunciad brought out, and their Authors betrayed by the mercenary Bookseller (in hope of some possibility of vending a few) by advertising them in this manner—*The Confederates*, a Farce, By Capt. Breval, (for which he is put into the Dunciad)"

With the correction of *VI* to *5*, this was repeated in 2339, 2341, and 2347.

It is not possible to mention here all the pamphlets of the War of the Dunces for even this short period (a bibliographical feat I mean to attempt elsewhere); so we may close the list with this conclusion to an advertisement from—

The Daily Journal, 2349, July 19, p. 2, col. 1, bottom:

III. The whole Pope-ish Controversy occasion'd by the Dunciad, viz.
1. A Compleat Key to the Dunciad. 2. The Progress of Dulness. 3. The Popeiad, in a neat Pocket Size. Price 2s. 6d. any of which are sold single.

All printed for E. Curr, against Katherine-street in the Strand.¹

IV. THE VARIOUS EDITIONS

To the best of my knowledge, no list hitherto printed of the editions of the *Dunciad* in 1728 is both complete and accurate. Concerning the number the earliest statement is that of Pope himself. The first piece in the Appendix to the quarto of 1729 is (p. 87): “Preface prefix'd to the five imperfect Editions of the Dunciad, printed at Dublin and London, in Octavo and Duod.” And in the *Works*, Vol. II (1735), the first of the “Notes Variorum” is: “This Poem was writ in 1727. In the next year an imperfect Edition was published at Dublin, and re-printed at London in 12°. Another at Dublin, and another at London in 8°, and three others in 12° the same year.” The probable inaccuracies in this “note” will appear from the discussion that now follows.

The greatest effort to determine the number was that made by writers in *Notes and Queries*, 1854–55. The discussion begun then has continued to the present time. The best information I can command substantiates Pope's statement in part but not altogether. There were seven editions, or, if two varieties of one edition be designated as editions, there were eight—two in octavo, the rest in duodecimo. All these have been mentioned by the bibliographers at one time or another. The use of letters of the alphabet for numbering them, begun by *Notes and Queries* and continued by writers since, leads into so much awkwardness that it must break down sooner or later; but for the present I shall maintain the tradition. Certain

¹ Repeated in No. 2353, July 24.

distinguishing peculiarities of the different editions are indicated in the appended table.¹

Peculiarity	Book	Page	Line	
1.....	I	1	1	<i>Book for Books.</i>
2.....	I	5	note	<i>Interludes for Enterludes.</i>
3.....	I	6	94	D—n for D—s.
4.....	II	15	2	<i>Final letter f displaced.</i>
5.....	II	22	note	<i>Curl in the Pillory.</i>
6.....	II	23	159 [160]	<i>Spirits for Spirits.</i>
7.....	III	46	note	*Dr. Faustus, etc.
8.....	III	[52]	note	<i>Advertisement of "Dulness."</i>

The editions show:

A	1, 2, 3, 4, 6.	D	5.
B	1, 2, 3, 4, 6.	DD	5, 7.
C	3, 4, 6, 8.	D2	5, 7.
CC	2, 3, 8.	E	Many differences.

B is an octavo; E, a small octavo; the rest are duodecimos. On the title-page, D is called "The Second Edition"; DD and D2, both "The Third Edition." DD has a device of fruit and flowers on the title-page; D2, a figure of Justice with sword and balance: upward of thirty peculiarities distinguish between the two. E was printed in Dublin; the others in London.

Edition A, described as a 12mo, seems to be a ghost or a myth. I cannot learn the whereabouts of a copy of it, nor find a man who has ever seen one. Recent bibliographers and the scholars with whom I have communicated are strongly of the belief that no such edition ever existed. Nevertheless, it occurs in the lists from 1854 to 1885; in the former year Messrs. Thoms and Dilke wrote: ". . . with the exception of the Museum copy of B, all the other issues of this first composition [or edition, inspected by them] have been in 12mo.;" and in the latter, Mr. Solly, who had something like ninety copies of early editions of the *Dunciad* in his collection, wrote as if he had a copy of A before him. Similarly, the first (12mo) of the two Dublin editions mentioned in Pope's note is entirely unknown at the present time.²

¹ Slightly condensed and revised from a table published by Mr. Edward Solly in *N. and Q.*, October 18, 1879. Mr. Solly's list of editions is the fullest known to me—too full, in fact.

² Evidence of a contradictory nature—pointing, i.e., to the existence of but a single Irish edition—occurs in another place, the note to Book I, l. 104, of the 4to of 1729: ". . . which, in that printed in Ireland . . ."; Dilke wrote: "By the phrase 'in that [edition] printed in Ireland,' the writer clearly refers to *one* edition, all published or at least known to him; he would otherwise have said 'in those,' or 'in one of those'" (*N. and Q.*, 1 S., X, 239).

B, the octavo, is nowadays reckoned the first edition. I am not convinced that it actually was so. Certainly C and it came from the press at very nearly the same time. With such information as I have at present, I rather incline to think that they were issued simultaneously, the octavo being the equivalent of a "large paper copy" of the duodecimo.¹ So far as we can now see, then, either B or C was the first edition. From one of them, though from which I cannot now say, three succeeding editions were drawn. These were CC, E, and D.

CC was pretty certainly the third in point of time; and in all probability it came from the "chaste press" of Curril, the pirate printer. With the exception of some minor differences and a considerable variation on one page (p. viii of the "Publisher to the Reader") it tracks B and C² page for page and line for line; but font of type and ornaments are different, and other rules of capitalization are observed. A notable variation appears in Book I, l. 76, wherein the holiday necklaces of aldermen are changed from "glad chains" to "Gold chains," thus affording Pope an opportunity, in the notes of the next year, for a fling at the density of the editor of this edition. If CC had not appeared earlier than the next London edition—which on the title-page is called "The Second Edition"—or, at any rate, been meant to appear before that one, it would have lost most of its excuse for being; or, to put the matter the other way around, its publisher would have incorporated the alterations made by "The Second Edition."

¹ The divergences are few. They have the same number of pages; with the same number of lines, and the same lines, on the page; the printed portion of the page is of the same size; and the exact sameness of the way letters occur one under another on the page shows they are from the same setting of type. The "signature" letters, of course, are unlike. In the text one of the greatest differences is in the first line of the poem. In all editions except B we read:

"Books and the man I sing, the first who
brings."

In B the first word is singular, *Book*; and the *o* of *who* has dropped down. A London friend, a great book-collector and an editor of experience, tells me that he believes the singular noun was originally intended by Pope, who had in mind Theobald's *Shakespeare Restor'd*. But I think it might reasonably be argued that C was printed first, and, in reworking the forms to be used for an octavo, the printer accidentally allowed the *s* of *Books* to fall out entirely, and the *o* of *who* to drop down. Some untried sources of information that I have in view may later help me determine the point. The 12mo must have been the commonly used edition: witness the wording of Curril's advertisement of his 12mo *Key*—"In the same Size to bind up with it." The octavo, as such, is first mentioned—rather incidentally then—in an advertisement of June 8. Compare, moreover, the advertised prices as a further bit of evidence.

² It was probably set up from B, since it has *Interludes* in the note on p. 5; on the other hand, it reprints the *Dulness* advertisement of C, which is not in B.

E is the Irish edition, printed and published in Dublin. Concerning the date of issue, I have not procured definite information; but it was before July 16, for on that day Swift wrote, in a letter to Pope:

I have often run over the *Dunciad* in an Irish edition (I suppose full of faults) which a gentleman sent me.

It was, indeed, not free from faults, some of which are amusing. It was set up from a copy of B or C (I think C, since it has *Enterludes* in the note on p. 5) sent over from London, with the names (indicated in the original only by the first, or the first and last letters) filled out in script by someone who, like Curl, was familiar with Pope's intentions but not in his intimacy. At least, I infer so much from a comparison of editions. For example, the letters *M. . . . n* of B and C, Book II, l. 311, became *Metbwin* in E; the correct name was Milbourn (sometimes spelled Milburn), as we know from later editions and from the *Keys*. Again, in Book III, l. 271, we find *Ecyden* for Eusden (a name correctly spelled in other lines in E). The most entertaining of the errors is the *Dryden* in Book I, l. 94, for the *D——n* of B and C. Pope never intended Dryden, and in a note in 1729 laughed at this blunder. The bungle was the occasion of one of the famous anecdotes gathered around the *Dunciad*, a friendly dispute between Macaulay and W. J. Thoms in the library of the House of Lords. I have related that story, and have given what I think is the explanation of the error, in a note in the (New York) *Nation*, May 14, 1914, attributing the mistake to the Dublin compositor and not to either Pope or the unidentified London "editor." The title-page of this edition bears the legend "Written by Mr. Pope," but this information, too, I think, was furnished by the editor and was entirely without connivance on the part of Pope.¹

Of D, the titular "Second Edition," there are two varieties. D(a) has the word *Dublin* misspelled *Dudlin* on the title-page; D(b) corrects the error. About the only other difference between the two which I have noted is that (in my copies) D(a) has *A* for the catchword on p. 9, while D(b) has the correct *As*. In neither of my copies is the title-page an insert; but the sheets were printed from the same setting of type. This edition adds some notes and

¹ The statement that this Dublin edition "is the first edition in which Pope acknowledges the authorship of the work" (*Catalogue of the Grolier Exhibition*, 1911) is therefore to be considered inaccurate.

alters some of the names of persons satirized, which changes need not be specified here.

Nor need those be which appear in the two varieties of the so-called "The Third Edition," DD and D2. Some of the peculiarities which distinguish between the two have been mentioned already.

The seven London varieties appeared in the three weeks from May 18 to June 8.¹

The eight varieties of 1728, then, are B, C, CC, E, D(a), D(b), DD, and D2.

The content is much the same in the eight, and may be examined in the easily accessible reprints of B in the Elwin-Courthope *Works*, IV, 263 ff., and in Crowell's "Astor Edition" of the *Poetical Works*, pp. 537-69. There is a frontispiece to each except E; it shows, perched on top of a pile of books, an owl with a banner in its beak on which is inscribed "The | Dunci | ad"; CC's is a re-engraved copy of the one that appears the same in all other varieties. There is a title-page, of course. By way of preface there is "A Letter from the Publisher to the Reader." After this follows a half-title, and then the poem in three books. On some pages there are footnotes, in all instances rather short ones. The revisions from edition to edition affect proper names and phrases, and a few footnotes are added. But the number of lines remains unaltered, a total of 916; Book I, 250; Book II, 384, misnumbered 382 (line 131 is misnumbered 130, the error continuing to line 207, which is misnumbered 205, the double error continuing thence to the end); and Book III, 286.²

V. PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS

All the editions except E bear on the title-page the words "Dublin, Printed, London Reprinted for A. Dodd"; E has "London: Printed, and Dublin Re-printed by and for G. Faulkner, J. Hoey, J. Leathley, E. Hamilton, P. Compton, and T. Benson." The imprint of E requires no comment, but that of the others has occasionally been taken more or less seriously by the commentators. If meant to deceive any contemporary, it failed. As a device it was not unknown

¹ If this rapidity astounds any reader, he may be comforted by the information that Stephen Duck's *Poems*, under a demand stimulated by court favor, passed through seven legitimate editions in twelve days, September 28 to October 9, 1730, besides "surreptitious" ones.

² The reprints number the lines correctly, silently rectifying the errors of the original.

before; and my impression is that it was then considered no greater piece of deception than is the use of a pseudonym today.¹

Pope chose to refer to all the 1728 editions as imperfect or "surreptitious," meaning the public to infer that the "coming abroad" of the poem at all at that time was contrary to the wishes of its author. Superficially, though not fundamentally, his statements may be granted to be true. But the Irish edition and at least one London edition were probably surreptitious in the full meaning of the word. It was said above that the edition CC very likely was printed by Edmund Curll. One reason for thinking so is the connection between the "Gold chains" of this edition (alone) and a note on the line in the *Key*, which is known to have been printed by Curll; another is that the rules of its capitalization are those of Curll's books generally.

The printer of the other London editions was probably James Bettenham. In a postscript to his *Notes and Queries* list Thoms says:

We have been kindly permitted by the Stationers' Company to consult their registers of the years 1728 and 1729, where we discovered the following entries:

"May 30, 1728. James Bettenham. Then entered for his copy of *The Dunciad, an Heroic Poem*, in three books. Received nine books."

Bettenham was a printer (not publisher, so far as I know) of considerable eminence in his time. His name occurs, as the printer, on the title-page of the "Second Edition" (in twelves) of Pope's *Iliad*. Since there is no account of him in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, it will not be taken amiss if I abstract a short notice of him from Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*. In December, 1712, he married a stepdaughter of the printer William Bowyer the elder (she was a half-sister, then, of the more famous printer William Bowyer the younger). He "pursued" his profession "with unabated industry and reputation till the year 1766, when he retired from business; and died Feb. 6, 1774, of a gradual decay, at the advanced age of 91. . . . His first wife died Dec. 8, 1716, aged 30; and he had a second who died July 9, 1735, aged 39." The elder Bowyer was the printer

¹ In the *Daily Post*, February 21, 1728, I noticed:

"This Day is publish'd, A Trip to the Moon, by Mr. Murtagh McDermot Printed at Dublin, and Reprinted at London, for J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane. Price One Shilling."

Dr. Bentley, who never set foot out of England, subscribed his *Remarks upon a Late Discourse of Free-Thinking* as from "Leipsic, Jan. 26."

Curll was the first, I think, to point out that the *Dunciad* was not first printed in Ireland. Cf. Curll's *Dean Swift's Literary Correspondence* (1741), p. 63, note.

of the 1717 volume of Pope's *Works*; and, a quarter of a century later, the younger William printed the quarto *Dunciad* of 1743, concerning which Pope had correspondence with him. Bettenham, son-in-law and brother-in-law to the Bowyers, and already known to Pope, was a good man, then, to turn to when the poet had a printing job that he wished to maintain secrecy about.¹

How Mistress Dodd happened to be chosen as publisher is still uncertain—probably at the suggestion of the printer. She and Mrs. Nutt, J. Roberts, and Curril were among the most fecund publishers of the generation. The firm of "A. Dodd" was of long standing and energetic; yet I have succeeded in garnering only a few scraps of information concerning it. The earliest occurrence of the name² to come under my notice is in a pamphlet I have, *An Answer to the Discourse on Free-Thinking. . . . By a Gentleman of Cambridge London, Printed: And Sold by John Morphew near Stationers-Hall; and A. Dodd at the Peacock without Temple-Bar.* 1713. This A. Dodd was a mister.³ His advertisements appear in the journals of the ensuing decade. Mr. A. Dodd, the master-printer, died some time between the middle of 1721 and the middle of 1724, but the business continued under the management of the widow, often referred to as Mrs. Dodd. In the latter year the firm name went near to suffering a change by way of the altar; but Thomas Gent, Printer, forsook the widow Dodd, and, making such excuses as he could, fled away to the arms of an old sweetheart in York.⁴ The writer in *Notes and Queries* adds, apparently on the authority of Gent, that the widow subsequently married again,⁵ but "very indifferently." The firm name continued in use, and Mrs. Dodd was still advertising books as late as 1744, living, indeed, long enough to publish *The Last Will and Testament of Alexander*

¹ In *N. and Q.*, 1 S., X, 217–18; XII, 197, there are some speculations on the possibility that Woodfall may have been the printer of the first edition.

² A column on Mrs. Dodd in *N. and Q.*, 1 S., X, 217, does not add much to our information.

³ "The Peacock without Temple-Bar" was Edmund Curril's place of business from his setting up in 1706 to 1711. It will be an interesting coincidence if it shall ever appear that Dodd was apprenticed to Curril or associated with him. In 1713 Dodd also published some of Swift's pamphlets.

⁴ See Mr. Austin Dobson's essay "Thos. Gent, Printer," in *Eighteenth Century Vignettes*, 3d Series, pp. 125–27.

⁵ The assertion, however, seems to me to need verification. Gent was now a citizen of York. And "Mrs. Dodd" continued long to be referred to in advertisements and notes. Is it possible that it was another Mrs. Dodd or even one of Mrs. Dodd's "dear children" of whose "indifferent" marriage Gent had word?

*Pope, of Twickenham, Esq.*¹ The name was spelled commonly Dodd, with a double *d*, but not infrequently with a single *d* at the end.² The business of A. Dodd was carried on from 1713 to 1744 "at or without Temple-Bar," but the sign of "The Peacock" was not always mentioned.³

VI. THE CRITICAL APPARATUS AND THE COPYRIGHT

It was, from the beginning, a part of the plan that the poem should be accompanied by a vast aggregation of pseudo-critical apparatus. This was meant to be a *reductio ad absurdum* of the scientific editing of the day, its especial target being Theobald, of course. Much of the matter must have been in hand when the poem was published, but it was not made public until the time of the quarto, in April, 1729. It was being amplified, as we learn from letters that passed between Pope and Swift on June 28 and July 16, 1728. Apparently, too, it was for a while Pope's intention to publish the quarto some time in the autumn of 1728. In October he informed Swift, referring to the lines that first appeared in the quarto:

The inscription to the *Dunciad* is now printed, and inserted in the poem. But since the volume was not published until 1729, it need not be discussed further in this article.

In November came the final incident in the history of the *Dunciad* of 1728, the sale of the copyright. I have nothing new to say concerning the dealing with the "Noble Lords," who were complacent enough to act as Pope's cat's-paws. From them the copyright passed by sale to Lawton Gilliver. We have not information in detail, but the fact is attested in a document (now in the Record Office, London) appertaining to a law-suit brought by Pope against Henry Lintot in 1742. The life of the copyright was fourteen years.

R. H. GRIFFITH

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¹ I have a folio pamphlet *Printed for A. Dodd, opposite St. Clement's Church in the Strand, 1746.*

² This fact has no special bearing in the discussion of editions of the *Dunciad* in 1728; but the spelling of *Dod* as the publisher's name in the quarto of 1729 has been an occasion of stumbling to some bibliographers. Spelling was less uniform then than now; and the difference between Dodd and Dod was no greater, I suspect, than that between Curril and Curl. The *Dob* of an edition of 1729 is a different matter.

³ The name was not an unusual one among bookish folk. A Nicholas Dodd, bookseller, was friendly toward William Bowyer, Sr., in 1712; and in 1743, a B. Dodd was advertising books for sale "at the Bible and Key in Ave-Mary-Lane, near Stationers-Hall."

CHAUCER AND DANTE'S *CONVIVIO*

In 1891 Koeppel suggested, on the basis of Chaucer's use of the phrase "old richesse," both in the *Wife of Bath's Tale* and in the *balade on Gentillesse*, that the *Convivio* had a place in Chaucer's library. But he adduced no further evidence than the striking correspondence, in passages having a common theme, of "old richesse" and *antica ricchezza*.¹ Eighteen years later Paget Toynbee, in his *Dante in English Literature*, quoted the passage on "gentillesse" from the *Wife of Bath's Tale*, and appended the following note:

This discussion as to the true nature of nobility, though partly based on a passage in the *De consolatione philosophiae* (iii, pr. 6, met. 6) of Boethius, . . . almost undoubtedly owes much to Dante's canzone on the subject prefixed to the fourth book of the *Convivio*; as does also the *Balade of Gentillesse*. . . . There is evidence to show that this canzone of Dante was the subject of discussion, in respect of his opinions as to what constitutes nobility, at a very early date. See for instance the account given by Lapo da Castiglionchio (ca. 1310-81) in the second part of the letter to his son Bernardo (ed. Mehus, Bologna, 1753, pp. 11 ff.) of the examination of Dante's arguments by the famous jurist, Bartolo da Sassoferato (ca. 1313-56).²

Inasmuch as Koeppel bases his conclusion on a single phrase, and since the plan of Toynbee's work precluded the detailed statement of his evidence, there seems still to be a place for a fuller presentation than has hitherto been made of the grounds for believing that Chaucer knew and used the *Convivio*.

The canzone prefixed to the fourth Tractate of the *Convivio* deals with the nature of *Gentilezza*. Excluding the Preface and the *tornata*, it falls into two parts. The first is negative, and is devoted to the refutation of the view that *Gentilezza* depends on ancestral riches or on descent. The second is positive, and traces *Gentilezza* (or *Nobilitate*) to its ultimate and only source in God. The Tractate that follows is a detailed commentary on the canzone, and poem and

¹ See *Anglia*, XIII, 184-85.

² *Dante in English Literature*, I, 14, n. 1. Koeppel's suggestion had long been known to me; Toynbee's note I read only after the present study was practically completed.

comment alike are suffused with Dante's singular nobility and loftiness of thought. And the twofold emphasis of the canzone is maintained throughout the commentary; "gentillesse" does not derive from ancestral riches or ancestral stock; it does derive from God.

Jean de Meun had also discussed *gentillice* at great length.¹ Like Dante he recognized that true nobility does not depend on birth. But his treatment of its relation to wealth is incidental,² and its source in God is not within his ken. That Chaucer drew on Jean de Meun's treatment, there can be no doubt.³ But no one can read the two passages, I think, without feeling that in this case Jean de Meun's oat has been taken up into a strain of higher mood. The lines which Chaucer quotes from the *Purgatorio* give a clue to the heightening, but not the full solution. It is the spirit of the *Convivio* with which the whole treatment is pervaded. In other words, Chaucer seems to have done in this passage what in his maturer performance he does repeatedly. He has drawn upon all the sources of his inspiration, and has fused them—not dovetailed them, as in his earlier work—into a product that bears his own peculiar stamp. And in the present instance the fine democracy of Jean de Meun's conception of true nobility has been merged with Dante's loftier idealism, and both have been tempered by Chaucer's own broad humanity. That this is true, it is the task of this brief article to show.

The key to Dante's negative treatment of the subject lies in the phrase of the emperor Frederick of Suabia, *antica ricchezza*. The phrase itself does not appear in the canzone, but it occurs six times in the body of the Tractate. It is used, as is well known, three times by Chaucer—twice in the *Wife of Bath's Tale*, once in the *balade*. But that is not all. Dante makes much of the implications of *antica*, in a characteristic discussion of *time* (in its relation to *descent*) as a supposed cause of nobility. His argument on this point reappears in Chaucer. His positive doctrine that God is the sole source of *Gentilezza* is fundamental and explicit in Chaucer's treatment too. And finally there are verbal parallels as well. I shall take up these points *seriatim*.

¹ *Roman de la Rose*, ll. 19540–828 (ed. Michel).

² See ll. 19760 ff.

³ Cf., for example, D 1121–23 and *RR*, 19561–63; D 1150–51 and *RR*, 19818–21; etc. See further Fansler, *Chaucer and the Roman de la Rose* (1914), p. 221.

The first division of the canzone opens with the following lines:

Tale imperò che Gentilezza volse,
 Secondo 'l suo parere,
*Che fosse antica possession d'avere,*¹
 Con reggimenti belli.
 Ed altri fu di più lieve sapere,
 Che tal detto rivolse,
 E l'ultima particola ne tolse,
 Chè non l'avea fors' elli.
 Di dietro da costui van tutti quelli
Che fan gentile per ischiatta altrui,
*Che lungamente in gran ricchezza è stata:*²
 Ed è tanto durata
 La così falsa opinion tra nui,
 Che l'uom chiama colui
 Uomo gentil, che può dicere: I' fui
 Nepote o figlio di cotal valente,
 Benchè sia da niente.³

With this may at once be compared the opening of Chaucer's exposition:

But for ye speken of *swich gentillesse*
As is descended out of old richesse,
That therefore sholden ye be gentil men,
*Swich arrogance is nat worth an hen.*⁴

The general parallel is obvious enough, and the similarity of expression is scarcely less striking, even apart from the "old richesse," which is wanting in the canzone.⁵ Of this phrase Chaucer's repetitions are as follows:

Crist wol, we clayme of him our gentillesse,
 Nat of our eldres for hir *old richesse.*⁶

Vyce may wel be heir to *old richesse.*⁷

¹ Cf.:

Heer may ye see wel, how that *genterye*
Is nat annezed to possessioun [D 1146-47].

² Cf. D 1109-11, below.

³ *Il Convivio*, Trattato Quarto, Canzone Terza, vss. 21-37. I use throughout Moore's text (*Tutte le Opere di Dante Alighieri*, Oxford, 1904). With the last lines quoted above cf. D 1152-55:

And he that wol han prys of his gentreye
 For he was bornen of a gentil hous,
 And hadde hisse eldres noble and vertuous,
 And nil him-selven do no gentil dedis, etc.

See also below, p. 26.

⁴ D 1109-12.

⁵ Except as it appears in "antica possession" and "gran ricchezza."

⁶ D 1117-18.

⁷ *Gentillesse*, l. 15.

Its salient position in the Tractate may easily be made clear. Dante's exposition of the first words quoted from the canzone (*Tale imperò*) is as follows. When Frederick of Suabia was asked "che fosse *Gentilezza*," he replied:

. . . . ch' era, "antica ricchezza," e be' costumi. E dico che "altri fu di più lieve sapere," che, pensando e rivolgendo questa definizione in ogni parte, levò via l'ultima particola, cioè i "belli costumi," e tennesi alla prima, cioè all' "antica ricchezza"; e secondochè 'l testo par dubitare, "forse per non avere i belli costumi," non volendo perdere il nome di *Gentilezza*, difinì quella secondochè per lui facea, cioè "possessione d'*antica ricchezza*."¹

The next six chapters of the *Convivio* constitute a digression upon the imperial authority; in chap. x Dante returns to his main theme. The Emperor's opinion regarding *belli costumi* he does not deem worthy of refutation.² It is Frederick's first phrase on which, throughout his whole negative argument,³ he dwells. He begins with a statement to which we shall have to return:⁴

L'altra particola, che da natura di Nobiltà è del tutto diversa, s'intende riprovare; la quale due cose par dire, quando dice *antica ricchezza*, cioè *tempo e divizie*, le quali da Nobiltà sono del tutto diverse, com' è detto, e come di sotto si mostrerà.⁵

A few lines farther on he reverts to the phrase:

Poi dico "similemente lui errare," chè pose della Nobiltà falso suggetto, cioè *antica ricchezza*.⁶

And finally, in the fourteenth chapter, he treats it under the aspect already foreshadowed in the tenth:

Riprovato l'altrui errore, quanto è in quella parte che alle *ricchezze* s'appoggiava, in quella parte che *tempo* diceva essere cagione di Nobiltà, dicendo *antica ricchezza*; e questa riprovazione si fa in questa parte che comincia: "Nè voglion che vil uom gentil divegna."⁷

¹ IV, iii, 44-55.

² Chaps. x-xv.

⁵ IV, x, 12-18.

² See IV, x, 1-12.

⁴ See below, p. 23.

⁶ IV, x, 48-50.

⁷ IV, xiv, 1-8. It is interesting to observe that Dante also uses the same phrase in his *De monarchia*: "Sed constat quod merito virtutis nobilitantur homines: virtutis videlicet propriae vel maiorum. Est enim nobilitas virtus et *divitiae antiquae*, juxta Philosophum in Politicis, et juxta Juvenalem:

'Nobilitas animi sola est atque unica virtus.'

Quae duae sententiae ad duas nobilitates dantur: proprium scilicet, et maiorum" (II, iii, 12-20).

It is true (though it does not seem to have been noticed) that the words also occur in Jean de Meun:

The emphatic recurrence in both writers of a striking phrase in a context of identical import has, as Koeppel felt, considerable weight. And I have already shown that the connection is much closer than Koeppel pointed out. It is, however, even more organic than has thus far been indicated.

Besides the fallacy involved in *ricchezza* (namely the assumption of *divizie* as the source of *Gentilezza*) stands in Dante's argument the fallacy inherent in *antica*—the error, that is, of assuming that *time* (*tempo*), or the continuance of a single condition (*questo processo d'una condizione*), is the cause of nobility.¹ And upon this idea, which does not appear at all in Jean de Meun, Dante lays, in his fourteenth and fifteenth chapters, unusual stress.

Se Nobiltà non si genera di nuovo, siccome più volte è detto che la loro opinione vuole, non generandola di vile uomo in lui medesimo, nè di vile padre in figlio, sempre è l'uomo tale quale nasce; e tale nasce quale il padre: e così questo processo d'una condizione è venuto infino dal primo parente; perchè tale quale fu il primo generante, cioè Adamo, conviene essere tutta la umana generazione, chè da lui alli moderni non si può trovare per quella ragione alcuna trasmutanza. Dunque, se esso Adamo fu nobile, tutti siamo nobili; e se esso fu vile, tutti siamo vili; che non è altro, che torre via la distinzione di queste condizioni, e così è torre via quelle. E questo dice che di quello ch'è messo dinanzi seguita, "che siam tutti gentili ovver villani."²

Si troveroit toute la terre
O ses *rîchesces anciennes*
Et toutes choses terrienes;
Et verroit proprement la mer,
Et tous poissons qui ont amer,
Et tres toutes choses marines,
Iaues douces, troubles et fines,
Et les choses grans et menues,
En iaues douces contenues;
Et l'air et tous les osillons—

and so on through all the elements (ll. 21244 ff.). But the context is totally different—the account, namely, of what one sees in the Garden of Mirth—and the passage can scarcely have any bearing on the present case.

¹ See IV, x, 12–18 (quoted above, p. 22), and add the immediately succeeding lines: "E però riprovando si fanno due parti; prima si riprovano le *divizie*, poi si riprova il *tempo* essere cagione di Nobiltà. La seconda parte comincia: 'Nè voglion che vil uom gentil divegna'" (IV, x, 18–23).

² IV, xv, 19–38. Cf. the following, from the preceding chapter: "Dico adunque: 'Nè voglion che vil uom gentil divegna.' Dov' è da sapere che opinione di questi erranti è, che uomo prima *villano*, mai *gentile* uomo dicer non si possa; e uomo che figlio sia di *villano*, similmente mai dicer non si possa *gentile*. E ciò rompe la loro sentenza medesima quando dicono che *tempo* si richiede a Nobiltà, ponendo questo vocabolo *antico*; perocchè è impossibile per processo di tempo venire alla generazione di Nobiltà, per questa loro ragione che detta è, la qual toglie via che *villano* uomo mai possa essere *gentile* per opera che faccia, o per alcuno accidente; e toglie via la mutazione di *villano* padre in *gentil figlio*; chè, se 'l figlio del *villano* è pur *villano*, e 'l figlio suo sia pur figlio di *villano*, e così sia anche *villano* il suo figlio; e così sempre mai non sarà a trovare là dove Nobiltà per processo di tempo si cominci" (IV, xiv, 18–39).

We have already seen that Chaucer follows Dante in his emphasis on the error regarding "old *richesse*." He follows him no less closely in this peculiarly characteristic treatment of the *processo d'una condizione*, implicit in *antica*. For in a striking paragraph he too declares that if "gentillesse" were a matter of direct descent, a stock once gentle could never cease to be what it first was.

Eek every wight wot this as wel as I,
If gentillesse were planted naturelly¹
Un-to a certeyn linage, doun the lyne,
Privee ne apert, than wolde they never fyne
To doon of gentillesse the faire offyce;
They mighthe do no rilemye or ryce.²

Chaucer has, to be sure, reversed the emphasis of Dante's exposition from "once base, always base" to "once gentle, always gentle"—a change which grows out of the requirements of his Tale.³ But the argument is Dante's argument.⁴

In a word, Dante's negative treatment of the source of *Gentilezza* involves the implications not only of *ricchezza*, but also of *antica*. The bearing of the first is fairly obvious; that of the second is characterized by Dante's own intellectual subtlety. And both reappear in Chaucer—the first with the repetition of Dante's very phrase; the second, with a masterly compression of the essence of two long chapters into a passage of six lines.⁵

¹ Cf. IV, i, 47–49: "Questo è l'errore dell' umana bontà, in quanto in noi è dalla natura seminata, e che Nobiltade chiamar si dee."

² D 1133–38.

³ It is perhaps due in part, as well, to the fact that the apt figure from Boethius' discussion of *dignitatis*, of which he makes such consummately effective (and organic) use, suggested itself to him at just this point.

⁴ The reference to Adam and Eve in a discussion of "gentillesse" is of course a commonplace. See the *Parson's Tale*, I, 460; *Confessio Amantis*, IV, 2222 ff.; Wyclif (ed. Arnold), III, 125; etc. But the turn which Dante (and after him Chaucer) gives to the familiar argument is Dante's own.

⁵ Fansler calls attention (*Chaucer and the Roman de la Rose*, p. 105) to Koeppel's derivation of Chaucer's use of "nacion" (D 1068) from Jean de Meun's "Par noblece de nacion" (RR, 19545), and, with his usual admirable caution, expresses doubt of any necessary connection. It is at least worth noting that *nazion*, in precisely Chaucer's sense, occurs in l. 63 of the canzone: "Nè di vil padre scenda *Nazion*, che per gentil glammaj s'intenda." But as in the case of Jean de Meun, so here the parallel is without real significance. *Nassion* occurs in Baudouin de Condé's *Li Contes de Gentilleche* (a poem which I am strongly inclined to think Chaucer knew), l. 11: "Qui gentius est de *nassion*." See also Jean de Condé's *Li Dis de Gentillesse*, l. 148: "Erent gentil de *nacion*." My only reason for referring to the word here is to point out that its use by Jean de Meun has no bearing on the case.

The correspondence in the *positive* phase of the discussion is no less striking. The conclusion of the canzone is explicit:

Però nessun si vanti
Dicendo: Per ischiatta io son con lei;
Ch'elli son quasi Dei
Que' c' han *tal grazia* fuor di tutti rei:
Chè solo *Iddio all'anima la dona*,
Che vede in sua persona
Perfettamente star; sicchè ad alquanti
Lo seme di felicità s'accosta,
Messo da *Dio nell'anima ben posta*.¹

And the comment merely elaborates what the canzone states:

Poi quando dice: "Chè solo *Iddio all'anima la dona*"; ragione è del suscettivo, cioè del suggetto, dove questo divino dono discende, ch' è bene divino dono, secondo la parola dell'Apostolo: "Ogni ottimo dato e ogni dono perfetto di suso viene, discendendo dal Padre de' lumi." Dice adunque che *Iddio solo* porge *questa grazia* all'anima di quello, cui vede stare perfettamente nella sua persona aconcio e disposto a questo divino atto ricevere.²

Precisely so in Chaucer:

Thy gentillesse cometh *fro god allone*;
Than comth our *verray*³ gentillesse of *grace*.⁴

Dante's entire argument, accordingly, both negative and positive, is resumed in Chaucer's lines—not formally, but with a complete assimilation of its content and with an untrammeled adaptation of it to the more flexible structural outlines of the Tale.⁵

¹ Ll. 112-19.

² IV, xx, 47-57. Cf. IV, xx, 24-28: "E rende incontanente ragione, dicendo, che quelli che hanno *questa grazia*, cioè questa divina cosa, sono quasi come Dei, senza macola di vizio. E ciò dare non può, se non *Iddio solo*." The whole of the nineteenth and twentieth chapters should be read.

³ The last words of the preceding chapter (which sum up its theme) are: "ch' è allora frutto di *vera nobilità*" (IV, xix, 97-98).

⁴ D 1162-63. Cf. l. 1117, and the *balade*, ll. 19-20.

⁵ The context in the *Purgatorio* of the lines which Chaucer quotes (D 1125-30) embodies once more the doctrine of the *Convivio* as regards descent, and that it should have suggested itself to Chaucer is far more natural than the three lines indicate, when taken by themselves. Dante, at the close of the seventh canto of the *Purgatorio*, is speaking of Peter of Aragon and of his son Alphonso, as contrasted with his other two sons, James and Frederick. Peter, he says,

D'ogni valor portò cinta la corda;
E se re dopo lui fosse rimaso
Lo giovinetto che retro a lui siede,
Bene andava il valor di vaso in vaso;

To the verbal parallels already indicated above may be added at least one more. Lines 1152-58 in Chaucer are as follows:

And he that wol han prys of his gentrye
For he was boren of a gentil hous,
And hadde hise eldres noble and vertuous,
And nil him-selven do no gentil dedis,
Ne folwe his gentil auncestre that deed is,
He nis nat gentil, be he duk or erl;
For vileyngs sinful dedes make a cherl.

The general correspondence of these lines with ll. 34-37 of the canzone has been already pointed out. The parallel with the phrasing of the commentary is closer still:

E così quelli che dal padre o da alcuno suo maggiore di schiatta è nobilitato, e non persevera in quella, non solamente è vile, ma vilissimo, e degno d'ogni dispetto e vituperio più che altro villano.¹

And finally, it is worth noting that the Loathly Lady's discussion of *poverty* stands in close relation to Dante's exposition of riches as *cagione di male*. For Dante too quotes Juvenal's lines, and in an almost identical context:

Verray povert, *it singeth proprely;*
Juvenal seith of povert merily:
“*The povre man, whan he goth by the weye,*
Bifore the theves he may singe and pleye.”²

Ben lo sanno li miseri mercatanti che per lo mondo vanno, che le foglie, che 'l vento fa dimenare, li fan tremare, quando seco ricchezze portano; e quando senza esse sono, pieni di sicurtà cantando e ragionando fanno lor cammino più brieve. E però dice il Savio: “se vđto camminatore entrasse nel cammino, dinanzi a' ladroni canterebbe.”³

Che non si puote dir dell' altre rede;
Jacomo e Federico hanno i reami;
Del retaggio miglior nessun possiede.

Then come the lines which Chaucer quotes:

Rade volte risurge per li rami
L'umana probitate: e questo vuole
Quel che la dà, perchè da lui si chiami [Purg., VII, 114-23].

The relation to the theme of the *Convivio* is obvious, and the turn which Chaucer gives the passage from *valor* and *probitate* to *gentilezza* makes it clear that the association was in his mind.

¹ IV, vii, 87-92. The same general idea appears in Jean de Meun, ll. 19788-801. But a comparison will leave little question of Chaucer's immediate source.

² D 1191-94.

³ IV, xiii, 101-10. *Poverty* also appears in the conventional discussions of “gentil-lesse.” See, for example, the passage in Gower referred to above (p. 24, n. 4). But once more Chaucer and Dante elaborate the convention in the same way.

That the *balade* on *Gentilesse* is Chaucer's elaboration of Dante's positive argument in the canzone, under the ever-present influence of Jean de Meun as well, it is now not difficult to see. The negative element appears, of course, in the "old richesse" of line 15. But that the canzone was very definitely in Chaucer's mind appears unmistakably from the fifth and sixth lines:

*For unto vertu longeth dignitee,
And noght the revers, saufly dar I deme.*

*È Gentilezza dovunque è virtute,
Ma non virtute ov' ella;
Siccome è 'l cielo dovunque è la stella,
Ma ciò non e converso.¹*

In Chaucer's treatment of "gentilesse," then, there is a characteristic mingling of all the springs of his inspiration. As in the Fortune *balade*, Jean de Meun, Boethius, and Dante² are all present—the heart of their teaching grasped and assimilated in Chaucer's own thought, and fused in a new and individual expression by his ripened art. There is here no question of originality. Few passages in Chaucer—unless it be the Fortune *balade* itself—show with greater clearness his consummate gift of gathering together and embodying in a new unity the *disjecta membra* of the dominant beliefs and opinions of his day. To overlook that in any study of external influences on Chaucer is to take the chaff and leave the corn.³

If the *Convivio* was known to Chaucer, the question at once arises: Was his use of it confined to the great exposition of *Gentilezza*? I think it was not. I shall make no attempt to adduce all the possible parallels. Two passages in the *House of Fame*, however, seem to be reasonably clear.

The lines that introduce the eagle's demonstration of the way in which all sounds at last arrive inevitably at the House of Fame⁴ have

¹ Ll. 101-4.

² In that case Deschamps too! In a volume on the *French Influences on Chaucer*, now in preparation, I shall have occasion to deal more fully with the merging, especially in Chaucer's later borrowings, of many sources. The instance under discussion is absolutely typical.

³ I have discussed certain other matters connected with the Wife of Bath's discourse on "gentillesse" in an examination of Professor Tupper's doctrine regarding Chaucer and the Seven Deadly Sins, which will shortly appear in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*.

⁴ *HF*, ll. 729-45.

been variously fathered. Rambeau's ascription of them to the influence of *Paradiso*, I, 109-17,¹ can scarcely be accepted. That Boethius and perhaps Jean de Meun are again involved is pretty clear.² But there are indications also of Chaucer's reading of the *Convivio*. The eagle's exposition begins thus:

Geffrey, thou wost right wel this,
 That every kindly thing that is,
 Hath a *kindly stede* ther he
 May best in hit conserved be;
 Unto which place every thing,
 Through his kindly enclynning,
 Moveth for to come to,
 When that hit is awey therfro;
 As thus; etc.³

Fansler observes regarding these lines: "In the *Convito*, Treatise III, chap. 3, we find this same idea expressed by Dante, who was doubtless following Boethius, as was Chaucer."⁴ Of that there can be no question. But was Chaucer not following Dante too? One striking detail in the eagle's elucidation is the constant repetition of "kindly stede" or its equivalent:

Thus every thing, by this resoun,
 Hath *his propre mansiouen*.⁵

 And that *the mansiouen*, y-wis,
 That every thing enclyned to is,
 Hath *his kindeliche stede*:
 Than sheweth hit, withouten drede,
 That *kindely the mansiouen*
 Of every speche, of every soun
 Hath *his kinde place* in air.⁶

 Hit seweth, every soun, pardee,
Moveþ kindly to pace
 Al up into *his kindely place*.⁷

¹ *Englische Studien*, III, 247-48. See Sypherd, *Studies in Chaucer's House of Fame*, pp. 61, 95-97.

² With Chaucer's "Light thing up, and downward charge" (l. 746) cf. Boethius: "sursum levitas . . . deorsum pondus" (Lib. III, Prosa 11), which appears in Jean de Meun (ll. 17700-701) as "Les légères en haut volèrent, Les pesans ou centre avaient" (see Koeppel, *Anglia*, XIV, 246).

³ HF, ll. 729-37.

⁵ Ll. 753-54.

⁴ *Chaucer and the Roman de la Rose*, p. 216.

⁶ Ll. 827-34.

⁷ Ll. 840-42.

In Boethius this appears merely as *loca* (without repetition) in the phrase: "nisi quod haec singulis *loca* motionesque conveniunt"; in Jean de Meun (again without repetition), as "leus convenables." I shall quote a few sentences from the beginning of the third chapter of the third Tractate of the *Convivio*:

Onde è da sapere che *ciascuna cosa*, siccome è detto di sopra, per la ragione di sopra mostrata, ha 'l suo spezziale amore, come le corpora semplici hanno *amore naturato in sè al loro loco proprio*, e però la terra sempre discende al centro, il fuoco alla circonferenza di sopra lungo 'l cielo della luna, e però sempre sale a quello. Le corpora composte prima, siccome sono le miniere, hanno amore *al loco, dove la loro generazione è ordinata*. . . . Le piante, che sono prima animate, hanno amore *a certo loco* più manifestamente . . . le quali, se si trasmutano, o muoiono del tutto o vivono quasi triste, siccome cose disgiunte *dal loco amico*. Gli animali bruti hanno più manifesto amore non solamente *al loco*, ma l'uno l'altro vedemo amare.¹

Chaucer's striking emphasis, which is also Dante's, is found in neither of his other sources, and it seems reasonable to suppose, in the light of independent evidence of his knowledge of the *Convivio*, that its influence is present here. The discussion in the *Convivio* starts from precisely the passage in Boethius from which Chaucer took his cue.² It passes beyond it into subtleties with which Chaucer for the moment was not concerned. But its insistent phraseology seems to have stuck in his mind.

There is still another passage in the *House of Fame* which seems to betray the same source.

"Now," quod he tho, "cast up thyn yē;
See yonder, lo, *the Galaxyē*,
Which men clepeth the Milky Wey,
For hit is whyt: and somme, parfey,
Callen hit Watlinge Strete:
That ones was y-brent with hete,
Whan the sonnes sone, the rede,
That highte *Pheton*, wolde lede
Algatē his fader cart, and gye."³

¹ III, iii, 5-33.

² Cf. with the close of the first sentence quoted above from the *Convivio* the citations on p. 28, n. 2.

³ *HF*, ll. 935-43.

Rambeau referred this passage to the *Inferno*,¹ where the connection between the galaxy and Phaeton's journey is implied. But the galaxy is not specifically named and the allusion (though undoubted) is by no means obvious. In the fifteenth chapter of the second Tractate of the *Convivio*, however, Dante is dealing with the galaxy explicitly. I shall quote two passages from the beginning of the chapter:

. . . e siccome la *Galassia*, cioè quello *bianco cerchio*, che il *vulgo* chiama la *Via di santo Jacopo*.² . . . Perchè è da sapere che di quella *Galassia* li filosofi hanno avuto diverse opinioni. Chè li Pittagorici dissero che 'l sole *alcuna fiata*³ errò nella sua via, e, passando per altre parti non convenienti *al suo fervore*, arse il luogo, per lo quale passò; e rimasevi quell'apparenza dell'arsura. E credo che si mossero dalla *favola di Fetonte*, la quale narra Ovidio nel principio del secondo di *Metamorfoseos*.⁴

The substitution of the English "Watling Street" for Dante's "Via di santo Jacopo" (cf. "somme . . . callen hit" with "il vulgo chiama") is the obvious thing. And the explicit connection in both (even to verbal agreement) of the origin of the galaxy with the story of Phaeton—which Chaucer characteristically proceeds to summarize—is too striking to need comment. It is of course possible that Chaucer may have known the connection from some other source. No other, so far as I know, has been pointed out, and in view once more of independent evidence of his acquaintance with the *Convivio*, it seems highly probable that he recalled it here.

There is another passage—this time in an unexpected and even incongruous setting—which contains an unmistakable reminiscence of the *Convivio*. Two lines in the *Compleynt of Mars* I have long suspected, from their tone and phraseology, to be a borrowing from Dante, but no definite suggestion for them appears in the *Divine Comedy*. In point of fact, Chaucer is recalling the doctrine of the most intricate and baffling section of the *Convivio*, in which Dante explains and interprets the conflict between his two loves. The second Tractate opens with the canzone beginning: "Voi che intendendo il terzo ciel movete," addressed to the Intelligences who move the third heaven. The passage in Chaucer, unequivocal

¹ *Inf.* XVII, 106–8 (cf. *Purg.*, IV, 71–72). See *Englische Studien*, III, 245–46.

² II, xv, 8–10.

³ Cf. Chaucer's "ones."

⁴ II, xv, 45–55.

as the reminiscence is, does not involve the more complex subtleties of Dante's argument, and for our purpose these may happily be disregarded. The lines, in their context, are these:

The firste tyme, alas! that I was wrought,
And for certeyn effectes hider broght
By him that lordeth ech intelligence,
 I yaf my trewe servise and my thoght,
 For evermore—how dere I have hit boght!—
 To hir, that is of so gret excellence, etc.¹

In the fifth chapter of the second Tractate Dante discusses the *Intelligenze* at length, and a few lines may be quoted:

Poich' è mostrato nel precedente capitolo quale è questo terzo cielo e come in sè medesimo è disposto, resta a dimostrare chi sono questi che 'l muovono. È adunque da sapere primamente, che li movitori di quello sono Sustanze separate da materia, cioè *Intelligenze*, le quali la volgare gente chiama Angeli. . . . Altri furono, siccome Plato, uomo eccellentissimo, che puosono non solamente *tante Intelligenze*, *quanti sono li movimenti del cielo*, ma eziandio quante sono le spezie delle cose e vollero, che *siccome le Intelligenze de' cieli sono generatrici di quelli, ciascuna del suo*, così queste fossero generatrici dell' altre cose, ed esempi ciascuna della sua spezie; e chiamale Plato Idee, che tanto è a dire, quanto forme e nature universali. Li Gentili le chiamavano Dei e Dee, etc.²

In this same chapter the effects (*effetti*) of the Intelligences are referred to, but it is in the ninth chapter that this phase of the subject is explicitly treated:

Potrebbe dire alcuno: conciossiacosachè *amore sia effetto di queste Intelligenze* (a cui io parlo), e quello di prima fosse amore così come questo di poi, perchè la loro virtù corrompe l'uno, e l'altro genera? . . . A questa quiete si può leggiernente rispondere, che *lo effetto di costoro è amore*, come è detto. . . .³

The emphasis on "effect" is Dante's own: "Dico *effetto*, in quanto," etc.⁴

In Chaucer's lines, now, it must be remembered that it is *Mars*—that is, one of the Intelligences themselves⁵—who is speaking, and

¹ Ll. 164–69.

² II, v, 1–8, 20–25, 28–35. Juno, Vulcan, Minerva, and Ceres are then mentioned.

³ II, ix, 22–27, 31–33. Cf. also II, vi, 109–19.

⁴ II, ix, 43–44.

⁵ Cf. II, vi, 105 ff. Into Chaucer's variation from Dante in his use of "the third heaven" (l. 29) it is not here necessary to go. Mars is not, strictly speaking, one of the

as such he declares that he has been brought hither for "certeyn [i.e., fixed, determined] effectes." In other words, he was brought and set in his place for the *effetti* that belong to the Intelligences—" [e] lo effetto di costoro è amore."¹ And the reference to "him that *lordeth* ech intelligence" is no less clear. The canzone is directly addressed, as we have seen, to the Intelligences, and in the address Dante names his "soave pensier," that went often "a' piè del vostro Sire."² In the comment this line receives its explanation: ". . . questo pensiero che se ne già spesse volte a' piè del Sire di costoro a cui io parlo, ch' è *Iddio*."³

Chaucer's lines, accordingly, in the light of their source, are clear. Mars complains that as one of the Intelligences he was created by his lord—"the god that sit so hye" (l. 218)—to fulfil the very end of his existence, which end was love. He *has* loved—has given to his lady his true service and his thought, and his love has ended in "misaventure." The cause of his complaint, on which he lays such stress,⁴ lies therefore deep enough. The fact that Dante's whole doctrine of the Intelligences is implicit in two lines is evidence again of Chaucer's power of assimilation. And his ability to "reject what cannot clear him"⁵ is no less striking. For what he takes from the *Convivio* (as well as how he takes it) and what he leaves are equally significant.

There are other passages that Chaucer may have drawn from the *Convivio*, but there are equally possible sources elsewhere. The lines invoking the "firste moeving cruel firmament" in the *Man of Law's Tale*⁶ are in striking accord, in their phraseology, with certain statements of the *Convivio*.⁷ But in this case Chaucer and Dante may be,

Intelligences of the third heaven. But Chaucer's whole conception in the poem is as far removed from that of Dante's canzone as the conception of the *House of Fame* is remote from that of the *Divine Comedy*, and his recollection of certain phrases must be treated, in the one case as in the other, independently of any idea that he is following in Dante's footsteps in his *plan*. It is only a single idea and its phraseology that is involved.

¹ For the indubitable astrological significance of the next stanza, which describes the lady, see Manly, *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, V, 125–26.

² Canzone, ll. 14–16.

³ II, viii, 38–40.

⁴ See the preceding stanza throughout.

⁵ The whole passage in Arnold (*The Second Best*, ll. 13–19) is rather curiously applicable to Chaucer.

⁶ B 295–98.

⁷ See II, vi, 145–151; II, iii, 39–45; II, iv, 19–27.

and probably are, drawing on a common source.¹ The "Etik" passage in the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* finds an interesting parallel in the canzone upon which Chaucer drew for his account of "gentilesse."

. . . . for "vertu is the mene,"
As Etik saith.²

Virtute intendo, che fa l'uom felice
In sua operazione.
Quest' è (secondochè l' *Etica dice*)
Un abito elegante,
*Lo qual dimora in mezzo solamente.*³

But, as I have pointed out elsewhere,⁴ there is a similar passage in John of Salisbury, and as between the two, honors seem easy.⁵ Such parallels as the two just cited, accordingly, are inconclusive, even though the list might easily be lengthened.

The correspondences, however, in the cases of the *Wife of Bath's Tale*, the *Gentilesse balade*, the *House of Fame*, and the *Compleynt of Mars*, are of a different character, and they seem to establish beyond doubt the conclusion tentatively suggested by Koeppel and Paget Toynbee. And the addition of the *Convivio* to Chaucer's library is an important one.

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¹ See Skeat's note on l. 295 (*Oxford Chaucer*, V, 148-49).

² Prologue, B-version, ll. 165-66.

³ IV, canzone, ll. 83-87. Cf. IV, xx, 8-10: "dunque ogni *Virtute* . . . cioè l'abito elettivo consistente nel mezzo."

⁴ *Modern Language Notes*, XXV (March, 1910), 87-89.

⁵ The context in the *Convivio*, however, is closer than in the *Polycraticus* to the context in the *Legend*.

NOTICE OF NEW DEPARTMENT

Hereafter *Modern Philology* will print, in addition to the longer articles constituting the bulk of each number, shorter articles and notes. Many valuable observations and discoveries remain unpublished for years merely because the proper statement of them requires only a page or even less. Some are buried in the footnotes of long articles with which they have little or no connection. The general good demands that discoveries should be published promptly and in such form as to be easily accessible. *Modern Philology* will try to do its part if those who have new information or new ideas will make them known to their fellow-students.

Our appeal for new subscribers has met with many prompt and cordial responses. There has been general recognition of the obligation resting upon each one of us—whether he himself has the time and opportunity for research or not—to help provide the channels through which the results of research can flow to us all. But we need more subscribers yet to enable us to carry out all our plans for enlarging the size and increasing the usefulness of *Modern Philology*. It is hoped that our present subscribers will aid us by words fitly spoken to those who ought to subscribe but do not.

SOME NOTES ON POE'S "AL AARAAF"

The two longer early poems, "Tamerlane" and "Al Aaraaf," have heretofore received but scant attention in proportion to that which has been bestowed on most of Poe's work. "Al Aaraaf," in particular, has been the subject of interpretations and comments the diversity of which indicates that some of the ablest critics of Poe have passed it by with little more than a cursory reading. While "Al Aaraaf" is not a poem of great intrinsic merit, it is the most important production of a period that is significant in the history of Poe's literary development, and for this reason if for no other it is entitled to consideration.

HISTORY OF THE POEM

The facts regarding the publication of "Al Aaraaf" are well known, and are repeated here only for convenience. Poe had published *Tamerlane and Other Poems* in June, 1827, when he was eighteen years of age; and he brought out *Al Aaraaf, Tamerlane, and Other Poems* at the close of the year 1829. There is evidence, however, that the poem which occupied the place of honor in the latter collection was virtually completed some months earlier;¹ and it can hardly be doubted that it was written after the publication of *Tamerlane and Other Poems*. If it had been available Poe would almost certainly have included it in the earlier pamphlet; and the verse differs so greatly from that of "Tamerlane," and shows so great an advance toward Poe's later manner that it seems to mark the beginning of a new period in the author's development.² If these conjectures are true "Al Aaraaf" must have been written some time between June, 1827, and the spring of 1829. During most of this time Poe is supposed to have been serving as private and non-commissioned officer in the United States army.

¹ Selections from the poem were printed in the *Yankee* for December, 1829, and a note in the preceding issue seems to show that they were in the hands of the editor at least as early as November. According to Professor Woodberry (*Life of Poe*, 1909, I, 54) William Wirt wrote on May 6, 1829 regarding a poem which the young author had sent him for criticism, and which "must have been 'Al Aaraaf.'" Poe also showed the manuscript to William Gwynn, a Baltimore editor.

² In this connection may, however, be noticed Poe's statement, usually discredited, that he wrote the poems of the *Tamerlane* volume in 1821-22.

"Al Aaraaf" was reprinted with unimportant changes in the volumes of 1831 and 1845, and a portion of it appeared in the *Philadelphia Saturday Museum* in 1843. In 1845 it received some notoriety from the fact that Poe delivered it before the Boston Lyceum, the members of which had expected a poem composed for the occasion.

PLAN AND MEANING OF THE POEM

"Al Aaraaf" is in places somewhat obscure, owing in part to the allegorical nature of the subject-matter, in part to involved sentence construction. There seems, however, to be no serious difficulty in the interpretation of the story.

If my understanding of the poem is correct, the entire action takes place on Al Aaraaf.¹ This is a wandering star, of which Poe said in a footnote to the title: "A star was discovered by Tycho Brahe which burst forth, in a moment, with a splendour surpassing that of Jupiter—then gradually faded away and became invisible to the naked eye."² To this star the poet assigns two attributes.

¹ I should feel more hesitation in contradicting earlier interpreters of the poem if they did not contradict each other, and in some instances even themselves. Professor Harrison thus summarizes the first part of the poem (Virginia ed. of Poe, VII, 161):

"Nesace—personified Beauty—takes up her abode on earth, where surrounded by beauty she reverently looks into the infinite. Flowers are grouped around her to bear her song, in odors, up to Heaven. The Song has to do with the thought that, though humans conceive God after a model of their own, He has revealed himself as a star. Abashed Nesace hears the sound of silence as the eternal voice of God speaks to her, bidding her tell man everywhere that he is guilty (because he believes God is only magnified man?). Let man behold Beauty as the revelation of God. This maiden worshipping a vanishing star dwells on a vanishing island over which she now takes her way."

From an editor usually so careful this is surprising. It is "yon lovely Earth" (l. 30), not "the earth" in which Nesace kneels. God has not "revealed himself as a star," but a "spirit" (l. 82), unknowable in material form,

the shadow of whose brow
What spirit shall reveal? (ll. 100-101).

Nesace is not bidden to tell man that he is guilty, unless "man" includes the inhabitants of the other worlds to which she is sent (ll. 143-50). She neither worships a vanishing star nor dwells on a vanishing island. This last statement is evidently based on a mis-understanding of Poe's note on l. 158—"but left not yet her Therasaeaean reign." In explanation of the adjective "Therasaeaean," which he applies to the wandering star, Poe says: "Therasaea, or Therasea, the island mentioned by Seneca, which, in a moment, arose from the sea to the eyes of astonished mariners."

Professor Woodberry is less definite in his outline of the poem, and he does not make quite clear where he supposes the action of the poem to take place. Most of his discussion (*Life of Poe*, A. M. L. series, 1884, pp. 48-50; *Life of Poe*, 1909, I, 60-62) seems to imply that it is on Al Aaraaf; but he says: "The action of the maiden in whom beauty is personified begins with a prayer descriptive of the Deity, who in answer directs her, through the music of the spheres, to leave the confines of our earth and guide her wandering star to other worlds." Nesace is, however, upon Al Aaraaf, and this star is so far from the confines of our earth that the latter appears dim (l. 356); and the Deity commands her not to guide, but to leave, her wandering star (l. 143; and compare l. 158).

² A superficial search fails to bring to light any reference by Tycho Brahe to this star; and it is unlikely that such a reference would be significant if it were found. Indeed, I half suspect that the whole note is one of Poe's inventions. In view of Poe's usual

It is the domain of Nesace, a celestial maiden whose mission it is to bear the divine message of beauty from world to world throughout the universe; and it is the abode of certain spirits. "Al Aaraaf" is a poetic spelling of the Arabic *Al Araf*, which according to the Koran is a narrow partition between heaven and hell, inhabited by souls which have not as yet been assigned to either; but Poe takes even greater liberties with the meaning of the term than with its orthography.¹

At the opening of the poem the star, after bearing its mistress and her message to distant spheres, "And late to ours, the favour'd one of God" (l. 25²), is anchored near four bright stars (ll. 16-29). Nesace kneels upon a bed of flowers, whose odors carry her message, or prayer, to heaven (ll. 30-81). In response to this prayer (ll. 82-117) the Deity commands that she and her train disperse themselves throughout the heavens and bear his message to other worlds (ll. 133-50). Part II of the poem opens with a description of the temple or palace on Al Aaraaf to which Nesace takes her way after receiving the divine command (ll. 159-217). Here, in a lyric which is the most effective part of the poem (ll. 226-313), she calls on her sleeping attendants, and bids *Ligeia*, the personified music of nature, to awaken them. All respond but two, "A maiden angel and her seraph-lover" (l. 336), the latter a spirit from earth. These are so engrossed in their mutual feeling that they fail to hear the summons, and so perish (ll. 340-422).

While the main facts of the slight story seem clear, the allegorical meaning is somewhat more troublesome. Al Aaraaf is

yon lovely Earth
Whence sprang the "Idea of Beauty" into birth
(ll. 30-31; cf. l. 154),

appearance of accuracy in such matters the phrasing is peculiar. In an age when everyone watched the heavens it required no learned astronomer to *discover* a star "which burst forth, in a moment, with a splendour surpassing that of Jupiter." It may have been this consideration which led Poe to change the wording, which in later editions ran: "A star was discovered by Tycho Brahe which appeared suddenly in the heavens —attained, in a few days, a brilliancy surpassing that of Jupiter—then as suddenly disappeared, and has never been seen since."

¹ Poe may have gained his knowledge of *Al Araf* only from Moore's note to the "Second Angel's Story" in the "Loves of the Angels"; but it is probable that he had also read the rather obscure reference in chap. vii of the Koran as translated by Sale, and an interesting passage, too long to quote here, from Sale's "Preliminary Discourse," sec. IV.

² The numbers of lines refer to the text of the 1845 edition as given by Harrison, Virginia ed. of Poe.

and Nesace is its ruler (l. 26). Her significance and the exact nature of her message are nowhere definitely stated, but are to be inferred from her prayer and the reply of the Deity (ll. 82-150). Professor Fruit, in *The Mind and Art of Poe's Poetry* (pp. 24-25) says: "The message is to the effect that the beings whom Nesace has known, have dreamed for the Infinity of the Spirit 'a model of their own'; the will of God though has been done through the career of the wandering star. What that purpose was will become known—

‘In the environs of Heaven.’"

Professor Harrison accepts virtually the same view.

A portion of the prayer or "message" reads:

Spirit! that dwellest where,
 In the deep sky
The terrible and fair,
 In beauty vie!

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Who livest—that we know—
 In Eternity—we feel—
But the shadow of whose brow
 What spirit shall reveal?
Tho' the beings whom thy Nesace,
 Thy messenger hath known
Have dreamed for thy Infinity
 A model of their own—
Thy will is done, Oh, God!

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The interpretation seems to turn on the question whether the interrogation point at the close of l. 101 marks a full stop or a subordinate pause. If a full stop, then Professor Fruit's reading, which makes important the anthropomorphic conception of Deity, is justified. It seems more probable, however, that ll. 100-101 are merely a rhetorical question in a doxology, or address of praise, which extends through l. 105; and that the sense, directly stated, is: "Though man has imagined thee in his own image, no spirit can know or comprehend thy form."

The reply of the Deity runs:

What tho' in worlds which sightless cycles run,
Link'd to a little system, and one sun—

SOME NOTES ON POE'S "AL AARAAF"

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Where all my love is folly and the crowd
Still think my terrors but the thunder cloud,
The storm, the earthquake, and the ocean-wrath—
(Ah! will they cross me in my angrier path?)
What tho' in worlds which own a single sun
The sands of Time grow dimmer as they run,
Yet thine is my resplendency, so given
To bear my secrets thro' the upper Heaven.
Leave tenantless thy crystal home, and fly,
With all thy train, athwart the moony sky—
Apart—like fire-flies in Sicilian night,
And wing to other worlds another light!
Divulge the secrets of thy embassy
To the proud orbs that twinkle—and so be
To ev'ry heart a barrier and a ban
Lest the stars totter in the guilt of man.

Of this Professor Fruit says: "The eternal voice of God answers her in a show of wrath, not towards her, but towards the creatures to whom she had been sent, because they had imagined a model of His Infinity. The consequence is His love is folly, and the crowd think His terrors manifested in the thunder-cloud, the storm, the earthquake, and the ocean-wrath, when in fact there is an 'angrier path' in which they will cross Him." The passage does not seem to me, however, to express present anger or to convey a definite threat, but to emphasize the power of God, and to contrast the resplendency and permanency of Nesace with the briefer span of earthly affairs. The "guilt of man" is not defined. Professor Fruit says it is "evidently that his conception of God is anthropomorphic and therefore utilitarian." More probably, however, the phrase is merely an indefinite term for "sin," which, as it comes from passion, will be prevented by a devotion to the higher beauty.

The state of the spirits in Al Aaraaf is pictured in ll. 317-31:

Seraphs in all but "Knowledge," the keen light
That fell, refracted, thro' thy bounds, afar
O Death! from eye of God upon that star:
Sweet was that error—sweeter still that death—
Sweet was that error—ev'n with *us* the breath
Of Science dims the mirror of our joy—
To them 't were the Simoom, and would destroy—

For what (to them) availeth it to know
 That Truth is Falsehood—or that Bliss is Woe?
 Sweet was their death—with them to die was rife
 With the last ecstasy of satiate life—
 Beyond that death no immortality—
 But sleep that pondereth and is not “to be”—

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With this passage should be connected the sonnet “To Science,” which originally formed a sort of preface to the poem. In these obscure lines the poet seems to picture a state of innocence in which “error”—that is, absence of “Knowledge”—is a blessing.¹ “Knowledge,” or Science, dims even earthly joys, and to these angels whose essence is devotion to beauty it would be a destroying Simoom.² The death or annihilation referred to in ll. 320 and 326–29 is explained by Poe in a footnote:

Sorrow is not excluded from “Al Aaraaf,” but it is that sorrow which the living love to cherish for the dead, and which, in some minds, resembles the delirium of opium. The passionate excitement of Love and the buoyancy of spirit attendant upon intoxication are its less holy pleasures—the price of which, to those souls who make choice of “Al Aaraaf” as their residence after life, is final death and annihilation.

It was “the passionate excitement of Love” which caused the downfall of Ianthe and Angelo, though it must be confessed that their conversation shows little passion in the ordinary understanding of the

¹ This is the most perplexing passage in the poem; and I am not quite certain that l. 317 does not mean just the opposite of what I have assumed above, and that the poet does not try to say that the spirits on Al Aaraaf have knowledge, while seraphs have not. Ll. 317–19 lend themselves more readily to this explanation than to the other; and the distinction between cherubim as spirits of wisdom and seraphim as spirits of love was frequent in the poems of the time, and conspicuous in the “Loves of the Angels.” I am unable, however, to fit this reading with the lines that follow, and particularly with the statement,

Ev'n with *us* the breath
 Of Science dims the mirror of our joy—
 To them 'twere the Simoom, and would destroy—

where the tenses in the last line clearly imply that the spirits did not have Science. It is just possible that the poet distinguishes between “Science” and the “Knowledge” which was refracted upon Al Aaraaf, the latter being enough to introduce the possibility of death, but not to destroy. This, however, seems fanciful; and if this is the meaning, what is “that error”?

With regard to the attributes of seraphim, it may be said that though the cherubim are sometimes distinguished as “Spirits of Knowledge,” as in the introduction to the “Second Angel’s Story,” their chief characteristic seems to be definable rather as wisdom, and it is hardly to be assumed that the seraphim, the “Spirits of Divine Love,” were wholly without knowledge. Besides, as Moore’s notes more than once remind us, the two orders were continually confused, and reasons of euphony might well have led Poe to prefer “seraph” to “cherub.”

² I am quite unable to understand Professor Fruit’s comment (*Mind and Art of Poe’s Poetry*, pp. 29–30) which seems to interpret the Simoom (l. 323), as Nesace’s summons to her train, or its response.

term. Angelo's long speeches tell of his earthly death, which happened at the time when Al Aaraaf was nearest our planet, and of his translation to that abode of beauty; and both he and Ianthe pay tribute to the beauty of the world.

INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH POETS SEEN IN "AL AARAAF"

"Tamerlane" is unquestionably imitative of Byron. "Al Aaraaf" as unquestionably shows a new manner. It has been customary to consider Moore as the chief influence in bringing about a change; and Professor Woodberry also names Milton.

It is clear that Poe had been reading "Lalla Rookh," and the "Loves of the Angels," and his indebtedness to Moore's notes is obvious.¹ His own habit of using pedantic erudite notes was doubtless encouraged by the bad example of Moore, though Southey, Shelley, and others were guilty of a similar affectation, and Poe had begun the practice in "Tamerlane." But this indebtedness to the machinery and accessories of Moore's poems does not seem to have been accompanied by much indebtedness to the poems themselves. Except that there is a suggestion of orientalism—and orientalism was in the air from 1810 to 1830—there is little similarity in content or situation. Indeed, I have been able to find no greater likenesses than the reference to many flowers in the passage ll. 42–82, as in several passages of Moore; and such very natural correspondences as that between Nesace's awe and exaltation, ll. 118–21, and that of

¹ It is very likely that the title of the poem was suggested by Moore's note on *Al Araaf*, already quoted. The names and special attributes of several of the flowers mentioned (ll. 42–80)—the Sephalica, the Nyctanthes, the Nelumbo—are taken from the notes to "Lalla Rookh." In some cases Poe did little more than borrow the idea, but in others he merely took a hint which he developed by his own imagination. Thus, Moore writes in the "Fire-Worshippers":

Ev'n as those bees of Trebizond,
Which, from the sunniest flowers that glad
With their pure smile the gardens round,
Draw venom forth that drives men mad,

and adds in a note: "There is a kind of Rhododendros about Trebizond, whose flowers the bee feeds upon, and the honey thence drives people mad.—Tournefort." Poe develops from this a passage of fifteen lines (ll. 50–65), in which he describes the earthly flower as the prototype of that which produced the nectar in heaven, and represents the honey, not as driving men mad, but as

torturing the bee
With madness, and unwonted reverie—

a conception surely more poetic than that of Moore. Poe's note reads: "This flower is much noticed by Lewenhoeck and Tournefort. The bee, feeding upon its blossom, becomes intoxicated." "Lewenhoeck" is, I surmise, the Dutch scientist, Leeuwenhoek, who, according to the biographical dictionaries, was a microscopist and physiologist. He probably owes his place in the note to the sounding quality of his name.

the maiden after her prayer in the "Second Angel's Story."¹ The verse is not that of Moore; except for proper names there are no striking resemblances of vocabulary; and the tone and spirit are different, since Moore is usually telling a story for the story's sake, while Poe is attempting an allegorical presentation of abstract truth. It seems that, though Poe was indebted to Moore for some poetic botany and bits of oriental erudition, he really took few hints of poetic form.

Nor is the indebtedness to other poets easier to trace. In the edition of 1829 the title was followed by a quotation from Milton, Milton is three times referred to in the notes, and there are several suggestions of Miltonic imagery.² In a footnote Poe credits the hint for two slightly affected rhymes to Scott. I have always suspected that his fondness for a special poetic vocabulary of onomatopoetic words, and for sonorous proper names, such as "Al Aaraaf" and "Ligeia" was derived in part from Shelley, but I am unable to trace definite Shelleyan influence in this poem. Nor, more strangely, considering Poe's devotion to Coleridge, is there obvious influence of that poet. Indeed, the verse is, for the work of a boy of twenty, remarkably free from striking imitations; and in some passages, notably the lyric beginning, "Ligeia, Ligeia, my beautiful one," and such lines as

Flap shadowy sounds from visionary wings,

or,

And the Nelumbo bud that floats for ever
With Indian Cupid down the holy river—

Poe shows unmistakably his own later manner.

¹ Poe says:

She ceas'd—and buried then her burning cheek
Abash'd, amid the lilies there, to seek
A shelter from the fervor of His eye;
For the stars trembled at the Deity.
She stirr'd not—breath'd not—for a voice was there,

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and Moore:

Exhausted, breathless, as she said
These burning words, her languid head
Upon the altar's steps she cast,
As if that brain-throb were its last—
Till, startled by the breathing, nigh,
Of lips, that echoed back her sigh,
Sudden her brow again she rais'd;

² A line like

Headlong thitherward o'er the starry sea— (l. 414)

is clearly Miltonic. It is harder to say whether the prevailing influence is Milton, Spenser, or Keats in the following:

High on a mountain of enamell'd head—
Such as the drowsy shepherd on his bed
Of giant pasturage lying at his ease,
Raising his heavy eyelid, starts and sees
With many a mutter'd "hope to be forgiven"—
What time the moon is quadrated in Heaven—

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"AL AARAAF" AND POE'S CRITICAL IDEAS

The idea of beauty indefinitely bodied forth in "Al Aaraaf" seems to foreshadow the critical theory of poetry which Poe formulated in his review of Longfellow's *Ballads and Other Poems*, in 1842, and which is probably better known as restated in the *Philosophy of Composition* and the lecture on the *Poetic Principle*. Poe here defined poetry as "the rhythmical creation of beauty." He took pains, however, to make plain that he meant "no mere appreciation of the Beauty before us—but a wild effort to reach the Beauty above the struggle to apprehend the supernal loveliness."¹ The province of the poem is not, he says, primarily truth, or passion. "In the contemplation of Beauty we alone find it possible to attain that pleasurable elevation, or excitement, *of the soul*, which we recognize as the Poetic Sentiment, and which is so easily distinguished from Truth, which is the satisfaction of the Reason, or from Passion, which is the excitement of the heart."² "In enforcing a truth we must be in that mood which, as nearly as possible, is the exact converse of the poetical."³ "A passionate poem is a contradiction in terms."⁴ There is, however, no conflict or antagonism between beauty and truth or morals; and taste, the arbiter of beauty, is intimately related with both the intellect and the moral sense. It is a corollary to this theory that since the yearning after the supernal beauty leads to sadness, "Melancholy is thus the most legitimate of all the poetical tones."⁵

There is a striking relationship between this theory and the conception of beauty presented in "Al Aaraaf." It is the idea of beauty which the Deity disseminates throughout the universe as his special message, and which is to keep the worlds from tottering in the guilt of man. That an excess of truth, or "knowledge" is fatal to beauty is stated in the prefatory sonnet "To Science," and apparently in the passage ll. 317–25, already quoted. On the other hand the antagonism between beauty and passion is shown by the fact that while love is admirable,

O! how, without you, Love!
Could angels be blest? —(ll. 246–47)

¹ *The Poetic Principle.*

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Marginalia*, note on Amella B. Welby. See also review of Horne's "Orion."

⁵ *The Philosophy of Composition.*

excess of passion is fatal:

Heaven no grace imparts
To those who hear not for their beating hearts;

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and this truth is illustrated by the fall of Angelo and Ianthe.

The thought of melancholy as an accompaniment of beauty is hinted at in the lines on Nesace's temple (ll. 186-89):

But on the pillars Seraph eyes have seen
The dimness of this world: that greyish green
That Nature loves the best for Beauty's grave
Lurk'd in each cornice, round each architrave—

and in the continuation of the same passage, which represents the niches of the temple as filled with earthly statues.¹

That "Al Aaraaf" was intended as a presentation of Poe's view of poetry, or that he had consciously formulated his critical theories in 1829, is hardly to be believed. His first definite utterance on the nature of poetry is found in the somewhat rambling "Letter to B—," prefixed to the volume of poems issued in 1831. This showed Poe to be strongly under the influence of Coleridge; and the essay is most interesting for its acceptance of Coleridge's distinction between poetry and science, and for the young author's attempt to improve on his master's distinction between poetry and romance. The term "beauty" does not occur. It was apparently not until thirteen years after the publication of "Al Aaraaf" that Poe put in definite form the theories associated with his name. Yet it can hardly be doubted, in view of his earlier critical utterances and the nature of his own poetic attempts, that the striking statements in the review of Longfellow's *Ballads*, and in later critical writings, were the expression of ideas that he had long been evolving. If the parallelisms here pointed out are significant, it is probable that he had at least the germs of these ideas at the very beginning of his literary career.

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¹ Poe wrote to Neal: "I have supposed many of the lost sculptures of our world to have flown (in spirit) to the star 'Al Aaraaf'—a delicate place, more suited to their divinity."

THE PLAN OF THE “CANTERBURY TALES”

If Ferdinand Brunetière could be admitted to the counsels of latter-day scholarship he would have something pertinent to say about the much-discussed plan of the *Canterbury Tales*. With some reference to his *L'Évolution des genres dans l'histoire de la littérature*, he would emphasize the obvious facts that *The Book of the Tales of Canterbury* is an ingenious variation of a popular literary species, the story book; that there was brought to bear upon this *genre* a *motif* that had before been repeatedly proved, that of the pilgrimage; and finally—what is known, but sometimes not well remembered—that Chaucer's character book, the General Prologue, is a vivid realization in skilfully dramatic combination of that form of social satire which is specifically designated the *États du monde*.¹ These elements of Chaucer's scheme had appeared before the *Canterbury Tales*, apart and in certain combinations; their finished incorporation into his great human comedy can be explained only with reference to Brunetière's “seul homme.”

And yet, as the great French critic would have been the first to note, there were mutations and combinations of these elements in antecedent literature which show what may be called their natural aptitudes. The threefold classification of men into those who fight, those who pray, and those who work appears at least as early as Alfred's Boethius (Chap. xvii; Sedgefield's ed., p. 40), not to mention Plato's husbandmen, soldiers, and philosophers in the second book of the *Republic*. Throughout the Middle Ages the classification was frequently employed; as, for instance, by Hugues de Bersil,² who tells us in his Bible that the three orders were ordained, “Quant Diex nous ot d'enfer rescous.” It was in the failure of the estates to perform their assigned functions that the mediaeval Jeremiah and satirist found their opportunity. In the *De diversis ordinibus* (Wright, *Latin Poems*, Camden Society, 1841; p. 229) we learn that the *comites* and *milites* devour the substance of the poor; the world is filled with priests but scarcely a sober one is found; and the poor man would rather die than work. Similar censure may be noted in Deschamps' *Estas du monde* (II, 226 ff.) and in many other places. Of course the *États du monde* was an elastic

¹ See P. Meyer, *Romania*, IV, 385 ff.

² *Histoire littéraire*, XVIII, 816 ff.; *Romania*, XVIII, 553 ff.

classification, so that general satire upon the clergy easily becomes special satire upon cardinals, monks, and friars; and particular attention is given to merchants, lawyers, etc. In the *Livre de l'exemple du riche homme et du ladre* (Meyer, *Notices et Extraits*, XXXIV, 176 ff.) we find about thirty different classes (approximately the number of Chaucer's pilgrims), including gamblers, tavern-keepers, and parasites. Particularly interesting as anticipating the Wife of Bath, who alone among Chaucer's pilgrims is not introduced specifically as the representative of a calling, is the recognition of matrimony as one of the *états*. Jean de Condé, for instance, after attacking in his *Dis des Estas dou monde* (ed. Scheler, II, 371 ff.) clerks, prelates, knights, princes, justices, squires, etc., turns his attention to married people. Matrimony is similarly classified in the *Estas du siècle* of the *Rec. génér. d. fabliaux* (II, 264). Rutebeuf's *La vie du monde* (vss. 178ff.; Jubinal, II, 44) puts the matter very neatly:

Sor totes autres ordres doit-on mult honorer
L'ordre de mariage et amer et garder :

Certes c'est grant doleurs que je ne puis trover
En cest siècle estat ù homs se puist salver.

Professor Tupper (*Nation*, October 16, 1913, 354 ff.) reminds us that Venus, the patron saint of pilgrims, is particularly represented in Chaucer's company by the Wife of Bath. However, from what has been said above, it will be clear that a reservation among the pilgrims had been made for her long before Chaucer's book was written.

In pre-Chaucerian literature, then, we have well defined the type which Chaucer splendidly realized in the General Prologue. Moreover, we find there anticipations of his narrative adaptation of that type. The *Roman de carité*, which Professor Kittredge has shown that Chaucer knew, is, like the *Canterbury Tales*, a book of travel, with the differences that the poet visits the estates of the world instead of traveling in their company, and that his destination is not Canterbury or any other place on the map but the uncertain abode of Charity. She can be found neither among the lawyers at Bologna nor among the doctors at Salerno; the monks know nothing of her. And so after seeking Charity in vain among the men who fight and the men who pray, the poet turns to the "peuple menu." With this story one naturally associates not only such books as the *Speculum stultorum* and the *Architrenius*, but the *Pélérinage* of Deguileville, with whose work Chaucer was acquainted.

That in these uses of the travel or pilgrimage *motif*, adjusted more or less closely to the *États du monde*, we are concerned chiefly with allegory should not disturb us; because allegory and social satire go hand in hand and because mediaeval allegory is nearer akin to Chaucer's realism than is direct satire. When we seek prototypes for the vividly described Canterbury pilgrims we turn to the *Romance of the Rose* or *Piers Plowman*; the figures on the wall of the garden of love, Fals-Semblaunt, the Duenna, have much to teach the student of the Prologue. In the Middle Ages the literature of realism grows easily in the soil of symbolism. "Every devout or undevout frequenter of the church in that time," writes Professor Saintsbury, "knew Accidia and Avarice, Anger and Pride as bodily rather than ghostly enemies, furnished with a regular uniform, appearing in recognized circumstances and companies, acting like human beings." Moreover, the vividly seen, graphically represented Sins are closely associated with the several estates. In the *Marriage of the Daughters of the Devil* (Meyer, *Romania*, XXIX, 54 ff.) each calling has its pet sin—and one of the "callings" is matrimony! The devil, we are told, married *Mauveisté*, and of the happy union were born Simony, Hypocrisy, Ravine, Usury, Treachery, Sacrilege, False Service, Pride, and Lechery. In time all these daughters except Lechery were married: Simony to the Prelates, Hypocrisy to the Monks, Plunder to the Knights, Usury to the Bourgeoisie, Treachery to the Merchants, Sacrilege to the Laity, False Service to *prévots* and bailiffs, and Pride to the *dames* and *damsels*. Such associations as we have here will suggest further that there was ample precedent in pre-Chaucerian satire concerned with the estates of the world for that attention which Chaucer gives in the *Canterbury Tales* to the Seven Deadly Sins.¹

So far, then, the approaches would seem to be clear, not only to Chaucer's graphic description of his pilgrims but to the narrative turn which he has given his social satire. To Chaucer's combination of pilgrimage and vividly described pilgrims *Piers Plowman* furnishes the nearest analogue. Chronology, at least, permits us to believe that the author of the *Canterbury Pilgrimage* knew of the *Pilgrimage to the Shrine of Truth*. At all events the episode shows an easy development of social satire along narrative lines and in the direction of realism. That something like this might have

¹ See Professor Tupper's admirable article in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, N. S., XXII, 93 ff.

grown in Chaucer's mind as well as in that of the alliterative poet seems, in the light of all that I have said, a matter of no great wonder. That, further, our poet should have grafted the social satire in narrative form upon the stock of the familiar story-book type is something easily credited to Brunetière's "seul homme." Certainly, if we take into account Sercambi's *Novelle* on the one hand (Hinckley, *Notes on Chaucer*; Young, *Kittredge Anniversary Volume*) and *Piers Plowman* on the other, we find ourselves on the very threshold of the *Canterbury Tales*.

Chaucer's variation of the story-book type is, therefore, one for which pre-Chaucerian literature prepares us. Not that we can wholly account for it by reference to any natural law in the literary world. As Professor Manly remarks,¹ "You have to take account of the presence and absence of genius"; and as Brunetière says, "one man is often sufficient to deviate the course of things." But the habitation of genius is not a waste place; the Muse does not command the genius to build without bricks or straw. There were visions of heaven and hell before the *Divine Comedy*; and plays both courtly and Senecan before Shakspere. The interesting question raised by the plan of the *Canterbury Tales* is not one of immediate sources, but one of literary aptitudes and tendencies. Chaucer, no doubt, followed the road to Canterbury, and certainly he saw by the light of good-fellowship the streets and taverns of London. We may well believe that he made a pilgrimage similar to the one of which he writes, and we must believe that in the custom-house and in the French wars he saw merchants from overseas and knights of courtesy. That he had a number of first-hand and vivid impressions is perfectly clear. But besides having vital relations with the world of men, Chaucer found himself in the currents and cross-currents of many literary forces, setting more or less strongly in definite directions. It has not been attempted here to show that Chaucer was the creature of a relentless law of literary evolution; far less that his work was done for him by his predecessors. Rather it appears that many were groping where Chaucer found the way, but that he spoke in his admirably effective manner on pretty definite hints in antecedent literature.

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¹ "Literary Form and the Origin of Species," *Modern Philology*, IV, 577 ff.

A FEW NOTES ON "THE HARROWING OF HELL"

In his paper on "The Harrowing of Hell" (Vol. XVI, Part II, *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters*) Professor Karl Young has rendered a distinct service to the student of liturgical drama. The texts which he there offers in a series conforming to the various stages in the development of the Harrowing of Hell theme in connection with the Easter office, as well as his introductory and concluding remarks, have given a new stimulus to the investigations in this part of the liturgical field. All the more, then, it is to be regretted that Professor Young does not reach a definite conclusion. And this seems to be due to the fact that he overlooked two points of especial significance in this connection: (1) the importance of the Great Sabbath, the day before Easter, in connection with this theme; (2) the evidence of the liturgical element in the later vernacular plays. Without attempting a detailed discussion of this subject at this time, I nevertheless venture the following suggestions:

Professor Young says that a conclusion which would accept the Harrowing of Hell scene in the liturgical drama as an adaptation from the vernacular would be hazardous. This seems to me a far too mild expression for the point in question. Such a conclusion would appear extremely improbable at the very outset, since we know the position of the clergy of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in regard to extra-ecclesiastical plays. Besides, the liturgical tags in the later vernacular plays, especially those in the German language, present sufficient evidence in refutation of such a conclusion. See, for example, the "Alsfelder Spiel," *Z.d.A.*, III, 477 ff. Without, therefore, going into the evidence offered by the texts of the *Munich Breviary*, the *Cologne Agenda*, the *Processional of St. John of Dublin*, the *Rawlinson MS*, the *Benedictine Ordinal of the Nuns of Barking*, the *Bamberg Agenda*, the *Sacerdotale and Obsequiale of Eichstätt*, I sought another avenue of approach, the emphasis upon which had been strengthened by Professor Craig's suggestions in his paper on "The Old Testament Plays."

The position of the "Descent into Hell" in the *Church Year* is a matter of the history of liturgy and dogmatics. As early as the fourth century, Athanasius, the "Pater Orthodoxiae," used the argument of the "Descent" in defense of the doctrine of the true humanity in Christ. The first official statements of the descent into hell were formulated in 359 and 360, at the Synods of Sirmium in Pannonia, Nicae in Thrace, and Constantinople. A few decades later the doctrine is found in the confessions of the church of Aquileia.

Since the earliest days, the Great Sabbath had been celebrated with special solemnity (see *Apostolic Constitutions*; Lactantius, *Instit.* VII, 19; Jerome *ad Matth.* XXV, 6). Since Epiphanius (403), the time of Christ's descent was fixed as the night before Easter. In a homily (published by W. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1859-62, ascribed to Polybius) he describes with dramatic vividness how the Lord broke down the portals of hell, overcame the spirits of darkness, and then in the company of thousands of angels led the believers of the Old Testament, beginning with Adam, out of limbus to paradise. Whether his source was the *Evangelium Nicodemi* (whose date is now conceded to be not earlier than the fourth century) is of no consequence here. Since that time the descent was commemorated on the Great Sabbath, and homilies in defense of the doctrine were read on that day (cf. Alt, *Kirchlicher Gottesdienst*, 573). Moreover, since the earliest times the descent theme had a prominent place in the liturgy of the Great Sabbath. In an old hymn of that day the passages occur: "Haec nox est, in qua destructis vinculis mortis Christus *ab infernis* Victor ascendit.—O vere beata nox, quae sola meruit scire tempus et horam, in qua Christus *ab infernis* resurrexit."

In the *Liber Sacramentorum* of Gregory the Great the *Praefatio in Sabbato Sancto* contains the following reference to Christ: "qui inferorum claustra disrumpens, victoriae suae clara vexilla suscepit, et triumphato diabolo, victor a mortuis resurrexit" (*MPL*, 78, col. 91). In the *Liber Responsalis* of Gregory the Great the Antiphons and Responses of the first Nocturn of that day treat of the Death and Burial of Christ, those of the second and third principally of the Descent and Planctus, while the Matins and Vespers take up the Planctus and the Easter Story. Among the Antiphons

of the second Nocturn occurs first in order the "Elevamini, portae aeternales, et introibit Rex gloriae"; and immediately after that "Domine, abstraxisti ab inferis animam meam" (*MPL*, 78, col. 768).

It should be noted also that the liturgical responses in the later liturgical plays present a very striking similarity to a dramatic sermon of Augustine on the Descent (*MPL*, 39, col. 2059 ff.), while the subject is treated at length by the same man and mention made of the fathers who were saved from limbus by Christ in a homiletic Epistola (*MPL*, 33, col. 711 f.). The sermon published by Mr. Rand (*Mod. Phil.*, II) would not seem to have nearly the same value as evidence in this connection, because it is a Good Friday homily. Another fact that should not be overlooked is this, that in the *Egerer Spiel* there is an awakening of Christ in the grave after the Setting of the Watch before the Harrowing of Hell, which precedes the Resurrection.

There is no doubt then that the germ of the Harrowing of Hell play was contained in the liturgy and had as its nucleus the "Tollite Portas" Antiphon. The development most probably took place in two directions. In one case the scene remained a part of the Great Sabbath ceremonies, as we see in the "Ordo of Ruswil," *Z.d.Ph.*, XVIII, 459. In this instance the procession, which had formerly taken place about midnight, was merely set forward to nine o'clock. In the other case the nucleus of the Great Sabbath Descent liturgy became the introductory scene of the Resurrection drama by a deliberate change, and was placed in the new Ordines just before Matins on Easter morning. This was undoubtedly due to the powerful dramatic appeal of the story and its favor with the laity. The *Augsburg Ritual*, as well as those mentioned above, shows the later development of this growth. See Alt, *Das Kirchenjahr*, 364.

The arguments advanced above are, I think, fully substantiated by the liturgical tags in the German passion plays even down to the earliest one, which Bartsch (*Germ.*, VIII, 273) places at the beginning of the thirteenth century. In this there occurs a Harrowing of Hell scene with the Antiphon "Advenisti Desiderabilis." At any rate, the above aphoristic suggestions would seem to be worth investigating thoroughly.

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A FORERUNNER OF WARBURTON'S COOK

Warburton's story of the destruction of his old manuscript plays by his cook has been accepted with reservations by many students, and doubted in its entirety by some. Greg, in his article "The Bakings of Betsy" in *The Library* for 1911, taking the most charitable view of Warburton's account of his loss, shows that in all likelihood a large part of Warburton's list of plays came from entries in the Stationers' Register and only a small part from titles of plays actually in his possession. While Greg's explanation of a possible confusion of the two lists, and the reasonableness of the story—for doubtless cooks in various centuries have prized manuscripts for pie baking—may bolster our faith in the antiquary, the following passage, in print before Warburton's day, suggests a possibility that the borrowed list of plays was accompanied by a borrowed story. The supposed editor of *Naps upon Parnassus*, 1658, composed of "Such Voluntary and Jovial Copies of Verses, as were lately receiv'd from some of the Wits of the Universities," after many mock apologies in his "Advertisement to the Reader" for the absence of the author's name on the title-page, continues:

If neither of these two Reasons will satisfie thee, know in the third place, that I indeed do not know, neither can learn his Name. I found these Poems in a dark, blind Ale-house, where the Authour had with a cup too much, obnubulated his Muse, and so forgot, and left them behind. To speak truly, being unwilling to rob the world of so much Ingenuity, (I say) like the desperate St. George, redeem'd these Ethiopian Virgin-Poems, out of the Jaws of that fell Dragon, (the furious gaping Oven) which, (even when I had first bestidden the threshold) yawn'd for them. Much adoe I had to recover Them out of the good Womans hands, who left the bottoms of her Pies (that baking) in very great jeopardy, for want of them: yet at last I did get them, as many as you see there are of them. I am apt to believe there were more once, but the injury of Fate ha's obliterated the rest. As many as could be found, hast thou here (Reader) carefully collected, by the sedulity and expences of

Thy loving Friend

Adoniram Banstittle,

alias Tinderbox.

Dated May 30. 1658

from the *Apollo in
Fleetstreet*

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MODERN PHILOLOGY, May, 1915]

QUEEN MARGARET'S ENTRY INTO LONDON, 1445

Dr. H. N. MacCracken, in 1910, speaking of Stow's ascription of various poems to Lydgate, remarked that certain "verses for pageants at the entry of Queen Margaret" into London in 1445, which the chronicler calls Lydgate's, "have not survived."¹ The verses were afterward found in Harleian MS 3869 by Professor Carleton Brown, who published them in the *Modern Language Review* for April, 1912.² Dr. Brown, however, did not observe the occurrence of a fragmentary copy of this same piece, in Stow's own handwriting, in Harleian MS 542 (fols. 101a-2b).³ It is there entitled, "The Speches in the pagiauntes at y^e cominge of Qwene Margaret wyfe to Henry the syxt of that name, kynge of England, the 28th of Maye 1445, y^e 23^d of his reigne."⁴

Harleian MS 542 was used by Richard Thomson in 1827⁵ to supplement the brief account of Queen Margaret's Entry in Stow's *Annals*. He prints two of the speeches (vss. 1-32). In 1831 J. G. Nichols also described the entry, referring to Fabyan and to "a copy of Lydgate's Speeches in the Pageants, Harl. MSS 542."⁶

Nichols observed that the text of Queen Margaret's Entry in Harleian MS 542 is incomplete. "At Leadenhall," he remarks, "was a speech by Madame Grace, who is styled the 'Chauncelor de

¹ "Minor Poems of Lydgate," *E.E.T.S.*, Part I (1911), p. xl.

² VII, 225-34.

³ This manuscript is described in the *Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts* (1808), I, 346, as "a Book in 4to, containing part of the Collections of Mr. John Stowe; almost all written by his own hand." An examination of the manuscript shows that fols. 101 and 102 are in Stow's handwriting.

⁴ Harleian MS 3869 must have contained a very similar title, but most of it has been pared away. "1445. ye 28 of may, the citie of london" (in another hand—not the scribe's) are distinguishable at the top of the first folio, just above "Atte the brigge foot in Suthwerke." Dr. Brown has been able to make out a *Quene margaret* also.

⁵ *Chronicles of London Bridge*, pp. 275-77. For the show, cf. also Arthur Taylor, *The Glory of Regality*, 1820, p. 268; William Hone, *Ancient Mysteries Described*, 1823, p. 235 (following Taylor, but citing, erroneously, Stephen Jones's *Biographia Dramatica*, 1812); Charles Davidson, *English Mystery Plays*, 1892, p. 87; E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, 1903, II, 170. Chambers cites (besides Stow and Fabyan) William Gregory, *Chronicle of London* (ed. by Gairdner, Camden Society, 1876), p. 186, and *Chronicle of London* (ed. by E. Tyrrell, 1827), p. 134. There is a brief account of the entry in Grafton.

⁶ *London Pageants*, p. 21.

Dieu,' and there were doubtless others; but the writer of the MS above mentioned turns off to copy Lydgate's poem of 'London Lickpenny.' "¹

What Nichols took for Madame Grace's speech in Harleian MS 542 consists of three stanzas—the first standing at the bottom of fol. 101b and the other two at the top of the next page, fol. 102a—and *London Lickpenny* follows, beginning on fol. 102a immediately below the two stanzas. The stanza on fol. 101b is, as Nichols saw, the beginning of Madame Grace's speech. He failed to observe, however, that the first word on fol. 102a does not agree with the guide-word at the foot of fol. 101b, and that the two stanzas on fol. 102a (immediately before *London Lickpenny*) are not a part of the speech of Madam Grace, but the conclusion of the whole piece.² The scribe (Stow) did not "turn off" to copy anything. There is simply a lacuna in the manuscript between fol. 101b and fol. 102a. Vss. 41–155 are lost.³

One circumstance seems to prove that Stow's text in Harleian MS 542 was not derived from Harleian MS 3869. The seventh verse in Harleian MS 3869 is incomplete, lacking the rhyme.⁴ It reads: "with herte with worde with dede." In Harleian MS 542 the verse runs: "With herte with worde with dede your highnesse to advaunce." This is over measure, to be sure, but the rhyme-word (*advaunce*) is what is required.

Neither Harleian MS 542 nor Harleian MS 3869 names the author. Stow, as we have seen, attributes the speeches to Lydgate, and Nichols calls them "Lydgate's speeches."⁵ Chambers echoes Stow.⁶ Professor Brown finds the evidence of style conclusive for Lydgate's authorship.⁷ But President MacCracken,

¹ *Ibid.* MacCracken, p. xlvi, decides against Lydgate's authorship of *London Lickpenny*.

² They were spoken "at Seynt Michaelis in Querne."

³ Vss. 40–154 in Brown's numbering (he does not count the seventh verse of the first stanza). Stow's account of the pageants in his *Annals* proves that his copy was not originally defective to this extent. He had before him as much as is contained in Harleian MS 3869.

⁴ In Harleian MS 3869 this verse is inserted between the sixth and eighth, as if the scribe had forgotten it, and had copied it in later—perhaps from memory. Brown shows it "interlined" (p. 226), but does not count it.

⁵ Nichols, *op. cit.*, p. 21; cf. also Thomson, p. 277.

⁶ Chambers, *op. cit.*, II, p. 170.

⁷ *Modern Language Review*, VII, 225.

who has been consulted on the matter, is strongly of opinion that the language of the piece is quite inconsistent with Lydgate's known habits of speech.

The stanzas from Harleian MS 542 follow:

Harleian MS 542, fols. 101a-2a]

The speches in the pagiantt at y^e cominge
of Qwene margaret, wyfe to henry the
syxt of that name, kynge of england,
the 28. of maye in the yere of our
lorde. 1445 y^e 23. of his reigne.

At the brigge foot in Suthwerke | pees and plente |
Ingredimini et replete terram.¹

moast cristen princesse | by influence of grace
doughter of Jherusalem | oure plesaunce
and ioie | welcome as ever princes was
with hert entier | and hoole affiaunce
Causer of welthe | ioye and aboundinge
youre Citie | your people | your subgets all
with hert | with worde | with dede | your highnesse to advaunce
welcome | welcome | welcome | vnto you call |

5

At noes shippe rpon the brigge
Jam non vltra irascar super terram. |

so trustethe yowr people | with assuraunce |
thrugh yowr grace | and high benignitie
twixt the Realmes two | England and fraunce
pees shall approche | Rest and vnite
mars set asyde | with all his crueltye
whiche to longe hathe trowbled the Realmes twayne
bydynge yowr conforte | in this adversitie
moost cristen princesse | our lady sovereyne |

10

15

moast cristen princesse | owre ladi sovereyne²
Right as whilom | by gods might and grace
noe this ark dyd forge and ordayne

¹ Evidently a "scripture," i.e., a writing or motto on the pageant. The appropriateness of this, as well as that of the other "scripture"—at Noah's ark—is apparent. Thomson points out (pp. 276 and 277) that these are from Genesis (9:1, and 8:21).

² This line is crossed out, as if Stow thought he had made a scribal error. Thomson fails to print this line, as if he, too, considered it a scribal fault. But without it, the stanza has but seven verses; Harleian MS 3869 repeats the line; so we may presume the author intended it to remain—especially as he uses it—or verses much similar to it—later.

where in he and his | might escape and passe
 the flud of vengeance | caused by trespass
 conveyed aboue as god list hym to gye
 by means of mercy | found a restinge place
 after the flud | vpon this armonie |

20

fol. 101b]

vnto the dove | that browght the braunche of pees
 resemblinge your symplenesse columbyne
 tokyn and signe | the flood shuld cesse
 conduite by grace | and power devyne
 sonne of comfort | gynneth faire to shine
 by your presence | whereto we syng & seyne
 welcome of ioye | right extendet lyne
 moost cristen princesse | our lady sovereyne |

25

now at draught brigge,¹

30

At leden hall | madam grace Chaunceler de dieu

Oure benigne princesse | and lady sovereyne
 Grace convey you forth | and be your gide
 in good lyfe longe | prosperously to reyne
 Truthe and mercye | together bene allied
 Justice and peace | thes susters shall provide
 Twixt Realmes twayne | stedfast love to set
 God and Grace | the parties have applied
 now the susters | have them kist and mett |²

35

40

fol. 102a]

This storie to your highnes | wolde expresse
 the great Resurection generall
 where of our feithe | berethe pleyne witnessesse
 the ferefull sowne | of Trumpe Judiciall
 vppon the people | that sodeynly shall calle
 eche man to make acompte | and reconing
 ryght as his conscience | bewreyen shall
 allbe it pope | Emperour | or Kynge |

160

¹ A space is left in both MSS at this point, as if the scribes expected to insert one, or perhaps two, stanzas later.

² The guide-words at the foot of fol. 101b are "pronostike of p"—the first words of the next stanza ("prenostike of pees") as given in Harleian MS 3869. The fact that the first stanza on fol. 102a begins with other words should have warned Nichols that there is a lacuna here. From Harleian MS 3869 we see that the next verse is not 41 but 156.

who hath well doon | to lyf predestinate
what ioie | what blis | how great¹ felicitie
vnto the saved of god | is ordinate
no tonge can tell | none earthly eis can see
Joye | laude | Rest | pees | & perfect vnitie
Trivmphes of eternall victorie
with fruition | of the Trinitie
by contemplation | of his glorie |
deo gracias. AMEN.]

165

170

The first stanza of "london licpenye" follows on fol. 102a.

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¹ Stow wrote *greatly*, and then crossed out the *-ly*.

A FURTHER WORD AS TO THE ORIGIN OF THE OLD TESTAMENT PLAYS

In his article "The Origin of the Old Testament Plays,"¹ Mr. Craig brings forward and upholds a new theory for the source of the most common series of Old Testament plays found in the various cycles and "Passions." M. Sepet² had maintained with much brilliant erudition that the Christmas play of *The Prophets of Christ*, which had its origin in the Advent and Christmas matin lessons drawn from the pseudo-Augustinian sermon *De Symbolo*, was the source for these plays. This Christmas procession of the prophets was lengthened by the addition of new prophets;³ it was amplified by the expanding of these prophecies into plays, which, when they had grown too unwieldy, according to M. Sepet, fell away from the original procession only to unite again finally to form the cycles of Old Testament plays as we have them.

Although this theory has been very generally accepted, there have always seemed to be fundamentally weak links in the chain of evidence; and all who are interested in the subject must therefore welcome Mr. Craig's new and well-sustained theory that these cycles arose rather "from the addition to the Passion play of a body of epical and homiletic material derived, in the first instance, from the *lectiones* and accompanying ritual of the church."⁴ He goes on to show that most of these plays evince definite and frequent traces of the antiphons and responses of matins from Septuagesima Sunday to Passion Sunday, and that they present only those stories which are given in the *Liber Responsalis*⁵ for this same period. The *lectiones* for this period cover the greater part of Genesis and Exodus, but the choral responses which follow take up only the Creation and Fall; Cain and Abel; Noah and the Flood; Abraham and

¹ Hardin Craig, in *Mod. Phil.*, X., (April, 1913), pp. 473-87.

² Sepet, "les Prophètes du Christ," in *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, XXVIII (1867), 1 ff., 210 ff.; XXIX (1868), 205 ff., 261 ff.; XXXVIII (1877), 367 ff.

³ Rouen MS y. 110. For text see A. Gasté, *Ordinarium ecclesiae Rotomagensis, Festum Asinorum*, in "les Drames liturgiques de la cathédrale de Rouen," in *Revue catholique de Normandie*, II, 349-72, 477-500; DuCange, *Glossarium*, under "Festum Asinorum." In this *Processus* the number of the prophets of the sermon and of the simplest play (that of S. Martial of Limoges; for text see Du Ménil, *les Origines latines du théâtre moderne*, Paris, 1897) is doubled, and Balaam and Nebuchadnezzar have each a play based on their respective prophecies of Christ.

⁴ Craig, p. 473.

⁵ See Migne, "Pat. Lat." LXXVIII, *S. Gregorii magni liber responsalis*, cols. 725 ff.

Isaac; Isaac, Jacob, and Esau; Joseph and his Brethren; Moses and the Exodus. As one sees at a glance, these stories are also those usually dramatized in Old Testament cycles.¹

It is not my purpose, however, to discuss Mr. Craig's article. Rather I desire to offer suggestions on two points which he brings forward and then add what seems to me a bit of interesting and important confirming evidence for this theory of the origin of the Old Testament plays drawn from my own comparison of the Breviary and the plays, which results in the same conclusions as those of Mr. Craig.

Of the *Ordo Joseph*² and the "widely current play of Joseph and his Brethren," Mr. Craig says, "the material of the play would indicate that, although it seems to have an existence independent of the cycles, it belongs to the group [Old Testament cycle plays] to be treated later. There is, however, in several liturgical plays of the Slaughter of the Innocents, a confusion of the Rachael who utters the *planctus* with Rachael, the wife of Jacob and the mother of Joseph, which may have suggested the composition of the play."

I should like to suggest that, instead of a confusion of the two Rachael's, there has always been a real and intimate connection between the two. Indeed, in a certain sense, there is but one Rachael. As regards Matt. 2:18, from which the Slaughter of the Innocents derives the name *Ordo Rachaelis*, the quotation from Jeremiah³ came to the mind of the evangelist, because he remembered that Bethlehem was the city of Rachael, for there she died and there she lies buried. She, as Jacob's beloved, was pre-eminently the mother of the Hebrews, and so he, with effective picturesqueness, used her name to indicate the mourning motherhood of Bethlehem, just as Jeremiah, also with a memory of her as the ancestress of

¹ That these plays often took their beginning in the troping of these responses which follow the matin *lectio*'es seems clear to me from the interesting text of the *Ordo representacionis Ade* (K. Grass, *Das Adamsspiel*, Halle, 1891). The play opens with the chorus chanting the first *lectio* of matins on Septuagesima Sunday, which begins, *In principio creavit Deus celum et terram*. The response to this is the reiteration of the opening sentence of the *lectio*, and its versicle is, *Formavit igitur Deus hominem de limo terrae, et inspiravit in faciem ejus spiraculum vitae*. The *Adam* proceeds: *Qua finita* (namely the *lectio* named above) *chorus cantet: R[espensorium]:*

*Formavit igitur dominus,
Quo finito dicat figura:
Adam! Qui respondeat: Sire!*

FIGURA:

Fourmē tei ai

De limo terre.

ADAM:

Ben le sai.

FIGURA:

*Je t'ai fourmē a mun semblant,
A m'imagene t'ai feit de tere*

Ne moi devez ja mover guere.

² Craig, p. 476; also K. Young, "A Liturgical Play of Joseph and His Brethren," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXVI (1911), 33-37.

³ Jer. 31:15.

the Israelites, had in the first place made her name stand for the grief-stricken parenthood of Israel at the time of the slaughter and transportation of the great exile. The name of Jacob is very often similarly used for the whole people.¹

The only value of calling attention to this is to throw into greater relief the probably pure origin of the plays of Joseph in the matin lessons and responses and in the many sermons of the Lenten period. From very early patristic times, wholly independently, so far as I am able to discover, of the *planctus* of Rachael, and its connection with his mother, Joseph was regarded as foreshadowing Christ,² by reason of the special love of his father for him, because he was sold for thirty pieces of silver, and because he showed the spirit of forgiveness and saved his people. On the other hand, I have not found in the Joseph story any allusions to the Slaughter of the Innocents or, in the Slaughter, to Joseph.

The second point is in connection with the *Ordo Representacionis Ade*³ and Mr. Craig's statement that "the *Adam* is also singular in the fact that Adam and Eve are carried off to Hell before the murder of Abel, *a feature which does not elsewhere appear.*"⁴

Of course we have several plays, as *la Nativité*⁵ and *la Résurrection*,⁶ the introductory scenes of which are the Creation and Fall, which close with the haling of Adam and Eve to Hell, and lack a Cain and Abel scene. In *la Nativité* groups of prophets with their prophecies bridge the interval between the Fall of Man and the Advent of Christ. But the Vienna *Genesis*,⁷ which is evidently a

¹ Jer. 31:11.

² See Migne, "Pat. Lat." XXXIX, *Sermones supposititii S. Augustini*, col. 1765–1776: "Jacob Dei Patris, Joseph Christi typum gessit. Fratres Joseph Judaeos et peccatores designant," etc.; see also "L'Estoire Joseph" (MS of thirteenth century); *Gesellsch. f. Rom. Lit.*, XII (1905), 31 ff., and *Heidelberger Passionsspiel* in "Bibl. des Lit. Ver. in Stuttgart," CL. This *Heidelberger Passion* makes the connection between Christ and Joseph on the ground of the thirty pieces of silver: see pp. 127 ff. Joseph is also made a prototype of Christ in *Die Dichtung des Mittelalters*, "Deutsch. Nat. Lit.," Band 3, Erster Teil, 192–93.

³ K. Grass, *Das Adamsspiel*, Halle, 1891; V. Luzarche, *Adam*, Tours, 1854; extract in K. Bartsch, *Chrestomathie*, Leipzig, 1908, 68 ff. (*neuvième édition*).

⁴ Craig, p. 477. (The italics are mine.)

⁵ A. Jubinal, "la Nativité de Jhésucrist," in *Mystères inédits du quinzième siècle*, Paris, 1837, II, 1 ff.

⁶ A. Jubinal, "la Résurrection de notre Seigneur," *ibid.*, 312 ff.

⁷ Ed. by P. Piper, in *Die Geistl. Dicht. d. Mittelalters*, "Deutsch. Nat. Lit.," Band 3, Erster Teil, 93 ff. That part of the *Genesis* known as "Schöpfung. u. Sündenfall," pp. 93 ff., begins

Nu fernemet, mine liebon,
ich wil iu aine rede for tōn;

des choden wir al zesamine;
"laus tibi, domine!"

This would indicate that this was the end of matins, and that lauds followed.

series of metrical *lectiones* for matins, is constructed just as is the *Adam*. The first lesson of the *Genesis* deals with Creation, Fall, and carrying to Hell of Adam and Eve and closes with a prophecy of Christ's Harrowing of Hell.¹ It would seem that the preacher then calls on the people to begin Lauds. With the next line of the manuscript commences the entirely distinct recital of the story of Cain and Abel. The poem being wholly undramatic, this section refers back to Adam. But the significant point is that the Adam episode is complete even to the prophecy of his redemption from Hell, as it is in the Anglo-Norman *Adam*, before the Cain and Abel story is begun. This is suggestive. It points to the probability of dramatic vernacular *lectiones* as an intermediate step between the Latin and perhaps the vernacular epic narrative such as we have in the Vienna *Genesis* and plays like the *Adam*. Another feature of the manuscript which must interest us in connection with Mr. Craig's theory is that the remainder of the *Genesis* relates the stories of Noah, Abraham, Isaac and his Sons, Joseph and his Brethren, while all intermediate matter is dropped, as it is in the responses and in the plays.

And now for the bit of confirming evidence with regard to the origin of the Old Testament cycle of plays in the ritual of matins from Septuagesima Sunday to Passion Sunday, and the further reason for the constant choice of the particular stories of Adam, Noah, Abraham, and Moses for these cycles. As early as the "Gregorian"² *Liber Responsalis*, which was in general use by the ninth century, the antiphons for the week of Septuagesima included parts of the parable of the Husbandman.³ With the inclusion of Septuagesima in Lent⁴ it became the seventh lesson of Septuagesima Sunday. It was also in use as the Gospel of mass⁵ on Septuagesima Sunday

¹ Piper, pp. 93 ff.

² See Bäumer, *Histoire du Bréviaire*, Paris, 1905, I, 6; and Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, London, 1911; Migne, "Pat. Lat.," LXXVIII, S. Gregorii magni liber responsalis, cols. 725 f.

³ Matt. chap. 20: "Simile est regnum coelorum homini patrifamilias, qui exiit primo mane conducere operarios in vineam suam. Conventione autem facta cum operariis ex denario diurno, misit eos in vineam suam. Et egressus circa horam tertiam, vidit alios stantes in foro otiosos, et dixit illis: Ite et vos in vineam meam, et, quod justum fuerit, dabo vobis. Illi autem abierunt. Iterum autem exiit circa sextam et nonam horam; et fecit similiter. Circa undecimam vero exiit, et invenit alios stantes, et dicit illis: Quid hic statis tota die otiosi? Dicunt ei: Quia nemo nos conduxit. Dicit illis: Ite et vos in vineam meam," etc.

⁴ About the time of Pope Alexander II (1061-75). See Batiffol, p. 90. See *Breviarium Romanum*, Mechlin, 1909; *The Second Recension of the Quignon Breviary*, H. B. Soc., 1909; *The York Breviary*, The Surtees Soc., Vol. LXXI.

⁵ *Missale Romanum*, Mechlin, 1909.

throughout the Middle Ages. Thus this parable was very early and persistently associated with the beginning of the Lenten period. But its real influence on the future of the religious drama began when it came to be followed in the breviary by certain significant extracts from the nineteenth Homily of St. Gregory¹ which expounds this often-repeated story. St. Gregory makes the Day of the parable symbolize the entire period from the Creation to the Last Judgment. The various Hours mark the great epochs in world-history. These are five: from Adam to Noah, from Noah to Abraham, from Abraham to Moses, from Moses to the Advent of Christ, from the Advent of Christ to the end of the world.

What could be more natural than that this oft-repeated outline of the world's history should become the outline of the cycles of Old Testament plays, which, we have seen, grew out of the dramatization of the *lectiones* and responses of the very ritual in which this parable and homily had so important a place? The stories of Cain and Abel, of Isaac and his Sons, of Joseph and his Brethren are closely associated with, though not necessary to, this outline, and we find them very often omitted.²

It seems to me also that these *lectiones* of Lent may be responsible in part for that introduction to the Creation and Fall which is an almost constant feature of the Old Testament cycles, namely, the Fall of the Rebel Angels, for this element is present in the extracts from St. Augustine³ which form the three lessons of the second nocturn of this same important Septuagesima Sunday. As for the rest, the age between Adam and Noah could be bridged by the Cain and Abel, and, sometimes, by the Seth stories, that between Abraham and Moses by the Isaac and his Sons and the Joseph and his

¹ Migne, "Pat. Lat.," LXXVI, col. 1155 f.; also Breviary, *matins of Septuagesima Sunday*: "Hic Itaque paterfamilias ad excolendam vineam suam, mane, hora tertia, sexta, nona, et undecima operarios conductit: quia a mundi hujus initio usque in finem ad erudiendam plebem fidelium, praedicatorum congregare non desistit. Mane etenim mundi fuit ab Adam usque ad Noe: hora vero tertia a Noe usque ad Abraham: sexta quoque ab Abraham usque ad Moysen: nona autem a Moysen usque ad adventum Domini: undecima vero ab advento Domini usque ad finem mundi." See also Migne, "Pat. Gr.," LXV, cols. 755 ff., for a probable Greek source of St. Gregory's Sermon.

² Cain and Abel do not appear in several of the Continental cycles; see *supra*. Isaac and his sons figure in only one (*The Towneley Plays*, E.E.T.S., E. S., 1897, pp. 49 ff.) while Joseph and his Brethren are entirely absent from the English cycles.

³ Breviary, *op. cit.*: "Hinc post peccatum exsul effectus, stirpem quoque suam, quam peccando in se tamquam in radice vitiaverat, poena mortis et damnatione obstrinxit: ut quidquid prolixi ex illo, et simili damnata, per quam peccaverat, conjugi, per carnalem concupiscentiam in qua inobedientiae poena similis retributa est nascetur, traheret originale peccatum quo traheretur per errores doloresque diversos ad illud extrellum cum desertoribus angelis, vitiatoribus et possessoribus et consortibus suis sine fine supplicium . . . et adjuncta parti eorum, qui peccaverant, angelorum, luebat impiae desertionis dignissimas poenas . . . non sane Creatoris desistente bonitate, et malis angelis subministrare vitam," etc.

Brethren narratives; because they were present in the responses and because they were regarded as highly symbolic of Christ's Advent and his life. For the long period between Moses and the Advent of Christ, there was already established in the Christmas procession of *The Prophets of Christ* a flexible and picturesque connecting link which was in its very nature the normal introduction to the Nativity and Passion. Finally, the *Assumption of the Virgin*, the *Antichrist*,¹ and, occasionally, an apocalyptic play like that of the English *Ezekiel*,¹ bridged the indefinite stretch of time from Christ's Ascension to the Last Judgment.

This article of Mr. Craig's may also throw light on the rise and growth of the other Old Testament plays which crop out regularly and finally get embodied in some of the more artificial cycles.² May we not presume that these also had their rise in the responses of matins, this time of the summer and autumn,³ not of the winter and spring *cursus*. The stories from the other historical and epical books of the Old Testament were read at matins after the great culminating festival of Easter, and a part of them were still further separated from the symbolic Lenten cycle of narratives by the summer season when religious worship is naturally more lax. Moreover, the heroes of these stories, for the most part, were not regarded as in any way prototypes of Christ as were those of the Lenten *cursus*, and lack the quality of symbolic and homiletic suggestion inherent in the latter. But sermon cycles and the extant plays would indicate that these other stories went through a similar process of emphasis; first, by exposition in the Latin and in the vernacular, and then, by dramatization. Naturally only a late, self-conscious literary impulse would interject them into the earlier, and, as we have seen, already complete cycle of Old Testament plays, the simple aim of which was to show the necessity and the manner of the Passion of Christ.

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¹ *The Chester Plays*, II, ed. by T. Wright for the Shakespeare Soc., London, 1847.

² See *le Mistère du Vieux Testament*, ed. by James de Rothschild for the Société des Anciens Textes français, Paris, 1885; and *The Ancient Cornish Drama*, ed. and tr. by E. Norris, Oxford, 1859.

³ See C. Marbach, *Carmina Scripturarum*, Argentorati, 1907, pp. 5* ff.

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GOETHE UND DÜRER

Kleine Miscellen zu unserem Thema sind schon von verschiedenen Seiten zusammengetragen worden.¹ Hermann Grimm hat eine äusserst ansprechende kleine Arbeit über Albrecht Dürer,² in der auch mitunter auf Goethe Bezug genommen wird. Drei Männer nennt Grimm, welche für die Zeit der deutschen Renaissance massgebend sind: Luther, Hutten, Dürer! "Luther, die Kraft, der Wille und das Selbstbewusztsein; Hutten, die Rastlosigkeit, Zähigkeit und auch die Verwirrung; Dürer, die schaffende Freudigkeit, Genügsamkeit und Biederkeit der deutschen Nation, wie sie damals der Welt entgegnetrat!"

Aber nicht nur als Künstler ist Dürer bedeutend. Er ist geistig für die Zeit maszgebend. Keine Bewegung in seinem Vaterland, an welcher er nicht geistig beteiligt, keine Bewegung wenigstens in seinem engeren Vaterland zu der man ihn nicht irgendwie zu Rat oder Tat heranzog! Mit den bedeutendsten Männern in fortwährender Beziehung vermag er die Zeit wiederzuspiegeln und seine Briefe und Tagebücher gewähren uns einen Einblick in manche Verhältnisse der Zeit, die sonst in Dunkel gehüllt dalägen. Zudem hat er die Bildung seiner Zeit, nicht nur die künstlerische sondern auch die allgemeine. In Nürnberg, "das Ohr und Auge Deutschlands," wie Luther es nannte, im Verein mit einer Anzahl der bedeutendsten Männern jener Zeit—man denke nur an Peter Vischer,

¹ Zu nennen sind besonders: Volbehr, *Goethe und die bildende Kunst*, Leipzig, 1895; H. Uhde, "Goethe und Albrecht Dürer," *Allg. Zeitung*, 2. Februar, 1878, Beilage.

² *Zehn ausgewählte Essays zur Einführung in das Studium der modernen Kunst*, Berlin, 1871, S. 152–92.

Adam Krafft, Veit Stosz, Pirkheimer und Hans Sachs—durf er sich wohl inmitten der Grössten glauben die Deutschland damals hervorgebracht!

Als der bewährteste deutsche Künstler besuchte er auch Italien und die Niederlande, damals die zwei Glanzstätten der Kunst. Was grosze Kunst oder grosze Künstler waren, er kannte sie! *Seine* Grösze erkannten leider nur die wenigsten seiner Zeit genossen. Der Künstler hatte eben damals nicht die beneidenswerteste Stelle inne. Der Ewigkeitswert, den er seinen Werken schenkt, wird nicht bezahlt.

An diesem biederem echt deutschen, sonnenumflossenen Meister und Denker der deutschen Frühzeit schlosz sich der junge Goethe. Das durch hundert Tatsachen und Aussprüche den Zeitgenossen Goethes Wohlbekannte, hat man zu Zeiten ganz oder teilweise zu leugnen gesucht. Aber bevor die Forschung der neueren Literaturhistoriker das wieder dargetan hatte, hatte schon Niebuhr geschrieben: "Der jugendliche Goethe gehört auch mehr in das Rom des 15. Jahrhunderts, als in das der Cäsaren, mehr in das Deutschland Luthers und Dürers als in das des 18. Jahrhunderts."

Uns erübrigt es hier dieses Verhältnis Goethes zu Dürer an der Hand seiner Aussprüche über Dürer näher darzutun und zu einem bestimmten Bilde auszubauen.

Obwohl Dürers Ruhm zu Goethes Jugendzeit nicht so hoch dastand wie heute, so konnte man doch nicht anders, wenn man ihn überhaupt nannte, als ihn mit Ehrfurcht zu nennen. Auch hatte Goethe wohl dies und das von Dürer gesehen. Besonders in Dresden bei seinem 1768 abgestatteten Besuch. Das Kapitel der vaterländischen Kunst ist wohl auch bei Oeser abgehandelt worden.¹ Sicher hat er das Lob Dürers nicht aus der Luft gegriffen, als er nach seinem begeisterten Lobspruch auf die deutsche Baukunst, ausruft: "Männlicher Albrecht Dürer, den die Neulinge ansötteln, deine holzgeschnitzteste Gestalt ist mir willkommener."²

Die Bewunderung Dürers steigert sich von hier ab, denn das dieszeitige Naturevangelium Goethes musz ihn, trotz Oeser, nicht

¹ Vgl. zu Oeser und Dürer Goethes Briefe: An Merck, 27. Oktober, 1782. (Oeser ist von Dürer ganz entzückt und hat 100 Stücke von diesem Meister gesehen, usw.)

² *Werke*, I, 37, 139–51.

nur den Niederländern wieder in die Arme treiben, sondern auch Dürern. Denn das ästhetische Glaubensbekenntnis Dürers, das in jedem seiner Stücke abzubuchstabieren ist, ist es nicht dem dieszeitigen Goethischen ähnlich? Goethe schreibt anlässlich seines Besuches in der Dresdener Gallerie, 1768, von sich: "Was ich nicht als Natur ansehen an die Stelle der Natur setzen, mit einem bekannten Gegenstand vergleichen konnte, war auf mich nicht wirksam."¹ Aehnliche Aussprüche aus dieser Zeit sind häufig.

Und nun Dürers Glaubensbekenntnis, wie er es in seiner Proportionslehre zusammengefaszt hat: "Aber das Leben in der Natur gibt zu erkennen die Wahrheit dieser Ding. Darum sieh sie fleiszig an, richt dich darnach und geh nit von der Natur in dein Gutdünken, dasz du wollest meinen das Besser in dir selbst zu finden; dann du würdest verführt. Dann wahrhaftig steckt die Kunst in der Natur, wer sie heraus kann reiszen, der hat sie je genauer dein Werk dem Leben gemäsz ist in seiner Gestalt, je besser dein Werk erscheint. Und dies ist wahr. Darum nimm dir nimmermehr für, dasz du Etwas besser mügest oder wellest mächen dann es Gott seiner erschaffenen Natur zu würken Kraft geben hat. Dann dein Vermögen ist kraftlos gegen Gottes Geschoff. Daraus ist beschlossen, dasz kein Mensch aus eignen Sinnen nimmermehr kein schön Bildnusz kunn machen, es sei dann Sach, dasz er solchs aus viel Abmachern sein Gemüt voll gefaszt [hat]."

Dasz Goethe fortfuhr sich immer mehr für Dürer zu interessieren das bezeugen die zahlreichen Aufzeichnungen in Tagebuch und Briefen über Dürersammlungen, die er für sich und andre anlegt.^{2, 3} Dazu wird Dürers Reise gelesen.⁴ Inzwischen fällt das schöne Wort: "Denn ich verehre täglich mehr die mit Gold und Silber nicht zu bezahlende Arbeit des Menschen, der wenn man ihn recht im Innersten erkennen lernt, an Wahrheit und Erhabenheit und selbst an Grazie nur die ersten Italiener zu seines Gleichen hat."⁵

Die Freunde werden beauftragt Dürers herbeizuschaffen, wenn nicht Original dann Kopie.⁶ "Vor Dürern selbst und vor der

¹ *Dicht. u. Wahr.*, I, 37, 174–75.

² An Merck, d. 18. März, 1778.

³ An Lavater, d. 7. Februar, 1780, und d. 6. März, 1780.

⁴ Tagebuch, d. 18. Februar, 1880 (gemeint ist Dürers *Tagebuch über die niederländische Reise*).

⁵ An Lavater, d. 6. März, 1780.

⁶ An Merck, d. 7. April, 1780.

Sammlung die der Herzog besitzt, krieg ich alle Tage mehr Respekt. Sobald ich einmal einen Raum finde will ich über die merkwürdigsten Blätter meine Gedanken aufsetzen, nicht sowohl über Empfindung und Komposition, als über die Aussprache und die ganz goldene Ausführung. Ich bin durch genaue Betrachtung guter und schlechter, auch wohl aufgestochener Abdrucke von einer Platte auf gar schöne Bemerkungen gekommen.”¹ Hundert Blätter in Kupfer nebst den Holzschnitten kennt er von Dürer. Das Sammeln wird rüstig weiter getrieben. Selbst der Herzog wird als Sammler eingereiht. Es geht ein groszer Handel und Tausch in Dürerschen Werken unter den Freunden an “denn das versichre ich dir je mehr man sich damit abgibt und beim Handel auf Copie und Original acht geben muss, desto grössere Ehrfurcht kriegt man für diesem Künstler. Er hat nicht seines gleichen.² Die Dürers schick ich wenn die, die du dazu schicken willst einrangirt sind. Du hast recht, ich treibe die Sachen als wenn wir ewig auf Erden leben sollten.³ Hier kommen endlich die Albrecht Dürerischen Kupfer. Es sind ihrer gegenwärtig noch nicht mehr als hundert bekannt. In dem beikommenden Büchelchen sind sie deutlich beschrieben. Diejenigen Blätter die du besitzt sind mit einem + gezeichnet, die andern leer gelassen und hinten am Ende ist ein Verzeichniss zusammenge schrieben, von denen Originalblättern die dir noch fehlen. Ich hab mir sie auch notirt und werde gewiss Gelegenheit finden sie nach und nach zu komplettieren, da du einmal so weit bist. Für eben diese fehlende Originalien und auch für die gute Kopien ist Platz gelassen und die Zahlen und Buchstaben drüber geschrieben, so dass wenn dir ein Blat unter Händen kommt du gar nicht fehlen kannst. Am besten wird sein dasz du einen deiner dienstbaren Geister recht drinne initierst dasz er sich's recht bekannt mache und du ihm wenn ein Blat vorkomme es zum einrangiren und einzeichnen übergeben kannst. Kriegst du ein solches fehlende Blat so schreibe mir gleich die Nummer damit ich sie in meinem Catalogo auslösche und dir

¹ An Merck, d. 7. April, 1780.

² An Lavater, d. 1. Mai, 1780. Zu seiner Beschäftigung mit Dürer sieh ferner *Tagebuch*, d. 2. Mai und 13. Mai, 1780; ferner an Lavater, d. 3. und d. 5. Juni, 1780; an Merck, d. 3. Juli, 1780; an Lavater, d. 3. Juli, 1780.

³ An Lavater, d. 24. Juli, 1780, zu seiner Beschäftigung mit Dürer ferner: an Lavater, d. 8. August, 1780, und den 20. September, 1780.

kein doppeltes anschaffe. Hast du aber welche doppelt, so schick mir sie, theils kann ich sie zu einer Sammlung brauchen die ich mir selbst mache, theils kann ich sie auch an Kupferhändler vertauschen.”¹

Und an Fr. Müller in Rom, dem er eine Künstleranleitung gibt, schreibt er: “Wenn Raphael und Albrecht Dürer auf dem höchsten Gipfel stehen, was soll ein echter Schüler mehr fliehen als die Willkürlichkeit.”² Ueber Dürers *Karl der Fünfte* äusserzt er: “Es ist ganz herrlich, ich mögte auch dich darüber hören.”³ Nachdem Lavater hierauf geantwortet schreibt Goethe: “Ich habe einen Brief von Lavatern über den Albrecht Dürer, der mir schreibt er möchte über so ein Gesicht und über so ein Werk ein ganzes Buch schreiben. Oesser ist auch entzückt davon, er sagt er habe mehr als 100 Stücke von diesem Meister gesehen und dies sei nur das zweyte von solchem Werthe. An dem Harnische erkenne man Albrecht Dürern, im Gesicht habe er sich selbst übertroffen,” usw.⁴

Nun folgt die Italiareise und Goethe benutzt die Gelegenheit die groszen Dürers in München zu betrachten. “In München habe ich ein paar Stücke von ihm von unglaublicher Groszheit gesehen. Der arme Mann! statt seiner niederländischen Reise wo er den Papagejen einhandelte u.c. Es ist mir unendlich rührend so ein armer Narr von Künstler, weil es im Grunde auch mein Schicksal ist,”⁵ usw. Raphael und Dürer stellt er gern nebeneinander, “in einem Zimmer neben der *Sala del Consiglio di Dieci* welches auch diesem fürchterlichen Tribunal gehört hängt ein kostlicher Albrecht Dürer gegen einem Raphael über.”⁶ Dasz Dürer in Italien gewesen, war Goethen damals nicht bekannt. “Hätte doch das Glück Albert-Dürern über die Alpen geführt!”⁷ Dieser Ausruf gerade nach einer begeisterten Betrachtung von Raphael Francesko di

¹ An Lavater, d. 3. September, 1780.

² An Fr. Müller, d. 21. Juni, 1781.

³ An Lavater, d. 4. Oktober, 1782.

⁴ An Merck, d. 27. Oktober, 1782. Vgl. auch an Knebel, d. 3. März, 1783. Uebrigens muss hier ein Irrtum vorliegen, denn Dürers *Karl der Fünfte* ist nicht im Harnisch gemalt.

⁵ *Tagebuch der Italienischen Reise*, III, 1, 306.

⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 1, 264.

⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 1, 306. Vgl. auch *Paralipomena*, I, 47, 340, und I, 47, 233 (“Fleisz und die grosse Reinlichkeit der Dürerschen Arbeiten”). Und an Karl August, 18. März, 1788.

Francia, und Peter Perugin! Auch im Vatikan unter der groszen Kunst Italiens kommtt ihm die am Gottesdienst amtierende Gruppe der Kardinäle mit dem Pabste wie ein Dürersches Stück vor: "Sonntags gingen wir in die Sixtinische Capelle, wo der Pabst mit den Cardinälen der Messe beiwohnte. Da die letzteren wegen der Fastenzeit nicht roth sondern violett gekleidet waren, gab es ein neues Schauspiel. Einige Tage vorher hatte ich Gemälde von Albert Dürer gesehen und freute mich nun so etwas im Leben anzutreffen," usw.¹

Interessant und zur Frage, was hat Goethe von Dürer gekannt, wichtig, sind seine Bemerkungen zu den Dürerschen Bildern, die er 1790, z. T. wohl auch schon 1768, in Dresden gesehen hat. Die Anmerkungen stammen vom Jahr 1790.²

Obwohl man geglaubt hat Goethe habe sich zur Zeit der zweiten italienischen Reise gänzlich von Dürer abgewendet,³ so ist das Epigramm, auf das diese Ansicht sich stützt, doch nur ein Quintchen der allgemeinen Verstimmung, die Goethen damals beherrscht. Dazu wollen wir noch gleich ein anderes aus ähnlicher Stimmung hervorgangenes Wort aus den Sprüchen in Prosa hinzufügen: "Weil Albrecht Dürer bei dem unvergleichlichen Talent sich nie zur Idee des Ebenmaszes der Schönheit, ja sogar nie zum Gedanken einer schicklichen Zweckmässigkeit erheben konnte, sollen wir auch immer an der Erde kleben." "Albrecht Dürer förderte ein höchst inniges realistisches Anschauen, ein liebenswürdiges menschliches Mitgefühl aller gegenwärtige Zustände. Ihm schadete eine trübe, form- und bodenlose Phantasie."⁴

Dasz Goethe sich selbst, in dieser antiksten Zeit, von Dürer losgesagt, dagegen sprechen die oben angeführten Bemerkungen zu den Dresdener Dürers (1790), sodann sucht er auf der zweiten Reise nach Italien in Nürnberg, wo er nur $7\frac{1}{2}$ Stunden Aufenthalt hat,

¹ Zweiter römischer Aufenthalt I, 32, 286.

² Ein Eremit mit einem Totenkopf. Fragt sich ob es original ist, aber nicht schlecht. Porträt eines Mannes in Pelz. Schmutzig hart, aber geistreich. Eine Hauskapelle. Vortrefflich, besonders die Thüren. Die Kreuztragung. Simon von Cyrene. Grau in Grau und farbige Gewänder mitunter. Ein kleiner Hase mit Wasserfarben. Gut und fleiszig. Die Anbetung der Könige. Gut aber unangenehm. I, 47, 370 ff.

³ Stöcker, *Palestra*, XXVII, p. 100, zitiert dafür Epigramme aus Venedig, No. 42:

"So zerrüttet auch Dürer mit apokalyptischen Bildern
Menschen und Grillen zugleich, unser gesundes Gehirn," usw.

⁴ *Maximen und Reflex. über Kunst*, I, 48, 208.

die Dürers auf. "In Nürnberg sahen wir die noch übrigen prächtigen Gemälde Albrecht Dürers."¹ Sodann schon im folgenden März schreibt er an seinen Führer in der antiken Welt, J. H. Meyer: "In dem Stücke Albrecht Dürers, das Sie mir anzeigen, stehen wahrhaft goldene Sprüche," usw.² "Unschätzbar hielt ich Albrecht Dürers Porträt (in der Bereis Sammlung in Helmstädt) von ihm selbst gemahlt mit der Jahreszahl 1493 . . . (lange Beschreibung) . . . das Ganze herrlich gezeichnet, reich und unschuldig, harmonisch in seinen Theilen, von der höchsten Ausführung, vollkommen Dürers würdig, obgleich mit sehr dünner Farbe gemahlt. . . . Dieses preiswürdige, durchaus unschätzbare Bild, u. s. w. . . ."³

"Unter seinen Gemälden befindet sich auch ein Bildnis Albrecht Dürers von ihm selbst im 22. Lebensjahr gemahlt in welchem alle Tugenden dieses Meisters jugendlich blühend erscheinen. Eins der interessantesten Bilder die ich kenne. . . ."⁴

Strixners 1808 erschienenes Buch, *Albrecht Dürers christliche und mythologische Handzeichnungen in lithographischer Manier gearbeitet*,⁵ rief von Meyers und Goethens Feder eine Rezension hervor,⁶ und Goethe und seine Umgebung beschäftigten sich vielfach mit dem Buch. An Biographieen Dürers hat Goethe, wie wir oben bemerkt, Dürers niederländische Reise, d.h. das Tagebuch, gekannt, jetzt kommt dazu Dürers Leben von Cramer.⁷

Bettina Brentano lässt nun das Dürersche Selbstporträt von einem Münchner Künstler kopieren und Goethen übersenden, worüber Goethe eine ausserordentliche Freude bezeugt,⁸ es einrahmen und in seinem Hause aufhängen lässt.

In den Tag- und Jahresheften für 1809 heiszt es: "Auch die bildende Kunst, die wir freilich immerfort auf das herzlichste pflegten, brachte uns dieses Jahr die schönsten Früchte. In München wurden

¹ Werke, III, 2, 13.

² An J. H. Meyer, d. 13. März, 1791. Gemeint ist wohl die "Ersten Reime."

³ I, 35, 217 (1805). Zu der fortgesetzten Beschäftigung Goethes mit Dürer vgl. auch III, 3, 322 (1808), und I, 36, 39 (1808).

⁴ An Herzog Carl August, d. 28. August, 1805. Gemeint ist das Selbstporträt im Venezianer Kostüm.

⁵ München, 1808.

⁶ In No. 67 der *Jenaer Litteraturzeitung*.

⁷ Dürers Leben in *Der Biograph*, 7. Bd., Halle, 1808, S. 401 ff.

⁸ Vgl. an Bettina d. 11. September, 1809; d. 3. November, 1809, und d. 10. Februar, 1810.

die Handzeichnungen Albrecht Dürers herausgegeben, und man dürfte wohl sagen, dasz man erst jetzt das Talent des so hoch verehrten Meisters erkenne. Aus der gewissenhaften Peinlichkeit, die sowohl seine Gemälde als Holzschnitte beschränkt, trat er heraus bei einem Werke, wo seine Arbeit nur ein Beiwesen bleiben, wo er mannichfaltig gegebene Räume verzieren sollte. Hier erschien sein herrliches Naturell völlig heiter und humoristisch. . . .”¹ “Zunächst würde ich Ihnen rathen, die Ihnen gewisz schon bekannten Steinabdrücke des in München befindlichen Erbauungsbuches so fleiszig als möglich zu studieren, weil nach meiner Ueberzeugung, Albrecht Dürer sich nirgends so frei, so geistreich, grosz und schön bewiesen, als in diesen gleichsam extemporierten Blättern.”²

Ein vermeintliches Dürersches Schnitzwerk *Adam und Eva* hat man in Weimar aus der Hohwiesnerischen Sammlung angekauft, obwohl Goethe und andere Kunstkenner sich vor abgeschlossenem Kauf, gegen die Dürersche Urheberschaft ausgesprochen.³

Dasz Dürer von Italien wenig profitiert hätte, kann man kaum behaupten, aber es ist doch wahr was Goethe schreibt: “Und sieht man es denn Dürer sonderlich an dasz er in Venedig gewesen? Dieser Treffliche lässt sich durchgängig aus sich selbst heraus erklären.”⁴ Zum Dürerfest in Nürnberg, 1828, war es Goethen nicht möglich zu gehen, er liesz es sich aber angelegen sein die Sache eines Dürerdenkmals, welche auf dem Fest angeregt wurde, in Weimar fleiszig zu fördern.⁵

¹ I, 36, 50.

² An Peter Cornelius d. 8. Mai, 1811.

³ Vgl. hierzu an J. F. H. Schlosser, d. 9. April, 1819, auch an den Herzog Carl August, d. 19. April, 1819: “Weder ich noch andre Kunstfreunde konnten bei genauester Prüfung Albrecht Dürers Hand erkennen.” Ferner an J. F. H. Schlosser, d. 6. Mai, 1819, d. 4. Juni, 1819, an den Herzog Carl August, d. 11. Juli, 1819, an J. H. Meyer, d. 7. Dezember, 1819 (Interesse an eigener Dürersammlung), an J. A. G. Weigel, d. 13. Oktober, 1819, an S. Boisseree, d. 10. Juli, 1816, *Tagebücher*, d. 18. Juli, 1818, und d. 9. u. 10. April, 1819, “Beschäftigung mit Dürer.” Vgl. auch Biedermann, *Goethes Gespräche*, VIII, 327 (Mitte August, 1813): “Endlich betonte er mit Nachdruck Albrecht Dürers Meisterschaft,” usw. Vgl. *Tagebücher*, d. 20. Februar, 1814: “Holzschnitte Dürers geordnet durch Keil,” und an Christiane von Goethe, d. 1. Oktober, 1814: “Wiederholte Betrachtung der Bilder des Schoréel in Gesellschaft von Joh. V. Eycks, Hemskercks und Albert Dürers Wercken.”

⁴ I, 34, 189. Vgl. aber auch Schuchart, *Goethes Aufsätze und Aussprüche über bildende Kunst*, Bd. 2, S. 154, Stuttgart, 1863.

⁵ An den Magistrat von Nürnberg, d. 21. April, 1828; *Tagebücher*, d. 20. März, 1828; *ibid.*, d. 8. u. 9. Mai, 1828. Verhandlung wegen des Albrecht Dürerischen Denkmals, “Die Acten ajustirt wegen Albrecht Dürers Denkmal.” An Fr. v. Müller,

Warmes Interesse, ja liebevolle Teilnahme an Dürer begleitet Goethen, trotz Antike, sein ganzes Leben hindurch. Dasz er in seinem literarischen Schaffen von Bildwerken vielfach anhaltend angeregt worden, ist schon dargetan worden. Dasz er auch von Dürer, dem grössten deutschen Meister, in seinem Denken und Gestalten tief beeinfluszt worden, das bezeugt schon, um nicht weiter auf die Gestalten seiner deutschen Periode einzugehen, das wie ein Dürerscher Holzschnitt anmutende Gedicht "Hans Sachsens poetische Sendung" (worin ja auch Sachsens und Dürers Kunst neben einander gestellt werden), oder auch der Faust, der wie Alexander Dumas gegen Goethe äuszerte "einem Albrecht Dürer gleicht."¹

CHARLES H. HANDSCHIN

d. 9. Mai, 1828: "Ew. Hochwohlgeborene ersuche in Gefolg unserer gestrigen Verhandlungen um die auf das Albrecht-Dürerfest und eine diesem Künstler zu errichtende Bildsäule bezüglichen Papiere, damit ich das Weitere veranstalten könne," *Tagebücher* d. 27. September, 1828 (*Beitrag an den Albrecht Dürer Verein, etc.*). Ferner zur Beschäftigung mit Dürer, *Tagebücher*, d. 11. Oktober, 1827: "Las ich in dem neuen Taschenbuch A. Dürers Reliquien betitelt." Gemeint ist Reliquien von Albrecht Dürer. Taschenbuch seinen Verehrern geweiht von Fr. Campe, Nürnberg, 1827. An den Groszherzog Carl August, ca. 25. April, 1828. Gespräche mit Eckermann, d. 11. März, 1828. Biedermann, *Goethes Gespräche*, Bd. VIII, 380 (1828) (Dürer würde in Italien ein ganz anderer geworden sein).

¹ Biedermann, *Goethes Gespräche*, X, 174.

THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH LITERATURE ON FRIEDRICH VON HAGEDORN

III

The similarity between Hagedorn's attitude toward flattery in court life and Prior's is also striking. Compare the following from *Solomon*¹ with a quotation from *Freundschaft*:²

"What is a king? . . .

From the first blooming of his ill taught youth,
Nourished in flattery, and estranged from truth:
At home surrounded by a servile crowd,
Prompt to abuse, and in detraction loud.

Hat ihn der Himmel nicht mit seltner Kraft versehn,
So wird er nur zu schwach Versuchern widerstehn.
Der Hoheit Selbstbetrug vereitelt seine Güte,
Der Schmeichler Hinterhalt umzingelt sein Gemüthe.

The futility of the ravages caused by war is another subject which claimed the attention of both Hagedorn and Prior, and Thomson as well, as can be seen by comparing Hagedorn's stanza beginning, "Als aber Stolz und Neid den frechen Schwung erhub,"³ with *Solomon* (Book III, ll. 303-8) and the *Castle of Indolence* (stanza LV).⁴

Although Hagedorn longed to see poets independent of the favor of princes, still he had long looked forward to the time when the rulers in Germany should foster German art. Along with other German poets, he was disappointed when Frederick the Great preferred Voltaire to the writers of his own country. In the poem, *Der Weise*, he cites the example of the English people in appreciating their own scholars:

Gunst krönt den Fleiss, den Macht und Freyheit schützen:
Die Reichsten sind der Wissenschaften Stützen.⁵

¹ Book III, ll. 275-82.

² *Werke*, I, 65.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 69.

⁴ See also Thomson's *Britannia* (II, 56-61).

⁵ *Werke*, I, 16.

He could have joined Parnell in his toast in *The Book-Worm*:

A health to poets all their days,
May they have bread as well as praise.¹

Later in *Wünsche*,² Hagedorn proclaims his allegiance to the cause of freedom with even more spirit than in *Der Weise*:

Du schönstes Himmelskind! du Ursprung bester Gaben,
Die weder Gold erkauft, noch Herrengunst gewährt,
O Freyheit! kann ich nur dich zur Gefährtin haben,
Gewiss, so wird kein Hof mit meinem Flehn beschwert.

In this poem Hagedorn's scorn of the favor of princes has become bolder than it was in *Der Weise*. He sees that the realization of happiness and virtue can come only through freedom, that no man can attain a high development so long as he fawns upon his rulers. The same spirit is expressed by Thomson in his *Autumn* (ll. 1239-49), in a passage already quoted.³ And again in *Wünsche*:⁴

Die Wollust darf ihn nicht aus Bergkristallen tränken,
Die Schmeichler kriechen nicht um seinen Speisesaal:
Doch Freyheit kann der Kost Kraft und Gedeihen schenken,
Und die fehlt Fürsten oft bey ihren Göttermahl.

It does not suffice merely to be independent as far as outside forces are concerned. This independence must be in the nature of an inner freedom. Only when a man can look himself squarely in the face is he able to regard himself on an equality with princes:

Wer diess von Weisen lernt, sein eigner Freund zu werden,
Mit der Versuchung nicht sich heimlich zu verstehn;
Der ist (ihr Grossen, glaubts) ein grosser Mann auf Erden,
Und darf Monarchen selbst frey unter Augen gehn.⁵

In a study of Hagedorn's *Moralische Gedichte*, it is impossible not to observe his growing love of freedom and his increasing boldness in expressing it. Emphasizing in *Der Weise* the beauty of freedom, citing England as its home,⁶ and warning his readers

¹ That Hagedorn knew Parnell is shown by a letter from Bodmer referring to him (*Werke*, V, 193).

² *Werke*, I, 39.

³ *Modern Philology*, XII, 8, p. 185.

⁴ *Werke*, I, 39.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 39.

⁶ *Modern Philology*, XII, 8, p. 190.

against the treachery of flattery, he continues to cherish this love of liberty until it becomes a passion with him. In his *Schreiben an einen Freund* he scorns rulers who obtain respect from their subjects only through the fear which they inspire:

Wie dürftig prangt ein Herr, den nur sein Thron erhebt,
Dem jeder nur gehorcht, weil jeder vor ihm bebt!¹

He goes so far as to prophesy that a time will come when such tyrants will no longer be tolerated:

Der Ehre Heilgithum wird er nicht lang' entweihn.
Verehrt ihm seine Zeit, so denkt die Nachwelt kühner.²

He suggests, too, that the power of a ruler is often under the control of others without his realizing it:

Vielleicht regieren ihn Gemahl und Kammerdiener,
Und, lenken diese nicht den königlichen Sinn,
So kanns ein Sporus thun, und eine Buhlerin.³

Hagedorn states in this poem that friendship and flattery are absolutely incompatible:

Die Nacht der Schmeicheley, die Fürsten stets umgiebt,
Erlaubt dem Besten kaum zu wissen, wer ihn liebt.
Und, kann die Gleichheit nur den Bau der Freundschaft gründen,
Wie wird er einen Freund, statt eines Heuchlers, finden?⁴

These lines should be read in connection with Thomson's *Autumn* (ll. 1235–42), in which the happiness of friendship is contrasted with the "vile intercourse of flatterers." Hagedorn continues in the spirit of many of Thomson's utterances when he writes:

Kennt ein Tyrann auch Freunde?
Bringt nicht, zur Sicherheit auf dem erstiegnen Thron,
Ein Sohn den Vater um, der Vater einen Sohn?⁵

Hagedorn's final summing-up of the poem is a mature expression of his English ideals:

¹ *Werke*, I, 46. This certainly has the vigor of Thomson's utterances on tyranny. Cf. especially *Summer*, ll. 1477–78:

The dread of tyrants, and the sole resource
Of those that under grim oppression groan.

² *Ibid.*, I, 46.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 46.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 49.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 53.

Nur der is wirklich gross, und seiner Zeiten Zierde,
 Den kein Bewundern täuscht, noch lockende Begierde,
 Den Kenntniss glücklich macht, und nicht zu schulelehrt,
 Der zwar Beweise schätzt, doch auch den Zweifel ehrt,
 Vollkommenheit besitzt, die er nicht selbst bekennet,
 Nur edle Triebe fühlt, und Allen Alles gönnnet,
 Der das ist, was er scheint, und nur den Beyfall liebt,
 Den seinen Tugenden Recht und Gewissen giebt.¹

The significant thing for us in this poem is that Hagedorn in his conception of freedom shows a closer relation to Pope in his *Essay on Man*, to Prior in his *Solomon*, and to Thomson in his *Liberty and Seasons*, especially *Autumn* and *Winter*, than he did in his earlier poems.

FRIENDSHIP

In Hagedorn's philosophy the crowning glory of virtue is friendship. To it he devoted the longest and, in some respects, the best of his *Moralische Gedichte*, *Die Freundschaft*. In this poem he first does homage to the dog of Ulysses, which remained true to its master during his long absence and on his return paid more respect to him whom it thought a beggar, than did the servants whom he had exalted; then on being stroked by the stranger, looked up, recognized him, and died.

Hagedorn bemoans the lack of true friendship in his own time, crowded out as it is by selfishness, inconstancy, indifference, servility, deception, laziness, and avarice. This leads up to an exposition of what real friendship means. He has little hope that princes will attain it, for, even after reading the history of former rulers, they will themselves become the victims of flattery unless they are strong. Friendship thrives best in the rural atmosphere, not in cities or at courts, for in the country freedom and peace reign. Friendship is the outgrowth of confidence and truth, not of jealousy and deception. It is most easily killed by coolness and infidelity. It exists among people of like virtues and often among those of congenial tastes. It cannot exist with selfishness, flattery, and hypocrisy. The real test of friendship is fidelity.²

¹ *Werke*, I, 55.

² In a footnote Hagedorn gives as his sources for the story of Ulysses' dog, *Odyssey*, Book xvii, Pope's note to line 399, his tenth letter to Cromwell, and Boileau's third critical treatise on some passages of Longinus in the third book of his works.

Addison's essay on *Friendship*¹ emphasizes the same characteristics as Hagedorn's *Freundschaft*.² Thus he writes: "Among the several qualifications of a good friend, this wise man (the son of Sirach)³ has very justly singled out constancy and faithfulness as the principal."

According to this, the ideals of Hagedorn and Addison with regard to friendship are fundamentally the same. I have already quoted from No. 15 of the *Spectator*,⁴ in which Addison represents happiness as an "enemy to pomp and noise," enjoying the friendship and conversation of a few, select companions, and loving "shade and solitude, . . . groves and fountains, fields and meadows." In *Freundschaft*⁵ Hagedorn affirms, as does Addison, that true friendship, a prerequisite of happiness, is to be found only in retirement from the pomp of the world:

O Land! der Tugend Sitz, wo zwischen Trift und Auen
 Uns weder Stolz noch Neid der Sonne Licht verbauen,
 Und Freude Raum erblickt; wo Ehrgeiz und Betrug
 Sich nicht dem Strohdach naht, noch Gift dem irdnen Krug;
 Wo Anmuth Witz gebiert, und Witz ein sichres Scherzen,
 Weil niemand sinnreich wird, um seinen Freund zu schwärzen;
 Wo man nie wissentlich Verheissungen vergisst,
 Und Redlichkeit ein Ruhm, und Treu ein Erbgut ist,
 Wie in Arcadien. Erkauft das Gold der Reichen
 Sich Freunde solcher Art, die rechten Hirten gleichen ?

Hagedorn also expresses⁶ what Addison infers in *Spectator*, No. 15, viz., that real friendship is not to be found in courts and crowds of people:

Der Sitz geheimer Noth und öffentlicher Pracht,
 Der Hof ist nicht der Ort, der Freundschaft herzlich macht.

Thomson shows in *Autumn* (ll. 1237 ff.) his highest conception of happiness, like Hagedorn's, to be a life in retirement with a few friends. Again, in *Winter* (ll. 572-73) he expresses the same spirit:

¹ *Spectator*, No. 68.

² Although this essay is composed almost entirely of quotations from *The Wisdom of the Son of Sirach*, yet Addison gives the views contained in it the stamp of his own approval.

³ The parenthesis is my own.

⁴ *Modern Philology*, XII, 8, p. 188.

⁵ *Werke*, I, 67.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 65.

Thus in some deep retirement would I pass
The winter glooms, with friends of pliant soul.¹

One person who, in Hagedorn's judgment, is debarred from real friendship is the gossip.² His poem, *Der Schwätzer*, calls to mind a long series of articles in both the English and German moral weeklies on the subject. It was one of their favorite themes.

Hagedorn, like Addison and Steele, kept in close touch with the common people and had every opportunity to know their weaknesses. Like them, he spent much time in coffee-houses, where he could hear the conversation of all classes of people. In this poem Hagedorn represents himself as taking a walk and meeting a gossip, who became the subject of his satire. His antipathy for the class of people whom this man represents is well put:

Ich eil', ich stehe still, von ihm mich zu befreyn,
Und raun' ich weiss nicht was dem Diener in die Ohren;
Noch hier ist alle Müh und alle Kunst verloren.
Mir bricht der Angstschweiss aus. O wie beneidenswerth,
Gedenk ich, ist der Thor, der Thoren gerne hört!³

In this connection it is significant to recall that Addison in the *Spectator* discusses the conversation of his correspondents.⁴ In

¹ See also *Winter* (ll. 343-44):

E'en in the vale, where wisdom loves to dwell,
With friendship, peace, and contemplation joined.

² The aversion of Hagedorn to gossips was mentioned after his death by his friend Klopstock (Ed. Muncker und Pawel, I, 26):

So schliefst du sicher von den Schwätzern
Nicht ohne Götter ein muthger Jüngling.

Hagedorn refers to it himself in the third stanza of his *Wünsche* in which he speaks of the pleasure which his favorite books afford him when he can retire with them to a place where gossips cannot intrude (*Werke*, I, 38):

O wie vergnügen mich, wo die kein Schwätzer störet,
Die Werke, deren Ruhm die Meister überlebt.

³ *Werke*, I, 85.

⁴ *Spectator*, No. 67, is devoted to the "party rage" of women, which has crept into their conversation. Addison decries anything in their speech which may detract from "the softness, the modesty, and those endearing qualities which are natural to the fair sex."

In No. 16, referring to requests from correspondents to print the private scandal connected with the names of particular persons and families, Addison replies that it is not his design "to be a publisher of intrigues and cuckoldoms, or to bring little infamous stories out of their present lurking holes into broad daylight."

The familiar quotation on slander from Pope's *Rape of the Lock*, Canto III, ll. 11-16, should be recalled here:

In various talk th' instructive hours they past,
Who gave the ball, or paid the visit last;
One speaks the glory of the British Queen,
And one describes a charming Indian screen;
A third interprets motives, looks, and eyes;
At ev'ry word a reputation dies.

No. 46 he prints a letter from a man who complains that his wife is a "gospel-gossip": "If at any time I have her company alone, she is a mere sermon pop-gun, repeating and discharging texts, proofs, and applications so perpetually that however weary I may go to bed, the noise in my head will not let me sleep until morning."

No less persistent is Hagedorn's gossip. After trying in vain to get rid of him,¹ Hagedorn says dejectedly:

Mich krümm' ich, wie ein Pferd, das, bey zu schwerer Last,
Kopf, Maul und Ohren bängt, und seinen Treiber hasst.²

On turning again to *Freundschaft*, we find that Hagedorn got from Pope more than the suggestion for the opening of the poem. In the Second Epistle of the *Essay on Man*, Pope begins with self-love, "the spring of motion":

Two Principles in human nature reign;
Self-love, to urge, and Reason, to restrain.³

and proceeds from that to friendship, a tie which has grown out of mutual need:

Heav'n forming each on other to depend,
A master, or a servant, or a friend,
Bids each on other for assistance call,
Till one Man's weakness grows the strength of all,
Wants, frailties, passions, closer still ally
The common int'rest, or endear the tie.
To these we owe true friendship, love sincere,
Each home-felt joy that life inherits here.⁴

Hagedorn follows the same course:

Die Liebe zu uns selbst, allein die weise nur,
Ist freylich unsre Pflicht, die Stimme der Natur;
Doch sie verknüpft sich auch mit den Bewegungsgründen,
In andern wie in uns, das Gute schön zu finden,
Dem Schönen hold zu seyn.⁵

The self-restraint urged by Pope throughout this epistle is stressed by Hagedorn also:

¹ In the chatter of this gossip is a passing reference to the English people (*Werke*, I, 86): "Im Gehen, glauben Sies, bin ich ein rechter Britte."

² *Werke*, I, 87.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 249–56.

³ *Essay on Man*, Ep. II, II. 53–54.

⁵ *Werke*, I, 62 ff.

Wie ruhig ist ein Herz, das seine Pflichten kennt!
 Das jede seine Lust, wie seine Richtschnur, nennt!
 Von ihm, und nur von ihm, wird Freundschaft recht geschätzt,
 Die wahrer Dichtkunst gleich, so bessert, als ergetzet.¹

Reference has already been made to Hagedorn's warm friendships for contemporary authors,² but sufficient emphasis has not been put upon the fact that in this feature also Hagedorn was an innovator. Schuster states³ that in Hagedorn's time there was scarcely a trace of a *Freundschaftscultus* in Germany:

Von Freundeskreisen und freundlichem Leben wird aber mit einer einzigen Ausnahme in den deutschen moralischen Wochenschriften damals nirgends gesprochen. Dieselbe findet sich in den *Diskursen der Maler*, wo man II. Th. IV. D. auf die Freundschaft, wie sie Cicero behandelt hat, wieder aufmerksam macht; sonst trifft man in den Wochenschriften nicht eine einzige besondere Abhandlung über das Wesen und den Begriff der Freundschaft, welcher Mangel wohl den sichersten Beweis giebt, dass damals in Deutschland kaum eine Spur von einem Freundschaftscultus vorhanden gewesen sein kann.

There is no doubt that Schuster⁴ is correct in asserting further that Hagedorn's stay in England and his familiarity with English life and literature had much to do with his development of the *Freundschaftscultus* in Germany. This was fostered by the younger German writers who got much of their inspiration from him, especially the groups of poets in Leipzig and Halle.⁵

LOVE OF COUNTRY LIFE

With Hagedorn, the farmer is not only a useful member of society, but as a result of his environment a happy one as well. In this respect he agrees with Thomson in dividing society into two classes. In one are the quiet dwellers of the country, who enjoy a reasonable competence and are consequently happy, contented, and independent

¹ *Ibid.*, I, 69.

³ Schuster, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

² *Modern Philology*, XII, 5, p. 124.

⁴ Schuster, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

⁵ Hagedorn's friendship for the younger writers was not a matter of mere sentiment. It expressed itself in such assistance as suggestions, lending of books, and, when necessary, financial aid. His assistance to the "Bauersohn," Gottlieb Fuchs, might be mentioned in this connection. He interested his Hamburg friends also in the blind poet Enderlein, and raised the sum of 200 thaler, which was given to Enderlein in such a way that he did not know from whom it came. Rabener called Hagedorn "ein liebreicher Vormund der witzigen und nothleidenden Köpfe in Sachsen" (*Literarische Pamphleten*, by Bodmer, p. 130).

in spirit; in the other are those who live in cities and strive in vain for happiness through the attainment of wealth and influence. The following lines from *Glückseligkeit* express Hagedorn's attitude in general toward the countryman:

O Glück der Niedrigen, der Schnitter und der Hirten,
 Die sich in Flur und Wald, in Trift und Thal bewirthen,
 Wo Einfalt und Natur, die ihre Sitten lenkt,
 Auch jeder rauhen Kost Geschmack und Segen schenkt!¹

Without suggesting that Hagedorn was directly influenced by the following poem from Thomson,² I quote it as illustrating the kinship of ideas between the two poets:

If those who live in shepherd's bower,
 Press not the rich and stately bed:
 The new mown hay and breathing flower
 A softer couch beneath them spread.

If those who sit at shepherd's board,
 Soothe not their taste by wanton art;
 They take what nature's gifts afford,
 And take it with a cheerful heart.

If those who drain the shepherd's bowl,
 No high and sparkling wines can boast,
 With wholesome cups they cheer the soul,
 And crown them with the village toast.

If those who join in shepherd's sport,
 Gay dancing on the daisied ground,
 Have not the splendour of a court;
 Yet love adorns the merry round.

It is important to bear in mind in connection with what has just been said, that in Hagedorn's time a revolution in German thought was marked by a return to nature, which he united with Brockes in advocating. In Hagedorn's striving for simplicity, his break with conventions, preceding as it did the introduction of Rousseau into Germany by a good many years, helped to do for Germany what Thomson did for England.

¹ *Werke*, I, 31.

² "Contentment," from *Alfred*, Act III, sc. v.

Again although Hagedorn's beauty of language and perfection of style have frequently been commented on, and that usually in connection with his imitation of classic writers, comparatively little has ever been said about Hagedorn as an innovator, who helped to introduce into Germany the directness of description characteristic of English Romanticists. The Germans have not thought of him as we think today of Thomson, but his poetry, as does Thomson's, belongs to a transition period. When we think of Thomson as the forerunner of Wordsworth, not only in his treatment of nature, but also in his simplicity of style, we do not forget that his dramas and a large part of his poetry are conventional in style,¹ but we do not on this account overlook the romantic elements in his *Seasons*. Neither should we let the formality of Hagedorn's style blind us to the valuable work which he did in introducing a new type of literature into Germany, nor should we overlook the part which Thomson very probably played in influencing him.

Special attention should be given to Hagedorn's *Horaz*, since it is very closely related in spirit to Thomson's *Spring*. The opening stanza² suggests the enjoyment of nature which one familiar with Thomson's poem will recall as decidedly characteristic of him.³ The similarity in the handling of the theme is also significant. The cheerful spirit, characteristic of both Hagedorn's and Thomson's poems, was, as has been said before,⁴ almost entirely lacking in the German poetry immediately preceding Hagedorn. "Das Recht vergnügt zu seyn" was an important element in his belief, as well as in that of Thomson and Addison. This was the feature in his work which Hagedorn's followers among the Anacreontic poets developed, as will be shown in a later study of Hagedorn's *Lieder*. In this last of his *Moralische Gedichte*, *Horaz*, more than in any of the earlier ones, Hagedorn emphasizes this spirit of cheerfulness, another evidence that his point of view was consistently becoming that of contemporary English rather than German writers.

¹ Many of the stilted expressions of pseudo-Classicism still clung to Thomson; for example: "musky tribes," "fliny race," "glossy kind," "busy nations."

² *Modern Philology*, XII, 8, p. 183.

Cf. Thomson's *Spring*, ll. 1-4; 186-221.

⁴ *Modern Philology*, XII, 8, pp. 188 f.

In this poem nature plays a more important part than in any of the previous poems of this group. Only a person who has learned to see nature first hand could write such lines as the following:

Du sahest oft an hoffnungsvollen Bäumen,
Um Rind' und Stamm, das Moos zu häufig keimen.¹

Such a minute observance of details in nature is consonant with the development toward Romanticism in England during the eighteenth century. Thomson's importance in making nature more than a mere ornament to poetry is too well known to need more than passing mention here. That Hagedorn was a pioneer in Germany, as Thomson was in England, in a sympathetic observation of nature is what concerns us.

As with Thomson, so with Hagedorn, the quiet life of the country answers a real need in its restfulness to the weary city dweller:

Wann seh ich dich, in Stunden freyer Ruh,
Beym Schlaf am Bach, aus Büchern kluger Alten,
Vergessenheit der Mühe zu erhalten,
Der öftern Last, die in der Stadt mich drückt,
Und meine Lust in enger Luft erstickt ?
Wann werd' ich mich in jenen kühlen Gründen,
An jenem Quell, verneuert, wieder finden ?²

The similarity of Hagedorn's point of view and Thomson's on this subject may be seen by comparing the above with a passage from Thomson's poem, *Of a Country Life* (ll. 90 f.):

When the noon sun directly darts his beams
Upon your giddy heads, with fiery gleams,
Then you may bathe yourself in cooling streams;
Or to the sweet adjoining grove retire,
Where trees with interwoven boughs conspire
To form a grateful shade.

There you may stretch yourself upon the grass,
And, lulled with music, to kind slumbers pass:
No meagre cares your fancy will distract,
And on that scene no tragic fears will act.

But grant, ye powers, that it may be my lot
To live in peace from noisy towns remote.

¹ *Werke*, I, 99.

² *Werke*, I, 99.

Hagedorn, as well as Thomson, likes to turn from a description of the artificial pleasures of the city to the innocent ones of the country. Thomson's *Autumn* (ll. 1246-77), in which he expresses his aversion to the restlessness and deception of the city, and his love of the quiet and sincerity of the country, is typical of many such passages in the *Seasons*.¹ In general, the same features are observable in Hagedorn's earlier moral poetry, but not until this poem does he mention with such "Thomson-like" concreteness² the country life as in the following lines:

Der Schafe Schur, der Vogelfang, die Jagd,
Die Taubenzucht, die Wartung seiner Bienen,
Das frische Bad, der stille Schlaf im Grünen.

.
Sein Vieh, sein Land, sein Garten giebt Gerichte,
Die Milch, den Fisch, den Braten und die Früchte,
Sein Weinberg Wein, den kein Verkäufer mischt.³

In connection with the same passage from *Autumn*, cited above, it should be noted in passing that Hagedorn's conception of domestic happiness also is found to be one where a simple meal with one's friends plays an important part:

An Kriegsgeräth besitzt er nur ein Zelt,
In welchem er mit Freunden Tafel hält.⁴

But the activity which belongs to a life in the country is essential to this enjoyment:

Dort schmeckt dir Brod, wie sonst kein Kuchen that,
Denn alles schmeckt, wo man Bewegung hat.⁵

¹ Cf. *The Castle of Indolence*, stanzas XLIX-LVIII.

² Cf. Myra Reynolds, *The Treatment of Nature in English Poetry between Pope and Wordsworth* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1909), for a careful treatment of Thomson's descriptive poetry.

³ *Werke*, I, 104.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 104.

⁵ *Werke*, I, 105. Hagedorn's lines on fishing (*Werke*, I, 104) may have been suggested by Thomson's description of fishing in *Spring* (ll. 379-442) and the one in his poem *Of a Country Life* (ll. 53-66):

Und was er sonst bald mit beglückten Händen
Zu angeln pflegt, bald in der Netze Wänden
Gefangen führt, bald, wie den fetten Aal,
Im Reusen lockt zum frohen Mittagsmahl.

I add here four lines in which his concreteness is especially marked (*ibid.*, I, 104):

Im Teich, im Strom, wo Schley und Karpe springen,
Forell' und Schmerl durch Sand und Kiesel dringen,
Der Frösche Feind, der Krebs, geharnisch't laicht,
Und, ganz vertieft, die bärige Barbe streicht.

Though such passages as the above are a distinct echo of Horace,¹ the admiration for whom formed a bond of sympathy between Hagedorn and Thomson, the following evidence especially is strongly in favor of our regarding Hagedorn as having been influenced by Thomson in his treatment of nature. In the first place, the evidence advanced in the preceding pages indicates a close relationship between Thomson and Hagedorn in other significant characteristics. Then, in addition, Thomson had become well known in literary circles of Germany by the time *Horaz* was written. Not only had Brockes' translation of the *Seasons* been published seven years before, but imitations of it, as well, had begun to appear.² In view of this fact, and of the similarity between the two poets, it is logical to assume that Hagedorn, probably the widest reader of English literature in Germany at that time, was influenced, as well as his contemporaries, by Thomson's attitude toward nature.

References to domestic activities form an important feature in the German imitations of the *Seasons*, especially Kleist's *Frühling*, Zachariä's *Tageszeiten*, and Gessner's *Idyllen*. It will be recalled that previous to the time of Thomson any mention of commonplace themes in the poetry of England and Germany was considered in bad taste. It is significant that Hagedorn was one of the first German poets to refer in a natural way to everyday pursuits.

In connection with Thomson's influence upon the eighteenth-century poets of Germany, I believe that it was not as great upon Brockes and Haller as has generally been supposed. Brockes had been writing at least sixteen years before Thomson's *Spring* first appeared in English, and he had already formed his style, which was microscopic in contrast with the panoramic treatment characteristic of Thomson's style. Brockes and Haller both describe nature with scientific accuracy, but fail to animate it as Thomson does. In this respect Hagedorn is much closer to Thomson than is either Brockes or Haller. It is admitted that Hagedorn in his poems written before going to England followed Brockes in his microscopic

¹ Cf. especially *Epodes of Horace*, Ode 11.

² Kleist's *Frühling*, the best of the imitations of Thomson's *Spring*, had appeared two years earlier than Hagedorn's *Horaz*.

manner,¹ but like Kleist and Wieland, who were also influenced by Brockes in their early writing, he later abandoned this style and learned to use the broad effects characteristic of Thomson. Unlike Zachariä, and other imitators of Thomson, Hagedorn always stays within the bounds of good taste in his choice and treatment of subjects. Like Thomson he made everything poetic which he described. Further, Hagedorn is more closely related to Thomson in another characteristic than are Brockes and Haller: the work of both of these latter writers is characterized by a somber tone which is lacking in the poetry of Thomson and Hagedorn. The idyllic element which Haller, Wieland, and Gessner had learned from Thomson is found also in Hagedorn's *Horaz*. When we compare Hagedorn with his German contemporaries with regard to Thomson's influence upon their attitude toward nature, it appears certain that he was under the spell of the English poet, and that he was probably influenced more than were Brockes and Haller, and earlier than were Kleist, Wieland, Zachariä, or Gessner.²

In summing up the qualities which Hagedorn stresses, not only in this poem, but in all his *Moralische Gedichte* as well, I cannot do better than use a passage in Thomson's *Spring* (ll. 1161-64):

An elegant sufficiency, content,
Retirement, moral quiet, friendship, books,
Ease and alternate labour, useful life,
Progressive virtue, and approving heaven!

SUMMARY

In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to show the development of the influence of English literature upon the thought and form of Hagedorn's didactic poems. In considering this influence upon his thought, special attention has been paid to his interest in the philosophy of the English Deists, since he was the first to do in Germany what Pope had done in England, viz., to popularize deistic philosophy. In tracing the development of Hagedorn's conceptions of virtue, wisdom, freedom, friendship, philanthropy, and

¹ It will be recalled that Hagedorn in his later years wrote a parody on this detailed form of description employed by Brockes.

² As a matter of pure speculation, I offer the suggestion that Hagedorn may have helped Kleist, Wieland, Zachariä, and Gessner to know Thomson.

kindred subjects which constantly recur throughout his moral poems, attention has been called to the gradual change in Hagedorn's expressions concerning these themes; and especially as he departed from the prevalent views of his German contemporaries and approached those of his English models, chief among whom were Pope, Prior, and most probably Thomson and Addison. In his treatment of nature Thomson has been cited as the probable inspiration of Hagedorn in his marked advance in simplicity and directness over most of his contemporaries. The spirit of cheerfulness pervading his poetry, which had a marked influence upon the Anacreontic poetry of Germany, has been shown to be mainly an outgrowth of his ideas of virtue, freedom, and friendship, all of which bear the stamp of English influence.

In observing the influence of English literature upon Hagedorn's form, great importance has been attached to his introduction of the *Moralisches Gedicht* into German literature. Since this form, which he learned to use from Pope, afterward gained great popularity in Germany, this is a matter of considerable significance. Hagedorn's innovation is no less important in the use of the iambic pentameter with the heroic couplet at the end of each stanza, as in *Der Gelehrte* and *Der Weise*, and in the employment of the five-foot couplet exclusively in the last of these poems, *Horaz*; and this innovation has been cited as clearly of English origin. The concise, epigrammatic quality of Hagedorn's style, another innovation in German literature, has been pointed out as a contribution to him from Pope.

Although Hagedorn followed classic ideals, as did his English contemporaries, his similarity to the latter in his manner of expressing those ideals is too close to be regarded as merely accidental. Again, it may be contended that since Hagedorn was influenced in these poems by the classics, especially Horace, he would have written as he did even if he had never known English literature. But this is mere speculation, and is contrary to positive evidence. The evidence shows that although he expressed many of the same ideas found in the classics, his treatment of them resembles that of his English contemporaries more closely than it does that of the classics.¹

¹ Hagedorn in his development combines an approach to the conciseness of form and compactness of meter characteristic of Pope, with the tendency toward Romanticism for which Thomson stands.

Furthermore, his lifelong interest in English books and moral weeklies, his association with literary men who also were students of English literature, and the impressions made upon him during his stay in London form evidence which approaches conclusiveness in a final consideration of our argument. Hagedorn's breadth of knowledge of English life and literature was so great that it must have exerted an influence upon what he wrote, especially since he was avowedly a free imitator.¹ Moreover, it is of special importance to note that his writings bear practically no stamp of English influence until after he has been in England.

Finally, the English influences upon the thought and form of Hagedorn's moral writings are important, not only on account of the effect which they had upon him, but also because of that which they exerted through him upon his successors in Germany.

APPENDIX

HAGEDORN'S REFERENCES TO ENGLISH LITERATURE²

- Addison. I, v.³ Cites *Spectator*, No. 512, as one of the sources of *Der Sultan u. sein Bezier Azein*.
- III, ix, footnote 15. Quotes Addison's lines on Waller.
 - III, x, footnote 17. Reference to *Guardian*, No. 67.
 - III, xi, footnote 19. Quotes from *Spectator*, No. 85.
 - III, xi, footnote 20. Reference to *Spectator*, Nos. 70 and 74.
 - III, xx, footnote 29. Quotes from his *Discourse on Ancient Learning*, p. 6.
 - III, xxix. Reference to his odes.
 - III, 100, footnote. Reference to his *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy*, p. 212 ff.
 - V, 102. Reference to *Spectator*—never tires of it.
- Akenside. V, 188. Bodmer's criticism of Akenside's *Art of Preserving Health*.
- V, 204. Bodmer thanks Hagedorn for the *Pleasures of Imagination*.

¹ *Modern Philology*, XII, 8, pp. 179 f.

² There are, without doubt, other English references in Hagedorn's unpublished letters, to which I have not had access.

³ The references are to Hagedorn's *Werke* (Hamburg, 1800), unless otherwise indicated.

- Beaumont, Francis. IV, 123, footnote. Quotes from *In the Praise of Sack*, from *A Select Collection of English Songs*, II, 28, source of *Mischmasch*.
- Behn, Aphra. III, ix. Reference to her as song writer.
- Blackwells. III, xxii, footnote 30. Reference to *Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer*, pp. 80–103, 196.
- Blainville. II, 20, footnote 3. Reference to *Travels through Holland, Germany*, etc., I, 263, 264.
- Broome. V, 193. Bodmer refers to him as son of Homer.
- Brucker. I, 25, footnote 12. Reference to *Histor. Critic. Philosophiae*, I, 557.
 I, 48, footnote 27. *Ibid.*, I, 655–56.
 I, 71, footnote 22. *Ibid.*, I, 1315.
 I, 125, footnote 3. *Ibid.*, I, 871.
 III, 113, footnote 1. *Ibid.*, II.
 III, 114, footnote 2. *Ibid.*, I, 1242–48.
- Buckingham. I, 120. Quotation from him used at head of *Witz und Tugend*.
 III, ix. Reference to him as song writer.
 III, xiii, footnote 24. Quotation from him.
- Chaucer. V, 142. Reference to his fables.
- Cibber. V, 166. Bodmer refers to him.
- Cobb. I, 138. Reference to one of his epigrams as a source of *Susanna*.
- Congreve. III, xxix. Reference to his odes.
- Cowley. III, xvii. Reference to him.
- Croxal. V, 142. Reference to his fables.
- Delaney, D. V, 121. Reference to him.
- Donne, Dr. III, xvii. Reference to him.
- Dorset, Earl of. II, ix. Reference to *Knotting in Works of the Earls of Rochester, Roscommon, Dorset*, etc. (London, 1721), II, 53–54, the source of *Daphnis*.
 III, ix. Reference to him as song writer.
 III, xi. Reference to him.
- Dryden. II, ix. Reference to his *Fables*, 185–92, as source of *Philemon and Baucis*.
 III, xi, footnote 19. Reference to him.
 III, xxix. Reference to his odes.
 V, 142. Reference to his fables.
- D'Ursey. III, x. Reference to him.
- Eheselden, Wm. I, 123. Carpser is called the "Eheselden der Deutschen."
 V, 119. Reference to "Deutschen Eheselden."
- Fenton. II, ix. Reference to *Miscellaneous Poems*, ed. by Lintat (1722), II, 124, *Freeman and Wild, Two Hot Young Gallants*, etc.

- Fielding. V, 167. Bodmer thanks Hagedorn for sending him the *Life of Joseph Andrews*.
- Fitzosborne, Sir Thomas. I, 61, footnote 6. Reference to his *Letters on Several Subjects* (London, 1748), Letter 19.
- I, 75, footnote 31. *Ibid.*, Letter 15.
- Forrester. I, 116, footnote 47. Reference to his *Polite Philosopher* (Edinburgh, 1734).
- Gay. II, vi. Cites his *Fables* (1733), No. 50, pp. 190-94, source of *Der Hase und viele Freunde*.
- II, viii. Cites *Poems on Several Occasions* (London, 1731), II, 55, as one of the sources of *Aurelius und Beelzebub*.
- III, ix. Reference to him as song-writer.
- V, 142. Reference to his *Fables*.
- Gildon. V, 166. Bodmer refers to him.
- Glover. V, 85. Compares Triller, author of a mock heroic, to Glover.
- Gordon. I, 48, footnote 26. Reference to *Discourses upon Tacitus*, Disc. IV, I, 81-100.
- I, 64, footnote 10. *Ibid.*, III, 55-56, 105.
- I, 65, footnote 12. *Ibid.*, III, 71.
- Gould, W. I, 60, footnote 5. Reference to his *Account of English Ants* (London, 1747), p. 59.
- Hobbes. II, 212. Dedicates poem to him.
- Hume. I, 61, footnote 6. Reference to his *Essays Moral and Political* (London, 1748), XIV, 119-26.
- V, 211. Bodmer thanks Hagedorn for sending him Hume's *Essays*.
- Hutcheson. I, 76, footnote 25 (ed. Hamburg, 1757). Reference to *Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections* (London, 1742), pp. 258 ff.
- Jonson, Ben. III, xi. Reference to him.
- Johnson, Samuel. V, 98. Reference to his *Dictionary*.
- V, 145. Reference to his "Incomparable Rambler."
- Lauder. V, 145. Reference to his opposition to *Paradise Lost*.
- L'Estrange, Sir Roger. II, v. Cites his *Fables* (London, 1694), No. 86, as one of the sources of *Das Delphische Orakel und der Gottlose*.
- II, vi. Cites *ibid.*, No. 69, as source of *Der Fuchs ohne Schwanz*.
- II, vii. Cites *ibid.*, No. 89, pp. 176, 177, as source of *Die Bärenhaut*.
- Mallet. I, 135, footnote. Reference to his *Poem of Verbal Criticism* (London, 1743).
- III, ix. Reference to him as song writer.

Mallet—*continued*

- V, 97. Reference to his excellent poem, *Amyntor and Theodora*, his *Poems on Several Occasions*, in which he calls attention to the *Poem of Verbal Criticism*, which pleases him, and the *Excursion*, which he said was regarded in England as a masterpiece.
- V, 142. Reference to his fables.
- V, 207. Bodmer thanks Hagedorn for *Amyntor*, *Verbal Criticism* and *Excursion*.

Mandeville. V, 142. Reference to his fables.

Mead, Richard. I, 129, footnote. Reference to his *Mechanical Account of Poisons*.

Middleton. I, 45, footnote 18. Reference to his *History of the Life of Cicero*, I, 85, 94, 98, 104.

Milton. V, 105 ff. Reference to him.

V, 109. Reference to him.

V, 112. Reference to him.

V, 113. Reference to him.

V, 114 ff. Reference to him.

V, 145. Reference to him.

Newton. I, 23 (ed. 1757). Reference to him.

V, 146. Reference to him.

Oldham, John. II, vi. Cites *The Works of Mr. John Oldham*, II, 128, as one of the sources of *Der Wolf und der Hund*.

Orrery, Lord. I, 61, footnote 6. Reference to 15th letter of Lord Orrery to his son, Hamilton Boyle, in the *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift* (London, 1752), p. 184.

V, 120. Reference to him.

Parnell. V, 193. Bodmer refers to him as son of Homer.

Pemberton. V, 167. Bodmer thanks Hagedorn for sending him *Observations on Epic Poetry*.

Phillips, Ambrosius. III, ix. Reference to him as song writer.

V, 166. Bodmer refers to him.

Pope. I, xix, footnote. Reference to him.

I, xx, footnote. Reference to him.

I, xxx. Quotes from *Essay on Criticism*, l. 584.

I, xxxi. Quotes from *Essay on Criticism*, ll. 152–57.

I, xxxii, footnote 3. Quotes from *Observations on Homer*, p. 2.

I, xxxiii. Quotes from him. Reference to Pope's note to the 399th line of the 17th book of the *Odyssey* and to Pope's 10th letter to Cromwell.

I, 135, footnote. Reference to *Imitations of Horace*, p. 430, 451.

Pope—*continued*

- I, 142, footnote 3. Quotes from *Essay on Modern Education* in Pope's and Swift's *Miscellanies* (London, 1736), III, 182.
- I, 175, footnote. Quotes from *Dunciad*, II, 33, 34.
- II, viii. Cites *The Miscellanies* by Pope and Swift, Vol. III, as the source of *Ja und Nein*.
- II, 118, footnote. Quotes from *Eloise to Abelard*.
- II, 135, footnote 2. Reference to his translation of the *Odyssey*.
- III, xii. Reference to Pope's and Swift's *Miscellanies*, V, 120.
- III, xxix. Reference to *St. Cecilia*.
- V, 16. Reference to German translation of *Essay on Man*.
- V, 18. Quotes from Pope.
- V, 60, footnote. Reference to Latin translation of *Essay on Man*.
- V, 98 ff. Reference to *Dunciad*.
- V, 110. Reference to rules of sound in 6th letter to Walsh.
- V, 115 ff. Reference to Hagedorn's translation of *Universal Prayer*.
- V, 122. Reference to Italian translation of *Essay on Man*.
- V, 141, footnote. Reference to *Rape of the Lock*.
- V, 166. Bodmer refers to him.
- Prior. I, 136, footnote. Quotes epigram from him.
- I, 138. Reference to an epigram of his as one of the sources of *Susanna*.
- II, ix. Cites his *Poems*, I, 97, as source of *Liebe und Gegenliebe*.
- II, x. Cites his *Poems*, I, 109–15, as source of *Paulus Purganti und Agnese*.
- II, 95, footnote 1. Quotes from *Hans Carvel*, one of the sources of *Aurelius und Beelzebub*.
- II, 140, footnote 5. Quotes from his *Ladle*, one of the sources of *Philemon und Baucis*.
- II, 148, footnote. Quotes from his *Paulo Purganti and His Wife*, one of the sources of *Paulus Purganti und Agnese*.
- III, ix. Reference to him as song writer.
- V, 142. Reference to his fables.
- V, 166. Bodmer refers to him.
- Ramsay, Allen. II, v. Cites *Fable of the Lost Calf* in Ramsay's *Poems* (Edinburgh, 1723), pp. 275, 276, as one of the sources of *Das Gelübe*.
- III, ix. Reference to him.
- Richardson. V, 110 ff. Criticism of *Clarissa* and reference to *Pamela*.
- Rochester, Earl of. IV, 49. Cites *A Very Heroical Epistle in Answer to Ephelia* as source of *An Ephelien*.
- V, 102. Reference to him.
- Rosecommon, Earl of. III, xviii. Quotes from his translation of Horace.

- Sedley, Sir Charles. III, ix. Reference to him as song writer.
- Seldon. I, 65, footnote 12. Reference to him.
- Shaftesbury. I, 72, footnote 24. Reference to *Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour in Characteristicks*, I, 98 ff.
- V, 97. Reference to him.
- Shakespeare. I, xx, footnote. Reference to him.
- I, 26, footnote 11. Quotes from *King Henry VI*, Part III, Act II, sc. 3.
- I, 76, footnote 33. Quotes from a speech of Iago's in *Othello*.
- I, 123, footnote. Reference to *King Richard III*, Act I, sc. 1.
- V, 99. Reference to German translation of *Julius Caesar*.
- Sidney, Philip. III, ix. Reference to him as song writer.
- Spence. I, 117, footnote 37 (ed. 1757). Reference to *Polymetis: or an Inquiry Concerning the Agreement between the Works of the Roman Poets and the Remains of the Antient Artists*, etc. (London, 1747), p. 21.
- I, 135, footnote. Reference to him.
- Spenser. V, 197. Bodmer refers to the *Faerie Queene*.
- Stanley. I, 25, footnote 10. Reference to *History of Philosophy*, Part III, chap. v, p. 72.
- Steele. III, xi. Reference to the *Lover*, No. 40.
- III, 196, footnote 3. Reference to the *Spectator*, No. 196.
- V, 133 ff. Hagedorn writes Ebert, asking him to translate *The Conscious Lovers*.
- Swift. I, 25, footnote 10. Quotes from the *Voyage to the Houyhnhnms* in *Gulliver's Travels*, chap. viii, p. 215.
- I, 142, footnote 3. Quotes from *Essay on Modern Education* in Pope's and Swift's *Miscellanies* (London, 1736), III, 182.
- II, viii. Cites Pope's and Swift's *Miscellanies*, Vol. III, the source of *Ja und Nein*.
- II, ix. Cites *Baucis and Philemon* as one of the sources of *Philemon und Baucis*.
- II, ix. Cites Pope's and Swift's *Miscellanies*, 1731. III, 132-40, as one of the sources of *Philemon und Baucis*.
- II, 27, footnote. Reference to *Gulliver's Travels* and quotation from Pope's and Swift's *Miscellanies*, III, 311.
- II, 141, footnote 6. Quotes from Swift.
- III, xii. Reference to Pope's and Swift's *Miscellanies*, V, 120.
- V, 99. Calls Liscov "Deutschland's Swift."
- V, 101. Reference to him.
- V, 120. Reference to him.
- V, 166. Bodmer refers to him.
- Taylor, Lord. V, 63. Reference to him.

Temple, Wm. I, 64, footnote 9. Reference to *Memoirs* (1672-79), p. 245.
 Thomson. V, 172. Bodmer refers to Thomson's *Liberty*.

- V, 259. Ebert writes to Hagedorn (Leipzig, January 15, 1748) that he has recently studied the divine Thomson thoroughly and he can scarcely forgive Brockes for translating him. He sighs for Thomson's poem, *Liberty*, and cannot rest until he can find and admire Thomson in Hagedorn's company.
- V, 262. Ebert writes to Hagedorn, Leipzig, January 15, 1748: "Mich ärgert's, dass ich den Thomson nicht mit habe verschreiben lassen. Bei solcher Gelegenheit empfinde ichs erst nicht, dass ich nicht reich bin. Was für eine herrliche Sammlung von schönen Büchern wollte ich haben! Sie sollte der Ihrigen nicht weichen; denn ich würde mir die Ihrigen zum Muster nehmen."
- V, 266. Ebert writes Hagedorn, Leipzig, April 8, 1748: "Es dauert mich nur, dass ich ihn (Giseke) nicht im Englischen habe weiter bringen können, ihn, der so würdig ist, Pope und Thomson zu lesen."

Tickell. III, ix. Reference to him as song writer.

Turnbull. V, 97. Reference to his edition of Shaftesbury's works.

Waller. III, ix. Reference to him as a song writer.

III, xvii. Reference to him.

* Wesley, Samuel. V, 197. Bodmer acknowledges receipt from Hagedorn of Samuel Wesley's *Poems*.

Winchilsea, Lady. II, v. Cites *Ardelia* from *Miscellany Poems* (London, 1713), pp. 73-83, as one of the sources of *Das geräubte Schäfchen*.

II, vi. Cites *Miscellany Poems*, p. 254, as one of the sources of *Der Löwe und die Mücke*.

II, vii. Cites *Miscellany Poems*, pp. 212, as one of the sources of *Der Adler, die Sau und die Katze*.

Wollaston. I, 72, footnote 25. Reference to *Religion of Nature*, §§ 3-6.

Young. I, xxviii. Quotes from his *Love of Fame*, Sat. I.

V, 146. Reference to Ebert's translation of *Night Thoughts*.

COLLECTIONS, ETC.

II, viii. Reference to *Common Sense, or, the Englishman's Journal*, of the year 1737, Nos. 34, 35, as one of the sources of *Apollo und Minerva*.

III, 129, footnote 1. Reference to *Common Sense*, etc., III, 280-81.

III, xxiii. Reference to the English collections, *The Vocal Miscellany, Calliope, The Choice, The Syren, The Lark*, etc.

PROVERBS, ETC.

- V, 63. Quotes, "Never a faint heart won a fair lady."
- V, 96. Quotes, "That each good author is as good a friend."
- V, 105. Quotes, "What authors lose, their booksellers have won;
So pimps grow rich, while gallants are undone."
- V, 121. Quotes, "The greatest monarch may be stabbed by night,
And fortune help the murderer in his flight," etc.
- V, 141. Quotes, "One moral, or a mere well-natur'd deed,
Can all desert in sciences exceed."

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GOTHIC RENDERING OF GREEK RECURRENTS WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO MATT. 5:23

In the Greek of Matt. 5:23–24 the word *δῶρον*, ‘gift’ occurs three times in precisely the same sense of ‘sacrificial gift.’ The form *aibr* stands in the Gothic manuscript (Codex Argenteus) for the first occurrence, while *giba*, the regular Gothic word for ‘gift’ generally and for ‘sacrificial gift’ in all instances except this one, represents the other two occurrences. *Giba* is the common Germanic word for ‘gift’ (OHG. *gēba*, OE. *giefu*, ON. *gyrf*); *aibr* occurs only here, and has no known meaning or etymological connection. It cannot possibly be regarded as another common word for ‘gift,’ as this idea is of such frequent occurrence that a word in common use would not be likely to escape notice, and it is certain that the common word was *giba*. Phonetically *aibr* is exactly equivalent to OHG. *eipar*, *eivar* ‘bitter’ < supposed Gc. **aibraz*—*aibr(an)*> a possible Go. **aibr*; but the meaning, as Grimm justly remarks (*Gram.*³, I, 63), cannot be made to agree with this connection. As far as this phonetic correspondence offers any evidence, it creates a presumption that we are dealing with a corruption of the text; because, if a form *aibr* was actual Gothic, it would probably, in view of the generally homogeneous vocabulary of the older Germanic languages, be the same word as OHG. *eipar*, and therefore out of place in this passage. The only alternative supposition from the etymological standpoint would be that Gc. **aibraz* ‘bitter’ did not occur in Gothic and that we have to do with a meaningless corruption.

The presumption of corruptness is increased by the fact that the passage is extant only in the Codex Argenteus (CA). This MS has had the notice of scholars from its presence at the Monastery of Werden until its present abode at the University of Upsala. While its earlier history is not directly known, the evidence both of form and of content¹ points to its probable origin in Italy at the time of Theodoric and to its being later in the possession of the Lombard kings. The marginal ornamentation and cross-references seem,

¹ See Bernhardt, *Vulfilia*, pp. xl, xlix.

according to Wiener,¹ to date from the Frankish or Burgundian scribes at the court of Charles the Great. Wiener thinks this shows that the original translation was in the Burgundian dialect dating from Alcuin and Charles the Great. It might, however, equally well indicate either a recopying of earlier Ostro-Gothic MSS or merely their freshening up by the Frankish scribes, with the addition of the marginal ornamentations and cross-references. The positively datable Ravenna Document² argues strongly against Wiener's view and in favor of one of these latter suppositions. Bernhardt's evidence favors the last supposition of the redactoring of the MSS by the Frankish scribes. If further investigation should confirm this view, it would be worth while to see also whether any evidence existed to connect the work of Uppström's "nefarius corruptor" with the work of the Frankish scribes.

For the purposes of this investigation it is not necessary to decide between these different possibilities, even if that were possible. But it is of interest to note under any of them that we are dealing with a manuscript prepared for kingly eyes, and this sheds light on the internal character of the MS and thereby also on our present problem. The gold and silver letters on their background of royal purple are painstakingly even and beautiful, but the copyist—while evidently thoroughly at home in Gothic—was careless as to the exact text, and possibly did not always take the trouble to understand the sense of what he was copying. His punctuation is sometimes contrary to the sense, and he makes fairly frequent mistakes in copying, varying from slight slips to occasional want of sense. When a mistake was once made, he seems to have been usually unwilling to mar his beautiful pages by erasure or correction, perhaps because his royal patron would demand a clean page, but would have no critical appreciation of a scrupulously accurate text. For instance, the extant verses of Matt. chap. 5, in which this passage occurs, show the following errors in copying: vs. 15, *liuteib* for *liuhteib* 'shines'; vs. 29, *usstagg* (pret. ind.) for *usstigg* (impv.) 'pluck out'; vs. 31,

¹ See his work on Gothic and Burgundian and Frankish documents shortly to be issued by the Harvard Press. Wiener's general conclusions as to the status of Gothic and Germanic philology seem to me to be based on very uncritical evidence, but his collection of materials and his new evidence as to the date of the Gothic MSS are undoubtedly valuable and must be taken account of.

² See Balg, *Goth. Lit.*, pp. 218–20.

hwazuh ‘what whosoever’ for *hwazuh* ‘whosoever.’ The two complete and seven part chapters of Matthew which are extant show in CA a total of 20 copyist’s errors. As a sample of errors elsewhere, John, chap. 6, shows: vs. 28, *waúrswa* for *waúrstwa* ‘work’; vs. 39, omitted because similar in opening and closing words to vs. 40; vs. 40, acc. *wiljan* ‘will’ used for nom. *wilja* as subject of *ist* ‘is’; vs. 46, *was* ‘was’ for *hwas* ‘anyone.’ (For a fuller account of textual errors and changes see *BV, Einleitung*, pp. xlv-lx.)

In addition to these numerous copyist’s blunders, the MS shows doctoring or retracing of dimmed letters by a later hand—the “nefarious corruptor” referred to above. This has in some instances resulted in corruption of the text. Thus *saislēp* (Matt. 8:24) is corrupted by retracing to the graphically almost identical *saisaeu* (ΣΝΙΣΛΕΠΝ:ΣΝΙΣΛΕΝ); in Matt. 9:24; Mark 5:39; John 11:12 *slēpiþ* ‘sleeps’ is corrupted to *saeuiþ* (ΣΛΕΝΠΙΨ:ΣΛΕΝΠΙΨ); John 10:23, *ubizwái* (dat.) ‘porch’ to *ubizali* (οΒΙΖΥΝΙ:οΒΙΖΑΛΙ), etc. It is not likely that all retracings, either correct or incorrect, would appear plainly as such to later readers of the MS, so that it might not always be possible to determine whether a given graphic corruption is due to the original copyist or to this later “nefarious corruptor.” Compare for instance **Ψ** for **T** (*p* for *t*) in Luke 5:11; Mark 2:9; 10:38: *afleipandans* ‘going away’ for *aflētandans* ‘leaving,’ *aflēpanda* for *aflētanda* ‘are remitted,’ *witups* for *wituts* ‘you both know.’ (Cf. also *BV, Einleitung*, § 35.) Probably in the first instance and possibly in the second also contamination between *afleipan* ‘go away’ and *aflētan* ‘send away’ is involved, such contamination being made easier by the later graphic interchange between *e* and *ei*. In *wituts* contamination of the 2d person pl. *witup* is thinkable. In all three cases corruption through retracing is thinkable, with or without the co-operation of these contaminations; when the **T** became dimmed, its upright and corner strokes (twice as thick as the horizontal connecting them) might remain visible the longest, and might appear as remnants of **Ψ** (**T** > ‘·’ > **Ψ**).

In view of this frequency of errors in CA, we may safely assume *aibr* to be a corrupt form, either a meaningless corruption, or a good word (**aibr* 'bitter') out of place. In either case the corruption might be due either to a blunder of the original copyist or to a later mistake in retracing in the process of freshening up the MS. The MS itself offers no direct evidence as to either of these possibilities. Dr Andersson, librarian of the University of Upsala, who kindly inspected this passage in the MS for me, states that the reading is very clear and distinct. While this clearness might conceivably be due to retracing and freshening, it in no sense proves this. The dimming of individual letters in the MS generally is very unequal, and it is likewise conceivable that in this particular word the original letters may have remained clear without retracing.

Grimm (*Gram.*³ I, 43), for the sake of a possible etymology, tentatively conjectured **tibr* < Gc. **tibr(an)* as a possible emendation of *aibr*, this form being inferred from OHG. *zēpar*, *zēbar* 'opfertier': OE. *tīfer* 'cattle, money, sacrificial victim.' It is important to note that Grimm himself candidly expressed doubt of the correctness of his conjecture (*ibid.*, p. 63) on the ground that *a* and *t* could not easily be confused in the Gothic script. But the conjecture was certainly ingenious and striking and has appealed strongly to scholars for this reason. See, for instance, Feist, *Etym. Wtbch.* under *aibr*; *BV*, critical note to Matt. 5:23. There are, however, weighty reasons against it from the standpoint of meaning, style, and graphic form (the last only was mentioned by Grimm), which justify Grimm's doubt and force us definitely to reject this emendation.

1. *From the standpoint of meaning.*—(1) We should have expected *giba* as a translation of Gr. δῶρον either in the general sense of 'gift' or in the particular sense of 'sacrificial gift.' The word *giba* occurs in extant Gothic 13 times, serving with a single exception noted later, as the only rendering, not only for δῶρον (Matt. 5:24 twice; 8:4; Eph. 2:8), but for all Greek words for 'gift': δόσις (Phil. 4:15), δόμα (Eph. 4:8; Phil. 4:17), δωρεά (II Cor. 9:15; Eph. 3:7; 4:7) and 3 times as a translation of χάρισμα 'grace, gift' when used in the latter sense (Rom. 11:29; I Cor. 7:7; II Cor. 1:11)—compare the English rendering of χάρισμα varying between *grace* and *gift* for similar semantic reasons. Aside from this moot form *aibr*, there

is no variation in the rendering of Greek recurrent passages, but a uniform leveling of all Greek variants instead. Cf. Matt. 5:24 ($\delta\hat{\omega}ρον$ — $\delta\hat{\omega}ρον$); Phil. 4:15, 17 ($\delta\hat{\sigma}\sigmaις$ — $\delta\hat{\omega}μα$); Eph. 4:7, 8, ($\delta\hat{\omega}ρεά$ — $\delta\hat{\omega}μα$), all leveled to *giba* in Gothic. If account is taken also of the cognate words *giban* ‘to give’ and *gabei* ‘wealth,’ the unvarying repetitions and levelings become even more striking. Thus we have in Matt. 5:24–26, Gr. $\delta\hat{\omega}ρον$ — $\delta\hat{\omega}ρον$ — $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\hat{\omega}$ — $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\hat{\omega}$ — $\alpha\rho\delta\hat{\omega}s$: Go. *giba*—*giba*—*atgibai*—*usgibis*; Eph. 2:7, 8, Gr. $\pi\lambda\hat{o}\nu\tauοs$ — $\delta\hat{\omega}ρον$: Go. *gabeins* (gen. of *gabei*)—*giba*; Eph. 3:7, 8, Gr. $\delta\hat{\omega}ρεάν$ — $\delta\hat{\omega}\theta\epsilon\hat{i}\sigma\alpha\nu$ — $\epsilon\hat{\delta}\hat{\omega}\theta\eta$ — $\pi\lambda\hat{o}\nu\tauοs$: Go. *gibái*—*gibanōn*—*atgibana*—*gabein* (cf. vs. 11, Gr. $\delta\hat{\omega}\eta$ — $\pi\lambda\hat{o}\nu\tauοs$: Go. *gibái*—*gabein*); Eph. 4:7, 8, Gr. $\epsilon\hat{\delta}\hat{\omega}\theta\eta$ — $\delta\hat{\omega}ρεάs$ — $\epsilon\hat{\delta}\hat{\omega}\kappa\epsilon\nu$ — $\delta\hat{\omega}\mu\alpha\tauα$: Go. *atgibana* (*ist*)—*gibōs*—*atgaf*—*gibōs*.

In the meaning ‘sacrificial gift’ $\delta\hat{\omega}ρον$ is, as noted above, the only word used in the Greek original, and (aside from the form *aibr* under consideration) is uniformly rendered by *giba* in Gothic. It occurs 7 times in the Greek New Testament (Matt. 5:23, 24, twice; 8:4; 23:18, 19) of which the first four instances are extant in Gothic. Observe that three out of these four occurrences use the set phrase ‘to bring one’s gift (to the altar)’: Gr. $\pi\roo\sigma\phi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\nu$ $\tau\delta$ $\delta\hat{\omega}ρον$: Go. (*at*)*baíran bō giba* in the other two instances. This meaning is to be distinguished on the one hand from ‘gift to the treasury,’ which occurs in the Greek 4 times (Matt. 15:5; Luke 21:1, 4; Mark 7:11) and is uniformly represented by $\delta\hat{\omega}ρον$ in Greek. Only the last one (Mark 7:11) is extant in Gothic, where the word *máipms* (:OE. *māðum*) ‘gift, treasure’ is used. This is the only meaning in which any other Gothic word than *giba* is used to render a Greek word for ‘gift.’ Observe that it is peculiarly appropriate for this meaning, and was therefore probably the regular Gothic word for this special meaning. The Greek word $\delta\hat{\omega}ρον$ is, when used in this sense, a translation of the Aramaic *korban* ‘gift, treasure, treasury, sacrosanct as a gift to the treasury,’ so that the Gothic rendering is here decidedly better than the Greek. Compare Matt. 27:6—not extant in Gothic—where the Greek, because of its difficulty in accurately rendering this word, retained the Aramaic word as Gr. *κορβανᾶs* ‘treasury.’ Observe further that the use of *máipms* in this sense does not, as is the case with *aibr* in Matt 5:23, involve the variant translation of a recurrent Greek word in the same connection. Just as sharply to be

distinguished from 'sacrificial gift' on the other hand are the meanings 'sacrifice' and 'victim'—the ritualistic use made of the worshiper's gift. These two meanings are confused in the Ger. *opfer* and Gr. *θυσία*,¹ but are distinguished, though in some instances not very sharply, in Go. *hunsl* 'sacrificium, oblatio' (:ON. *hunsl*, *húsl*:OE. *hūsl* Eng.>*housel* 'eucharist') and *sáups* 'victima, hostia.' *Hunsl* stands for Gr. *θυσία* 'sacrifice' (Matt. 9:13; Mark 9:49; Luke 2:24; I Cor. 10:18), *προσφορά* 'offering, oblatio' (Eph. 5:2; Skeir. I, a), *λατρεία* 'act of worship' (John 16:2). *Sáups* stands only for Gr. *θυσία* in the sense of 'sacrificial victim' (Mark 12:33; Rom. 12:1; Eph. 5:2; Skeir. I, a).

Observe that in all of this there is no suspicion of any confusion, either in Greek or in Gothic, between the words meaning '(sacrificial) gift' and those meaning 'sacrifice' or 'sacrificial victim.' It follows that even if the conjectural **tibr* 'opfertier' were a correct Gothic form and meaning, it could not have translated Gr. *δῶπον* into Gothic, but could at best have been used only as a picturesque rhetorical variation without particular regard for the precise meaning of the original. Such a variation, even if generally permissible in Gothic style, would not have been especially appropriate to this connection, since the Jewish gifts at the altar were not limited to sacrificial animals. (See Exod. 22:29; 23:19; Lev. 2:1–16; 23:10, 13, 15, 17; Num. 15:19–21.)

(2) This difficulty of meaning is greatly increased by the fact that the primary meaning of WGc. **tibr* was not 'victim' but 'cattle.' Kluge (*Etym. Wtbch.* under *Ungeziefer*) infers this from the OFr. loan word *toivre* 'cattle,' which is shown by its phonetic form to be borrowed from primitive WGc. and hence throws light on the earliest meaning of **tibr*. With this evidence of OFr. agrees that of all the languages showing the word. Thus OE. *tifer* had as its fundamental meaning 'cattle,' with the secondary meaning 'money' (compare Lat. *pecunia*, Go. *faihu*, Eng. *fee*) and 'sacrificial victim.'² It is commonly assumed, however, that OHG. *zēpar*, *zēbar* was

¹ σφάγιον 'victim' also occurs beside *θυσία* in Acts 7:42 (not extant in Gothic), but generally *θυσία* alone is used in both these senses. θῦμα 'victim' and ἵερεῖον 'victim' are not used in N.T. Greek.

² See Leo, *Angeleächesches Glossar*, p. 133 under *tefan*.

limited in meaning to ‘victim’ with the added Jewish notion of “koscher” or ‘ceremonially clean’ as a close secondary meaning. The MHG. *unzifer*, *ungezibere*>NGH. *ungeziefer* ‘vermin’ is then explained as “unreines, nicht zum opfer geeignetes tier.” Neither the assumption of meaning nor the definition derived from it will bear scrutiny. That the meaning ‘cattle’ not only had not disappeared in OHG., but persisted in the MHG. period, is positively shown by Bavar. *zifer* ‘federvieh, bisweilen auch ziegen und schweine.’¹ Observe that this meaning is most decidedly not “koscher”! As a matter of fact ‘koscher’ and ‘unkoscher’ are not Germanic ideas in either the heathen or Christian periods, but Jewish; so that the current theoretical etymological definition of NHG. *ungeziefer* is ludicrously absurd as to meaning. It is also impossible from the standpoint of word-formation. NHG. *ungeziefer*< MHG. *ungezibere*, *unzifer* are not individual but collective terms, and the *un-* cannot be made to suggest a simple negative to sprachgefühl, but is of the intensive pejorative type found in *unmensch*, *untier*, *unkraut*, etc. The analogical evidence of similar formations wholly agrees with this conclusion from sprachgefühl. Compare MHG.² *ungeschirre* ‘schlechtes, unbeholfenes gerät’; *ungefilde* ‘unbebautes und unwegsames land’; *ungewechse* ‘miswachs’; *ungewürme* ‘menge von wärmern, schlängen’; *ungeziuc* ‘ungehörige rüstung’; *unvihe* ‘ungeziefer.’ Observe especially the last form *unvihe*, and weigh the semantic proportion *vihe* ‘cattle’: *unvihe* ‘vermin’:: *zifer* ‘cattle’: *unzifer* ‘vermin.’ The conclusion is inevitable: NHG. *ungeziefer* and MHG. *zifer*, *unzifer*, *ungezibere* contain no idea of ‘koscher’ and ‘unkoscher,’ but are direct survivals of OHG. *zēbar* ‘cattle.’ It follows that the meaning ‘sacrificial victim’ was secondary only. In other words, the testimony of Old, Middle, and New High German forms taken together absolutely agrees with that of OF. and OE., showing that at all periods WGc. **tibr* had the general meaning ‘cattle’ which Kluge assigns to it. The term was then of course applicable to the cattle used as sacrificial victims, but in this secondary meaning it had not become isolated from its broader fundamental meaning nor lost the associations belonging to this. If

¹ Definition quoted from Müller and Zarncke.

² See Lexer's MHD. *Wtbch.* under words cited.

from the WGc. we conjecture Gc. **tibr(an) > Gc. *tibr*, we can only assign to it the same meaning.

We must conclude, therefore, that Wulfila would not have used this word to translate Gr. δῶπον. While the copyist of CA was careless, the original translator was both discriminating and idiomatic¹ and would hardly have been guilty of such a mistranslation as either of the meanings ‘cattle’ or ‘victim’ would give. From the standpoint of meaning we could only expect *giba* as the translation of δῶπον.

II. *From the standpoint of style.*—(1) Bernhardt² defends the emendation to **tibr* on the ground that it was Wulfila’s habit to vary the translation of recurrent Greek words—“dass [in vs.] 24 *giba* für dasselbe δῶπον steht, ist der gewohnheit des gotischen übersetzers mit dem ausdruck abzuwechseln angemessen.” His statement in his *Einleitung* (p. xxxiv) is not quite so strong: “. . . eine entschiedene neigung im ausdruck . . . abzuwechseln.” Because of the general critical excellence of Bernhardt’s work and the consequent deserved authority attaching to his statements, I began this investigation accepting his views on these points implicitly, merely finding it strange that, if the emendation to **tibr* were allowed, we should have in this passage the picturesque variant (**tibr*) before rather than after the twice recurring common prosaic form (*giba*)—a normal rhetorical variation should exactly reverse all of this. I found, however, as the investigation proceeded that Bernhardt’s statement is here absolutely uncritical and that Wulfila’s habitual treatment of recurrent terms is in every respect the exact opposite of that claimed by Bernhardt. Wulfila not only habitually retains recurrent terms unvaried in his Gothic translation, but also habitually levels Greek variations in the expression of recurrent ideas, and that not only where the Gothic may have lacked a variant term, but also in instances where good variant terms were readily at hand if Wulfila had cared to use them. The matter is easily tested, as close repetitions of ideas are exceedingly common in the New Testament, owing partly to the concrete nature of most of its narrative, partly to the fact that

¹ See *BV*, pp. xxxii and xxxiii, and Curme, “Is the Gothic Bible Gothic?” *JEGP*, X, Nos. 2 and 3. Observe that the suspicion entertained by some as to the Gothicity of Wulfila’s word-order does not apply to his choice of Gothic words.

² *BV*, Matt. 5:23, note, and *Einleitung*, p. xxxiv.

Christ's discourses were regularly cast in the form of Hebrew poetic parallelism, partly to the frequent repetitions necessary in the admonitions, discussions, and reasonings of the Epistles.

Thus the fifth chapter of Matthew up to the verses in which the *aibr—giba* passage occurs (Matt. 5:15–24) shows the following repetitions: vss. 15–16, Gr. λάμπει—λαμψάτω ('shine'): Go. unvaried *liuh-teip*—*liuhtjái*, though there is another common word *skeinan* 'shine,' which is elsewhere used as the equivalent of λάμπειν; vs. 17, καταλῦσαι 'destroy' twice: Go. twice unvaried *gataíran*, leaving *fragistjan* 'destroy' unused; vs. 18, παρέλθη 'pass away' twice: Go. twice unvaried *usleipip*, though variant verbs of coming and going were numerous to select from; vss. 17–19, four repetitions of two words each, involving forms of νόμος 'law,' ἐλάχιστος 'least,' διδάσκειν 'teach,' καλεῖσθαι 'be called': rendered respectively by Go. *witōþ*, *minnistja*, *laisjan*, *háitan*, all unvaried; vss. 19–20, three repetitions of forms of βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν 'kingdom of heaven': Go. thrice unvaried *piudangardi himinē*; vs. 21, Gr. φονεύσεις and φονεύσῃ 'murder': Go. unvaried *maúrþrjáis* and *maúrþreip*; vss. 21–22, Gr. ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει, 'shall be liable to the court' twice: Go. twice unvaried *skula waírþip* *stauái*, beside two "reduced grades" of the phrase in *skula waírþip* twice unvaried from Gr. ἔνοχος ἔσται 'shall be liable'; *brōþr seinamma* 'to his brother' twice unvaried from ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ, and *saei qibip* 'whoever says' twice unvaried from ὁ δ' ἀν εἶπη; vss. 18–22, three repetitions of λέγω ὑμῖν 'I tell you': Go. *giba izwis* thrice unvaried; vss. 23–24 two forms of θυσιαστήριον 'altar' rendered unvaried by forms of *hunslastaps*; two forms of ἀδελφός σου 'your brother': Go. two forms of *brōþar þeins* unvaried; τὸ δῶρόν σου twice (ignoring for the moment the third instance corresponding to *aibr þein*): Go. twice unvaried *pō giba þeina*—in all 16 instances of repetition involving 64 words in each language in the space of 10 verses with no variation in translation whatever. Against these we find the moot form *aibr* and one partial variation in vss. 23–24: Gr. προσφέρεις—πρόσφερε 'bring up': Go. *baíráis du*—*atbaír* 'bring to'—'bring up.' In so far as this can be regarded as a variation, it is idiomatic and not in any sense rhetorical. The first *πρός* is pleonastic in Greek and must be omitted in Gothic, being necessarily displaced by its more explicit equivalent *du hunslastada* 'to

the altar.' In the second occurrence *at-* must be expressed, because *du hunslastada* is omitted. Compare such English and German phrases as *he went into the house*, *er ging ins Haus*, as against *he went in*, *er ging hinein*. It is clear that if Wulfila ever acquired the supposed habit of variant translation, it had not yet developed when he reached Matt. 5:23, and that on this basis also we could have expected only *giba* as a translation of $\delta\hat{\omega}\rho\sigma\nu$ at this point. This conclusion need not, however, rest merely on the evidence of this one chapter. If we extend our count to the whole Gospel of Matthew, those portions extant in Gothic (about one-third of the whole) show 705 unvaried translations of recurrent Greek words against 21 variations, or more than 30 to 1 against variation. Furthermore, the treatment of *giba* and *giban* in all extant passages leads to the same conclusion. We saw above that in all recurrent passages involving nouns meaning 'gift' the Gothic never shows variation in rendering but always non-variation or leveling. The same is true of verbs meaning 'give': Gothic *giban* and its compounds occur 216 times in extant passages. They are without exception the only words used to render $\delta\hat{\iota}\delta\delta\nu\alpha\iota$ and its compounds as well as all other Greek words used in the sense of 'give,' leveling all occurrences of $\chi\alpha\pi\iota\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ and $\delta\omega\rho\epsilon\iota\nu$ and all instances of $\pi\alpha\pi\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\nu$ and $\pi\alpha\pi\chi\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ in which these have the meaning 'give.' Many passages involve recurrences, as John 6:27-52 showing 10 occurrences of $\delta\hat{\iota}\delta\delta\nu\alpha\iota$ uniformly rendered into Gothic by *giban*, or II Cor. 2:7-10 showing 4 occurrences of $\chi\alpha\pi\iota\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ with the uniform Gothic rendering *fragiban*.

(2) The case against variation is actually much stronger than the 30 to 1 ratio shown by the numerical count of Matthew. In the first place, some variations are spurious, being due to corruption of the text in the various ways explained by Bernhardt (*BV, Einleitung*, pp. xlv-lxi), namely, (a) through copyist's blunders, including not only simple miscopying, but careless variation through substitution of synonymous terms, and the interpolation or substitution of marginal glosses in the text; and (b) through conscious efforts at critical correction, partly on the basis of parallel passages from other parts of the Gothic Scriptures, partly on the basis of the Latin (*Itala*) version. The percentage of spurious variations has not been investigated, so far as I know, but it is clearly safe to say that, after allow-

ance is made for them, a ratio of 30:1 against variation would approach and perhaps reach 40:1. It is not always possible to determine in an individual instance whether an apparently synonymous variation is spurious. Compare, for instance, Matt. 26:70, 72, 75, Gr. (ἀπ)ἀρνεῖσθαι (three times): Go. CA ———, *afáikan*—*afáikan* as against Cod. Ambr. *láugnjan*—*láugnjan*—*invidan*.

Furthermore, the genuine variations are mainly, if not altogether, of non-rhetorical types and hence would not argue in favor of **tibr:giba*.

a) A very considerable number are idiomatic, that is, necessary for the accurate rendering of the Greek meaning in Gothic, and hence give no evidence of a tendency to variation as such. Thus Gr. *κενός* has the two meanings '(in) vain' (Go. *swarē*) and 'empty' (Go. *lāus*). In I Cor. 15:14, *κενὸν . . . τὸ κῆρυγμα ἡμῶν, κενὴ . . . ἡ πίστις ἡμῶν* is accordingly forcibly rendered by *swarē . . . sō mēreins unsara, . . . sō galáubeins unsara láusa* 'purposeless our preaching, our faith void of content.' Gr. *καλεῖν* has, among other meanings, those of God's calling men into membership into his Kingdom (Go. *laþōn*) and calling by a name (Go. *háitan*). Accordingly in Rom. 9:24–25, . . . *ἐκάλεσεν ἡμᾶς . . . ἐξ ἑθνῶν, . . . καλέσω τὸν οὐ λαόν μου τὸν λαόν μου* necessarily becomes *laþoda uns . . . us þiudom, . . . háita þō ni managein meina managein meina* 'called us . . . from among the nations, . . . I will call the people not mine my people.'

b) Other variations are what we might term colloquial, that is, are due to the fact that two terms of approximately the same meaning and associative connections were more or less interchangeable in everyday speech. These may be of various sub-types. Some are close cognates, that is, ablaut or formative variants from the same significant base. It is very doubtful if these were felt by Gothic sprachgefühl as wholly distinct from each other. Compare I Cor. 13:8, Gr. *καταργηθήσονται*—*καταργηθήσεται*: Go. *gataíranda*—*gataúrnip*; John 19:2, 5, Gr. *στέφανος* twice: Go. *wáips, wipja* 'wreath.' That this type of variation is, in some instances at least, not lexical is shown by the fact that it has in many languages, including Gothic, given rise to contaminative coalescences of such cognate forms into single irregular inflectional systems, as Gr. *δίδωμι*—*ἔδωκα, τίθημι*—*ἔθηκα,*

Ger. *stehen*—*stand*, *gehen*—*ging*, Skr. *karóti* ‘makes’: *kriyáte* ‘is made,’ Go. -*nan* verbs used as passives, as *gataíran:gataúrnán* (above) *gaqijan* ‘make alive’: *gaqjunan* ‘be made alive,’ etc. Others are complete semantic and associative equivalents from diverse roots, as Luke 19:1–12 (story of Jesus and Zacchaeus), Gr. forms of ἔρχεσθαι—ἔλθεῖν translated twice by Go. *galeipan*, once by *gaggan*, twice by *qiman* (this last variation, however, is idiomatic from the Gothic standpoint). Compare also the free interchange of *gaswiltan* and *gadáupnan* ‘die,’ more fully discussed below. This type of variation is particularly common with verbs of coming and going, resulting in many languages in contaminative coalescence in single irregular conjugational systems, as Eng. *go:went*, Fr. *vais:allai*, Gr. ἔρχομαι:ἥλθον, Go. *gagga:iddja*. Its characteristics are practically complete synonymy and community of linguistic associations and consequent absence of attention on the part of speaker and hearer to the merely phonetic variation. Neither cognate nor equivalent variations in rendering prove a general tendency to variation for its own sake. Others again are synonymous in the ordinary sense, as II Cor. 7:6, Gr. παρακαλεῖν:Go. *gaþlaíhan* ‘caress, soothe, comfort,’ *gaþrafsjjan* ‘comfort, cheer’; Matt. 6:25–31, Gr. μεριμνᾶν ‘worry’ (4 times): Go. *maúrnán* ‘be anxious, worry’ (3 times), *saúrgan* ‘be vexed, worry’ (once). These synonymous variations cannot be sharply distinguished on the one hand from strict equivalents—since they are regularly fully equivalent in the particular sense used—and on the other hand from idiomatic variations—since at least sometimes idiomatic considerations also are present. Thus in II Cor. 7:6, Gr. παρακαλεῖν has all the meanings (and more) of both *gaþlaíhan* and *gaþrafsjjan* (save the uncommon primitive meaning of *gaþlaíhan*, which is not here concerned), so that the rendering *sa gaþlaíhanda hnáiwidaim gaþrafsida uns gub in quma Teitáus* ‘God, who comforts the lowly, cheered us in the coming of Titus’ is stronger and fuller and more accurate. In Matt. 6:25–31 it is possible that the variation *maúrnán:saúrgan* is purely idiomatic, since the phrase in the one variant instance is *saúrgan bi (wastjōs)* ‘worry about (clothes),’ and *maúrnán* is in extant examples never used with a complement but only absolutely. The extant passages are too few to settle the point. It is in fact quite possible that genuine synonymous variations are

regularly idiomatic also. Compare further I Cor. 15:47–49, Gr. *χοϊκός* ‘earthy, earthly’: Go. *muldeins* ‘earthy,’ *airþeins* ‘earthly’ and Gr. *εἰκών* ‘image, type’: Go. *manleika* ‘image,’ *frisahts* ‘type,’ both changes of the words in Gothic being demanded by the development of the thought.

Very sharply distinguishable from both idiomatic and synonymous variations would be a picturesque or rhetorical variation of the **tibr-giba* type, in which the idea is viewed from a different objective standpoint and the variant term expressing it is neither a synonym nor an accurate translation. None of Bernhardt’s or Loebe’s citations are of this type, nor have I been able to find any in my own search. Some passages seem obvious illustrations at first glance, as Matt. 5:46, 47, Gr. *τελῶναι*: Go. *þái þiudō—motarjōs*—but this variation is spurious (see Bernhardt’s note on the passage): II Cor. 7:10, 11, Gr. *κατεργάζεσθαι* ‘work out’: Go. *ustiuhan* ‘to perfect,’ *gasmibōn* ‘to produce (as an artisan),’ *gatáujan* ‘to make, cause’—but a careful scrutiny of meanings in the actual connection shows the words to be discriminately chosen and the variation to be idiomatic. Similarly in II Cor. 9:5, 6,¹ where Paul’s play on the word *εὐλογία* ‘blessing’ in the three senses of ‘beneficence, benediction, bounteousness’ occasions the discrimination of these three meanings in Gothic by *aíwlogja*, *waílaqiss*, *þiuþeins* (twice)—without this discrimination the Gothic meaning would become perfectly blind. If any genuine instances of rhetorical variation occur, they are at least exceedingly rare—too few in number to constitute even a minor characteristic of Wulfila’s style.

Far more numerous are the instances of the leveling of diverse Greek terms in the Gothic translation. This was already referred to under the discussion of II Cor. 9:1–6 just above, and earlier under the statement of the various Greek terms rendered by *giba* and *giban*. I cannot do better than quote Bernhardt’s own statement of Wulfila’s

¹ This same short passage, however, has four words that recur without change of meaning and are rendered into Gothic without variation, and two diverse Gr. words leveled to the same word in Gothic (Gr. *σπείρειν* ‘sow’ [twice]: Go. *saijan* [twice]; Gr. *φεδουμένως* ‘sparingly’ [twice]: Go. *us gaþagkja* [twice]; Gr. *θερίζειν* ‘reap’ [twice]: Go. *sneiðjan* [twice]; Gr. *εὐλογία* ‘bounteousness’ [twice in succession in vs. 6]: Go. *þiuþeins* [twice]; Gr. *προστίζειν—έτοιμος*: Go. *faúragamanwjan—manwjus*). With the last compare also in vss. 3, 4, 5, Gr. *παρασκευάζειν* ‘prepare’ [3 times]: Go. thrice unvaried *gamanwjan*, so that the stem *manw-* occurs 5 times in close succession leveling three entirely different Greek words.

habit of leveling Greek variants: "Freilich ist . . . der fall nicht gerade selten, dass ein gotisches wort zwei griechischen entspricht, vergl. . . . Lc. ix, 45, x, 24, Mk. i, 2, 3, viii, 24, xii, 8, 12, xv, 34, 35, I Cor. iv, 5 usw."¹ "ohne² vorgang des Griechischen . . . stellt [Wulfila] gern verschiedene derivata vom gleichen stamme, namentlich nomen und verbum, nebeneinander: Matt. v, 43 *fiáis fiand þeinana μισήσεις τὸν ἔχθρόν σου*, 16 *swa liuhijái liuhaj izwar λαμψάτω τὸ φῶς*, ix, 2 *ana ligra ligandan ἐπὶ κλίνης βεβλημένον*, ix, 13 *nīþ þan qam laþōn uswaúrhtans ak frawaúrhtans ðikaíous—āmarþalois*, ix, 12 *ni þaúrbun háilái lekeis ak þái unháilái habandans īσχύontes—kakōs ēxontes*, Jh. viii, 41 *táujiþ tōja ποιεῖτε τὰ ἔργα*, Lc. iv, 40 *siukans saúhtim ἀσθενοῦτας νόσοις*, ix, 2 *gaháiljan allans þans unháilans lāsþau rovs ἀσθενεῖς*, xix, 38 . . . [and so through 10 other illustrations taken from Luke, Mark, Romans and Corinthians]. Diese neigung geht so weit, dass Lc. ii, 29 *fráujinōnd* zu *fráuja* (*δέσποτα*), Mc. i, 40 *kniwam* zu *knussjands* (*γονυπετῶν*) zugesetzt ist." Many other sweeping illustrations of the leveling of Greek variants in the Gothic translation will be given later.

The Gospel of Matthew shows the following distribution of the different types of variation, non-variation, and leveling in the Gothic rendering of Greek recurrent words and ideas (first occurrences in a given passage are not counted but only subsequent recurrences): Greek recurrences 726, Gothic non-variant renderings 705, Gothic levelings of Greek variants 35, total Gothic recurrences 740 (or 14 more than the Greek); number of variant renderings possibly genuine (besides 3 known to be spurious) 21, including: idiomatic 13, interchangeable equivalents 2, synonyms 6. The following ratios result: against all variation 740:21, or over 35:1; against synonymous variation 755:6, or over 125:1; against rhetorical variation 761:0. I have not counted other books in detail (Matthew was selected because it contains the *aibr—giba* passage), but the individual words discussed in the following sections make it reasonably sure that others would make a similar showing.

(3) It is only fair to Bernhardt, however, to note the instances he cites in support of Wulfila's supposed tendency to variation. I am the more concerned to do this, as I should expect others to have the

¹ *BV, Einleitung*, p. xxxiv, note.

² *BV*, p. xxxiii.

same confidence I at first felt in his explicit statement and to be suspicious accordingly of any effort to ignore his proofs.

Two of Bernhardt's references are cognate constructions, namely, Mark 5:42 (*ἔξέστησαν ἐκστάσει μεγάλῃ: usgeisnōdēdun faúrhein mikilái*) and 7:13 (*παραδόσει ἡ παρεδώκατε: anabusnái þōei anafulhuþ*). It might be claimed that these variations are not strictly parallel to the *aibr—giba* passage since they do not involve the repetition of the same word in Greek, but this is only a difference of degree—they surely presented themselves as repetitions to Greek sprachgefühl and to the Gothic translator. We must therefore allow Bernhardt the right to cite them as examples. A scrutiny of the passages will, however, show that they are idiomatic and not rhetorical. Furthermore, we will let Bernhardt himself tell what Wulfila's habit is in the treatment of cognate constructions: "Griechische wortspiele und gleichklänge, wie sie besonders Paulus liebt, pflegt auch Vulfila wiederzugeben: . . . Rö. xii, 3 μὴ ὑπερφρονεῖν παρ' ὁ δεῖ φρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ σωφρονεῖν νι máis frabjan þáu skuli frabjan, ak frabjan du waíla frabjan, I Cor. ix, 21 ἐγενόμην . . . τοῖς ἀνόμοις ὡς ἄνομος, μὴ ὅν ἄνομος θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ἔννομος Χριστοῦ, ὡνα κερδάνω ἀνόμους warþ . . . þáim witōdaláusam swē witōdaláus, ni wisands witōdis láus¹ gups, ak inwitōþs Xristáus, ei gageigáu witōdaláusans, II Cor. v, 9 εἴτε ἐνδημοῦντες εἴτε ἐκδημοῦντες jaþþē anaháimjái jaþþē asháimjái, vi, 8 διὰ δυσφημίας καὶ εὐφημίας þairh wajamérein jah waílamérein, vergl. i, 13, iii, 2, x, 6, 12, Phil. ii, 2, 3, u.s.w. Bisweilen freilich bleiben solche bezüge unausgedrückt wie II Cor. iv, 8, v, 6."²³ Compare also Bernhardt's statement of Wulfila's habitual leveling of Greek cognate ideas to Gothic cognate words referred to just above. It follows that these two instances of variation are not only idiomatic but also exceptional.

Luke 2:21, Gr. *καλεῖν—καλεῖν*: Go. *háitan—qípan* gives a good illustration of skilful translation. The variation is idiomatic: *καὶ ἐκκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦς*, *τὸ κληθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγγέλου:jah háitan was namð is Iēsūs, þata qíþano fram aggiláu*. Gr. *τὸ κληθέν* would in general mean 'that which is called, the thing called,' which would

¹ The sub-variation *witōdaláus*, *witōdis láus* is idiomatically necessary on account of the dependent genitive *θεοῦ:gups*.

² Both solely for idiomatic reasons, not for rhetorical variation.

³ *BV*, p. xxxiii.

here give a good meaning and is clearly the way the Gothic translator understood it. It could also mean in this particular connection 'the one called' (that is, 'the name called'). A literal translation *þata háitano* could not have given either of these senses. The difficulty of a free paraphrase may be seen in the crude effort in the English version. The translation chosen retains the construction, sense, and Gothic idiom. In the closely connected narrative of Luke, chaps. 1-2, the word *καλεῖν* occurs 13 times in this same sense, and the other 12 times is unvaryingly translated by Go. *háitan*, besides leveling Gr. *ὄνομά ἔστιν* to *háitan* in 1:26. Eight of these instances occur in close succession in 1:31-36 and 59-62, all rendered without variation, though this could easily have been made by the use of *namjan* 'to name' or phrases with *namō* 'name.' The whole passage therefore shows a sweeping tendency to uniform rendering rather than to variation.

Luke 9:60 (Gr. *νεκρός* 'dead, corpse': Go. *dáups* 'dead'—*náus* 'corpse') reads *ἄφες τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψαι τοὺς έαυτῶν νεκρούς: let þans dáupans usfilhan seinans navins* 'let the dead ones bury their own corpses.' The parallel passage is Matt. 8:22, identical in the Greek, but retaining *dáupans* unvaried instead of *navins* as the translation of the second *νεκρός* into Gothic. In spite of this difference in the rendering of the two passages, the variation is clearly idiomatic. Gr. *νεκρός* can be used both as an adjective ('dead') and as a noun ('corpse'). Gothic, like English, distinguishes the adjective *dáups* 'dead' from the noun *náus* 'corpse.' But just as English *dead* may in the noun use of the adjective (*dead one, dead man*) replace *corpse*, so Go. *sa dáupa* may replace *náus*, though neither *corpse* nor *náus* can be used for the adjectives *dead:dáups*.¹ In this passage the subject *νεκρός* is in idea an adjective used as a noun ('those who are dead') and could only be *dáupans*; the object *νεκρός* is the direct substantive use ('dead bodies, corpses'), and hence should primarily be *navins*, for which, however, *dáupans* may be substituted. But without regard to the explanation of this individual variation, Bernhardt has again

¹ The only apparent exception to this statement is Rom. 7:8, where *νεκρά—náus* stands in the predicate, and *náus* has by some been here classed as an adjective. But a noun gives equally good sense; and as it is everywhere else used as a noun, it should be so regarded here. The Gc. cognates ON. *nár* 'corpse'; OE. *nē* in *dryhti-nē* 'dead body of a warrior,' are substantives. Cf. also OBulg. *navū*; OPruss. *nowis* 'corpse.'

given us a rarest exception as proof of a supposed rule. This is the only passage that shows a variation between *dáups* and *náus*, and in only one other place do they even occur near each other, namely in Rom. 7:4, 8, where they are ten lines apart and disconnected in thought. Against this there are 11 other passages, some of considerable length and with many repetitions of Greek words meaning 'dead,' always unvaried in the Gothic translation. There are in all 24 instances of connected repetitions of *dáups* or *náus*, of which the other 23 show no variation. Counting individual forms, *dáups* occurs 48 times and *náus* 5 times. The connected passages are Matt. 8:22 (*dáups—dáups*), Mark 6:14, 16 (*dáups—dáups*); 9:9, 10 (*dáups—dáups*); 12:26, 27 (*dáups—dáups*); Luke 7:12, 15, 22 (*náus—náus—náus*); 9:60 (*dáups—náus*); 15:24, 32 (*dáups—dáups*); 20:35, 37, 38 (*dáups—dáups—dáups*); John 11:39, 44; 12:1, 9 (*dáups* 5 times); Rom. 10:7, 9 (*dáups—dáups*); I Cor. 15:12, 13, 16, 20, 21, 29, 35 (*dáups* 7 times); II Cor. 1:9, 10 (*dáups—dáups*). Observe how overwhelming this cumulative evidence is against the alleged habit of variation, since in the synonyms *dáups* and *náus* the materials for variation were ready to hand had the translator had the slightest inclination to use them. But the evidence is even more overwhelming—there are two important passages where the Greek itself varies the word for 'dead.' In the story of the Widow of Nain's Son (Luke 7:12, 15, 22) Gr. *τεθνηκώς—νεκρός—νεκρός* levels to Go. *náus* (3 times). In the story of Lazarus (John 11:39, 44; 12:1, 9) Gr. *τετελευτηκώς—τεθνηκώς—τεθνηκώς—νεκρός—νεκρός* all levels to Go. *dáups* (5 times), as in 12:1, *Λάζαρος, ὁ τεθνηκώς ὃν ἤγειρεν ἐκ νεκρῶν: Go. Lazarus, sa dáupsa þanei urrádisida us dáupháim.*

Comment is unnecessary.

Luke 20:31, 32, Gr. *ἀποθνήσκειν*: Go. *gaswiltan, gadáupnan* is, however, a case of genuine variation of the colloquial type between two exactly equivalent terms which were evidently completely interchangeable in common use. An extended comparison of all extant instances of *gaswiltan* and *gadáupnan* shows this complete synonymy and a perfect irregularity of interchange between the two words, some passages being unvaried with *gaswiltan* (as in Matt. 9:18, 24—story of Jairus' daughter—where the Greek variants *τελευτᾶν* and *ἀποθνήσκειν* are leveled in Gothic); others unvaried with *gadáupnan*.

(as in Jesus' discussion of the Jews' dying in their sins in John 8:21, 24 twice, 52, 53). Others show a single variation out of several otherwise unvaried forms (as in Luke's account of Jairus' daughter, Luke 8:49, 52, 53—*gadáupnan* once against *gaswiltan* 3 times). Others show a variation in the total connected passage, but unvaried repetition in every closer subdivision (as in the account of Lazarus in John 11:14, 16, *gaswiltan* unvaried; vss. 21, 25, 26, *gadáupnan* unvaried; vs. 32 *gaswiltan*; vs. 37 *gadáupnan*). Others show an even distribution (as in Luke's account of the woman with seven husbands, 20:28–36—*gadáupnan* twice, then *gaswiltan* twice, then *gadáupnan* once, *gaswiltan* once). In all *gaswiltan* occurs 44 times, *gadáupnan* 22 times; 43 of these 66 occurrences are in 17 different closely connected passages; 6 of these passages show variation and 11 are unvaried; of individual recurrent forms 8 vary from the one next preceding and 18 are repeated without variation. This is the only citation in Bernhardt's note which is not in the nature of a rarest exception. With the possible exception of verbs of coming and going (discussed below), it is undoubtedly the best example he could have adduced. Observe that it counts 2:1 against habitual variation, and is furthermore of an entirely different type of variation from the supposed **tibr—giba*.

Coming next to the illustrations in Bernhardt's *Vulfila, Einleitung*, p. xxxiv—Matt. 5:37, 39 is not a case of repetition but of accidental juxtaposition. The two passages are not connected in thought and both translations are strictly idiomatic. The Gothic for $\tau\delta \kappa\alpha\kappa\delta\nu$ or $\tau\delta \pi\sigma\eta\rho\delta\nu$ '(that which is) evil' is *pata ubilō*, while $\delta \pi\sigma\eta\rho\delta\nu$ 'der Böse' is *sa unsēlja*. The translator properly took $\epsilon\kappa \tau\delta \pi\sigma\eta\rho\delta\nu$: *us þamma ubilin* 'cometh of evil' as neuter in vs. 37, and $\mu\ddot{\eta} \acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\sigma\tau\eta\gamma\eta\tau\delta \pi\sigma\eta\rho\delta\nu$: *ni andstandan þamma unsēljin* 'not to resist the wicked man' as masculine in vs. 39. Cf. vocabulary under *ubils* in Braune's *Gothic Gram.*, Heyne's Stamm's *Ulfilas*, Balg's *Comp. Glossary*, etc.

Matt. 6:16, 17, Gr. $\pi\rho\sigma\omega\pi\sigma\nu$: Go. *andwaírþi*, *ludja* 'face (in its physical sense)' is another uncritical use of a rare exception as if it illustrated a rule. *Ludja* is a hapax legomenon occurring only in this passage—just enough to show that it was available for variant use generally if Wulfila had wished. *Andwaírþi* is the general word for 'presence, face, front,' occurring 70 times in all (32 times in the

strict sense of 'face') and leveling Gr. ἔμπροσθεν, ἐνώπιον, κατενώπιον, ἐναντι, ἐναντίον, πρόσωπον, besides 11 occurrences of the corresponding adjectival and adverbial forms *andawairþs* 'present,' *andawairþis* 'facing, opposite.' Of these 81 occurrences, 59 are in connected passages showing either non-variation or leveling in the Gothic rendering, 42 of these being closely recurring forms and 17 standing a few verses apart. Leveling of Greek variants occurs in 4 closely and 7 loosely connected passages. Against these are 2 instances of variation in the Gothic rendering. Of other words used for Gr. πρόσωπον, *wlits* 'look, personal appearance, face' shows 6 forms, namely 3 isolated, 2 in close unvaried repetition, and 1 serving as variant to *andwaírþi* in one of the two instances just noted; *andawleizn* 'visage, face as it presents itself to others' shows 5 isolated occurrences only. This gives for all these words a total of 61 repeating forms against 2 cases of variation, each of course involving two words. Illustrations of repeated passages are: Luke 1:6, 8; 15, 17, 19; 75, 76, Gr. πρόσωπον (twice); πρόσωπον (3 times); ἐνώπιον—πρόσωπον: Go. leveled to *andwaírþi* (7 times) in all three passages; I Cor. 13:12, Gr. πρόσωπον (twice): Go. *andwaírþi* (twice); I Thess. 2:17, 19, Gr. πρόσωπον—ἔμπροσθεν: Go. *andwaírþi* (twice); Rom. 12:17, Gr. ἐνώπιον (twice): Go. *andwaírþi* (twice) followed by word-play *gawaírþi* 'peace' (:Gr. εἰρηνεύοντες) in vs. 18; II. Cor. 3:7, Gr. πρόσωπον (twice): Go. *wlits* (twice). The two variant renderings are Matt. 6:16, 17, Gr. ἀφανίζουσιν τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν—τὸ πρόσωπόν σου νίψαι: Go. *frawardjand andwaírþja seina*—*ludja þeina þwah* 'they disfigure their faces—wash your face'; Mark 14:65, Gr. ἔμπτειν τῷ προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ—περικαλύπτειν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ: Go. *speiwan ana wlit is*—*huljan andwaírþi is* 'to spit in his face—to cover up his face.' Observe that both of these passages involve concrete colloquial phrases, whose set form must have been fully determined by common usage. We must therefore class them as idiomatic. They cannot weigh, therefore, against the very large number of non-variant and leveled renderings just noted.

Matt. 6:27, 28, Gr. μεριμνᾶν: Go. *maúrnian* (3 times), *saúrgan* (once) was partly discussed above. This is the only instance of variation in these words. Against it occur several unvaried repetitions, namely: John 16:20, 21, 22. Gr. λυπεῖσθαι, λύπη (3 times): Go.

unvaried *saúrgan*, *saúrga* (3 times); II Cor. 7:9, 10, 11, Gr. λυπεῖσθαι (twice), λύπη (twice): Go. unvaried *saúrgan* (twice), *saúrga* (twice); II Cor. 2:1, 3, Gr. λύπη (twice): Go. *saúrga* (twice). The Gothic rendering of λυπέῖν, λυπεῖσθαι is, however, subject to another uniform variation, clearly idiomatic in character, which is not noted by Bernhardt. When used as a passive deponent to express the feeling of grief as such, it is always rendered by Go. *saúrgan*, as in the passages just cited. When used either in the active or passive to denote the action of hurting another's feelings or having one's feelings hurt by another, it is always rendered by *gáurjan* (or, in the passive participle, by the closely related adjective *gáurs* 'grieved, hurt, sorrowful'), as in II Cor. 7:8, 9 (3 times); 2:2, 5 (4 times).

John 19:2, 5, Gr. στέφανος: Go. *wipja*, *wáips* was treated above.

Luke 4:35, Gr. ἐξελθεῖν: Go. *usgaggan*, *urrinnan* 'go out'; I Cor. 16:4, 6, Gr. πορεύεσθαι 'go': Go. *galeiþan*, *wratōn*, etc. It would be easy to heap up illustrations of variant translations of verbs of going, but they would prove nothing save the fact that in all languages such words are hopelessly idiomatic and intertwined with each other, and also stereotyped in their concrete uses, and that their interchanges do not agree with each other in different languages. This results in levelings as well as variations. Thus different formations of Go. *gaggan* level formations of Gr. ἔρχεσθαι, ἐλθεῖν, πορεύεσθαι, προκόπτειν, βαίνειν, ἄγειν, ὑπάγειν, περιπατεῖν παραγίγνεσθαι, (ἐν)ιστάναι, (ἀφ)ιστασθαι, χωρεῖν, ἀκολουθεῖν, διώκειν, (ὑπ)αντᾶν; *rinnan* and its compounds level formations of τρέχειν, δραμεῖν, δρμᾶν, ἔρχεσθαι, ἐλθεῖν, βεῖν, διαλέγεσθαι, κυκλοῦν, (συν)άγεσθαι, (ὑπ)άγειν, (κατ)αντᾶν, (κατα)λαμβάνειν, ἐπιβάλλειν, πορεύεσθαι, βαίνειν, ἥκειν, ἀνατέλλειν, λαγχάνειν, ἀφικεῖσθαι, (περι)πίπτειν. Illustrations of levelings in specific passages are Mark 1:20, 21, Gr. ἐλθεῖν, πορεύεσθαι: Go. *galeiþan* (twice); Luke 8:22, Gr. αναβαίνειν, διελθεῖν, ἀνάγεσθαι : Go. *galeiþan* (3 times); etc.

Luke 9:60; I Cor. 13:8; 15:14 were discussed above.

Rom. 7:2, 6, Gr. καταργεῖν: Go. *galáusjan*, *andbindan* 'release.' The forms are close synonyms, evidently both in good colloquial use. It is not quite clear that they would be felt as a variation, as they are 75 words apart. At any rate the passage as a whole (Paul's

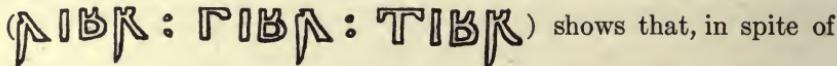
comparison of the dominion of the Law and of Christ to that of a husband) is emphatically not characterized by variation. In its 25 verses *witōþ* ‘law’ occurs 22 times unvaried from Gr. *νόμος*; *frawaúrhts* ‘sin’ 15 times unvaried from Gr. *ἀμαρτία* beside adjective *frawaúrhts* ‘sinful’ from Gr. *ἀμαρτωλός*; Go. *aba* ‘husband’ 5 times unvaried from Gr. *ἄνήρ* ‘husband’ in the space of two verses (2, 3), beside Go. *wair* ‘man’ twice in one verse from Gr. *ἄνήρ* in the sense of ‘man.’ Regarded as a variation *aba*—*wair* is idiomatic, the two meanings being sharply distinguished in the Gothic—“while her husband [*aba*] lives she will be called an adulteress if joined to another man [*waír*].”

Rom. 9:24, 25, Gr. *καλεῖν* ‘call into the Kingdom, call by a name’: Go. *laþon* ‘call into the Kingdom,’ *háitan* ‘call by a name’ was partly dealt with above. This whole chapter contains *καλεῖν* 5 times, 3 times (vss. 7, 25, 26)=‘call by a name’ and rendered uniformly by Go. *laþon*, twice (vss. 25, 26)=‘call into the Kingdom’ with Gothic rendering *laþon*. The variation is therefore strictly idiomatic. Compare further Luke, chap. 1 (more fully discussed above), Gr. *καλεῖν* ‘call by a name’ 9 times + variant *ὄνομά ἔστιν* once: Go. *háitan* 10 times unvaried; Luke 14:10–24, Gr. *καλεῖν* ‘bid [to a feast]’ 8 times + variant *φωνεῖν* once: Go. *hditan* 9 times unvaried, though *laþon* would also have been correct in this sense had Wulfila desired to vary the translation; I Cor., chap. 7, Gr. *καλεῖν* ‘call into the Kingdom’ 6 times + *κλῆσις* ‘calling’ once: Go. 7 times unvaried *laþon* or *laþons*, beside *καλεῖν* twice in vs. 22 taken by Wulfila in the sense of ‘call by a name’: Go. twice in close succession *háitan*.

For a more extended list both of variations and of leveling see GL, *Gram.*, § 286. Besides significant words, the list contains also inflections, derivative formations, compounds, prepositions, and particles. While none of these concern our present problem, they show the same general principles of variation and leveling as do significant words. Bernhardt criticizes Loebe’s list as needing critical sifting (“beispiele . . . die freilich starker kritischer sichtung bedürfen”). The foregoing scrutiny of Bernhardt’s citations shows them to be seriously suffering from the same need. When we weigh the full force of the passages and words cited by him, they confirm the conclusions reached from the critical study of the Gospel

of Matthew and from Bernhardt's own study of Wulfila's treatment of cognate constructions. Each of these lines of investigation overwhelmingly shows Wulfila's tendency both to preserve uniformity in rendering recurrent Greek words and to level Greek variant expressions for recurrent ideas, subject only to Gothic phrasal usage and the requirements of an accurate idiomatic translation. They all show the same absence of merely rhetorical variation, and lead to the conclusion that from the standpoint of style as well as meaning the variation **tibr—giba* is impossible and that we must expect on stylistic grounds the translation *giba* instead of the corrupt form *aibr*.

III. *From the standpoint of graphic form.*—Grimm, as we saw at the outset, objected to his own emendation on the ground that *a* and *t* could not easily interchange in the Gothic script. In judging this, as well as the other graphic comparisons involved, the reader is requested not to follow the form of the Gothic alphabet given in the front of current Gothic grammars, but that actually occurring in the Codex Argenteus. See the facsimile page in frontispiece of Uppström's *Codex Argenteus* or Balg's *Gothic Literature*. A comparison of the three words *aibr:giba, *tibr* in the script form of CA

 shows that, in spite of

the difference of two letters between *giba* and *aibr* as against only one letter different for **tibr*, there is a decidedly closer resemblance in general graphic appearance between *aibr* and *giba* than between *aibr* and **tibr*. The two medial letters *-ib-* () are common to the three words; the resemblances between the final letters *a* and *r* is in their Codex form very striking, especially for those forms of *r* in which the nexus is closest to the top (). *A* and *g* have a slight general resemblance in their standard CA form (, which was sometimes increased in one of the following ways: (1) heightening of the left stroke of the *a*, (2) broadening of the lower end of the right oblique stroke, which might also bring it nearer to a horizontal position, (3) slight overlapping of the top stroke of *g* to the left of its upright stroke; (4) depression of the right end of its horizontal stroke accompanied in some cases by a uniform broadening instead of the sudden spreading at the right end. On the other

hand, there is, as Grimm pointed out, small resemblance between *a* and *t* (A : T) to start with, and no tendency to approach each other in form appears in the actual CA variations of either letter. Consequently it would have been easier for either the original copyist or the "nefarious corruptor" to have gotten *aibr* from *giba* than from **tibr*. For the corruptor *giba* > *aibr* would have been easy, but **tibr* > *aibr* practically impossible, since, while *t* and *a* cannot be laid on each other in any stroke, *aibr* is almost exactly superposable on *giba*. All main strokes except the horizontal of *g* and the oblique of *a* exactly or approximately coincide and these have the same point of departure and lie close to each other. At a hasty glance (such as the copyist was frequently guilty of), or in the event of dimming or blurring (such as the "nefarious corruptor" essayed to correct), the one form could readily be taken for the other.

If the reader will carefully think through the Gothic alphabet, he will easily convince himself that no other extant or imaginable Gothic word than *giba* shows this remarkably close graphic resemblance and superposability. The conclusion from graphic form is therefore the same as that from meaning and style—the emendation to *giba* satisfies graphic conditions, **tibr* does not.

From every standpoint therefore the true reading for *aibr* must be *giba*.

IV. From the standpoint of grammatical connection.—This emendation offers, however, one difficulty—the neuter possessive *þein* agreeing with *aibr*. If this form is correct, the original of *aibr* must have been a neuter, and forms ending in vocalic *r* were either masculine or neuter. **Tibr* therefore would require no change in *þein*. *Giba*, however, is feminine and would require the form *þeina* as in the two instances in vs. 24. The new emendation must therefore be a double one—*aibr þein* to *giba þeina*.

This difficulty is not, however, as serious as it looks. Even if no solution could be offered, it would I think be far outweighed by the mass of cumulative evidence pointing to *giba* instead of **tibr*. But the copyist of CA frequently omitted letters, and sometimes words, lines, and verses from sheer carelessness. For other omissions of simple *a* see Matt. 11:10 (*meinna* for *meinana*); 27:64 (*uftō* for

aúftō); Luke 1:55 (*fráiw* for *fráiwa*); 1:79 (*dáupus* for *dáupáus*), etc. For omission of words, lines, and verses, see John 12:14; 10:18; 6:39, etc. There need therefore be no hesitation in restoring any letter required by actual considerations of construction or meaning.

It is thinkable that the connection here would have helped the change of *þeina* to *þein*. The form *aibr* stands before *þein*—if it were still after-echoing in the copyist's "lower centers of consciousness," his Gothic sprachgefühl would have made it easier to read *þein* than the now impossible *þeina* after a word ending in vocalic *r*. He shows himself occasionally content elsewhere with an unintelligible form, and capable of consciously and unconsciously correcting copy. It is possible, however, that the two errors were entirely disconnected in their origin. The MS shows no erasures or vacant spaces, so that if *a* was dropped from *þeina*, it must at least go back to the copyist, perhaps to his prototype. But such a change as that of *giba* to a superposable and apparently meaningless *aibr* looks more like the work of the "nefarious corruptor."

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NOTES ON HEINE

I

There is scarcely another poet who has challenged critical investigation to a greater degree than does Heine. His life and works, his technique, his sources and literary relations have been furnishing the subject-matter of innumerable commentaries, articles, and dissertations, and it is safe to suppose that, while these lines are taking shape, a successful doctorandus is just penning the conclusion of a literary syllogism with Heine as the major premise.

These facts need not surprise us. Heine was a romanticist, and romanticism, even in its barren beginnings, is avowedly rich in the cosmopolitanism of its sources and material. Add to this the creative genius and the virtuosity of a Heine, and the popularity of the subject is adequately accounted for.

In spite of the many excellent results obtained, this mine of scientific endeavor is far from being exhausted. Every renewed effort is likely to lay bare another vein of the richest ore which has hitherto escaped the hammer of the indefatigable miner. Once exposed to the eager-eyed seeker of riches, such a vein may be traced to a bed of untold treasures; it may lose itself labyrinthically in the endless field of poetic expression; it may be efferent or afferent, and, again, it may lead—nowhere. To encourage renewed efforts in two directions is the purpose of these lines.

In the *Gartenlaube* of 1884, p. 113, Eduard Engel prints for the first time Heine's famous "Memoiren" *in extenso*. After quoting Heine's dedicatory introduction, the author goes on to say,

Die vorstehende Widmung ist foliiert von Seite 1 bis 5. Auf der Rückseite des ersten Blattes steht das Brouillon eines bisher noch nie gedruckten Gedichtanfanges, es ist ein erster Entwurf, der nur die flüchtigen Gedanken festhalten sollte und noch der Durcharbeitung im Einzelnen bedurft hätte. Correcturen finden sich darin, wie in allem, was Heine geschrieben, ausserordentlich viele. Die Strophen lauten:

Manch kostbar edle Perle birgt
 Der Ocean; manch schöne Blume
 Küszt nie ein Menschenblick, nur stumme
 Waldeinsamkeit schaut ihr Erröthen
 Und trostlos in der Wildniszöde
 Vergeudet sie die süszen Düfte.

Wenngleich tobsüchtig dort der Wind
 Die Fluten peitschet, dasz sie heulen,
 Und ihnen straks zu Hülfe eilen
 Entsetzlich gähnend aus den Tiefen
 Die Ungethüme, die dort schliefen—

Engel cites the following lines as a variant of the first stanza:

Wohl manche edle Perle birgt
 Der Ocean in dunkler Thruhe,
 Wohl manche Blume in der Wildnisz
 Erröthet ungesehn, die süszen Düfte
 Vergeudend an die stumme Oede.

Elster¹ prints part of Engel's explanatory material and the three stanzas by Heine, stating that "Kleinigkeiten, die wir dem Text nicht einverleiben mochten, mögen hier [i.e., in the appendix] noch eine Stelle finden."

The "flüchtigen Gedanken" which "noch der Durcharbeitung im Einzelnen bedurft hätte" did not originate with Heine, at least not those which are expressed in the first stanza, and, particularly, in its variant, a fact which was noted neither by Engel nor by Elster, nor, to my best knowledge, by any other commentator. We find them without extended search in the famous "Elegy" by Thomas Gray.²

Full many a gem of purest ray serene
 The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear;
 Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
 And waste its sweetness on the desert air.

It would be interesting to determine—perhaps by examining the original "Brouillon"—which of the two, the first stanza or its variant, takes poetic precedence. But whether or not this priority

¹ Elster, Heinrich Heines sämtliche Werke, II, 507.

² 1716-71.

is determinable, it is of value to note what distinctly romantic turn the obviously anti-Humean philosophy of Gray assumed in the alembic of Heine's creative imagination. Attention is called to such terms as "stumme Waldeinsamkeit" and "trostlos in der Wildniszöde."

II

Traces of Heine's influence on nineteenth-century lyrical poetry may be discovered at the most unsuspected places. The imagination can scarcely picture two poets so widely divergent in character, artistic temperament, and choice of poetic material as are Heinrich Heine and the Low-German poet Fritz Reuter. The last-named poet had not yet reached the pinnacle of his fame when death was sealing Heine's lips forever. Reuter, of course, had read Heine, though we know of but one occasion on which he took public notice of him. We are told of an utterance by Reuter in the course of a speech at Eisenach, September 3, 1870, in which the Low-German poet pointed out that "Die Zeiten seien vorüber, in welchen ein jüdischer Dichter zur Verherrlichung des Landesfeindes in deutscher Sprache das Gedicht 'Nach Frankreich zogen zwei Grenadier' verfassen konnte."¹ A somewhat more eloquent testimonial of Reuter's acquaintance with Heine's muse is to be found by comparing the following two stanzas, respectively by Heine and Reuter.

Heine:²

Keine Messe wird man singen,
Keinen Kadosch wird man sagen,
Nichts gesagt und nichts gesungen
Wird an meinen Sterbetagen.

Reuter:³

Köster lüdt de Klocken nich,
Preister bedt nich sine Sprüch;
Ahn Gebet un ahn Gelüd
Drögen s' di mal still bisid.

¹ Seelmann, *Reuters Werke*, I, 58.

² *Lamentationen*, 12.

³ From "Kein Hüsing," Seelmann's *Reuter*, VII, 131.

It would certainly overtax the meaning of philological evidence if we were attempting to build conclusive proofs of influence in the larger sense on these chips of poetic parallelism, convincing as they doubtless are as such. Yet it should be remembered that it is by untiring tapping, sounding, and probing that we uncover the secret channels which interlink the artistic expressions of all nations and all ages.

III

In 1871 there was published by S. Zickel, New York, a volume¹ containing poems and aphorisms selected from the posthumous writings of Heinrich Heine, ostensibly published for the first time by Adolf Strodtmann. Following is a reproduction of the title-page:

LETZTE
GEDICHTEN UND GEDANKEN
VON
HEINRICH HEINE

AUS DEM NACHLASSE DES DICHTERS
ZUM ERSTEN MALE VERÖFFENTLICHT

NEW YORK
S. ZICKEL, NR. 19. DEY-STREET
1871

Even to those who are not intimately acquainted with Heine bibliography it would seem odd that Strodtmann should avail himself of a New York firm for the publication of such an important addition to Heine literature, particularly in view of the fact that, only a few years previous, his noted biography of the poet had been published in Berlin.² On the face of it, there may be room for the argument that during the period of the German national revival of 1870-71 no German publisher would have lent himself to the promulgation of such invectives as are contained in "Die Menge tut es,"³ "1649-1793-????,"⁴ and "Berlin."⁵

¹ 8vo, pp. xii+196.

² *H. Heine's Leben und Werke*, Berlin, 1867.

³ P. 51.

⁴ P. 54.

⁵ P. 5.

Examining the preface which appears over Strodtmann's name we are at once struck by the opening statement, "Zwischen dem Tode H. Heine's und der jetzt endlich ermöglichten Veröffentlichung seines literarischen Nachlasses ist ein Zeitraum von mehr als dreizehn Jahren verflossen." Heine died in 1856, a fact which would point to 1869 and not to 1871 as the year of the first publication of the *Letzte Gedichte und Gedanken*. As a matter of fact Strodtmann edited the *Letzte Gedichte und Gedanken* (hereafter called *LG*) in 1869, in Hamburg, as a supplementary volume to his edition of *Heinrich Heine's sämmtliche Werke*. Following is the title-page of the Hamburg edition:¹

LETZTE
GEDICHTE UND GEDANKEN
VON
HEINRICH HEINE

AUS DEM NACHLASSE DES DICHTERS
ZUM ERSTEN MALE VERÖFFENTLICHT

Il morto Enrico poetava ancora
ZWEITE AUFLAGE
HAMBURG
HOFFMANN UND CAMPE
1869

A comparison of the prefaces of the two editions shows a number of omissions from *LG* New York for which obviously Strodtmann is not responsible. Nor does the content of the portions omitted furnish any clew which might lead to the reason for their exclusion. Apparently the New York publisher was anxious, for technical or commercial considerations, to keep the stock of the book within the limit of thirteen sheets of sixteen pages each, that is 208 pages, which is the exact size of the book. Unable to apply his Procrustean method to the text, he attacked the preface, eliminating a sentence here and a paragraph there, until the desired length was obtained. When, later, in the appendix,² he reprints with faithful accuracy a

¹ I was unable to secure a copy of the first edition.

² P. 192.

note by the editor, ". . . Aus derselben Ursache habe ich ein ähnliches, die Grenze des Wohlstandes allzu muthwillig überschreitendes Gedicht: 'Citronia,' bis auf die in der Vorrede cierten Schluszverse, ebenfalls unterdrückt," he had the misfortune of forgetting that the aforesaid poem had fallen a victim of his editorial pencil.

From the evidence presented above it is, therefore, obvious that the *LG* New York edition is an unauthorized reprint of the *LG* Hamburg edition, and as such has no right to the publisher's claim, "zum ersten Male veröffentlicht."

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DANTE'S "SECOND LOVE"

In the story of the *Vita Nuova*, Beatrice's death left Dante morally and physically prostrated. His friend Cino da Pistoia remonstrated. Such suicidal grief, sinfully rebellious, must debar him forever from the "blessed joy which her name signified."¹ Let Dante therefore cease to rebel against God's will; let him take comfort in hope.

Strip thee of these habiliments of woe,
As very Reason doth importune thee:
Of grief men die, yielding them to despair.
How then might'st see again the visage fair
If thee, thus desperate, death overtake?
Prithee, for God's sake,
Cast off this heavy burden from thy heart;
Lest it a traitor's part
Play to thy soul, which hopeth on God's stair
To see her welcome thee with arms outspread.
With that hope please thee to be comforted.²

Dante was pleased to be comforted, but—with another lady. Later, disillusioned and remorseful, he came to find peace in Cino's way.

¹ "La beata gioia come chiamava il nome." Canzone—*Avegna ch'io non aggio più per tempo.* Ed. A. J. Butler, *Forerunners of Dante*, Oxford, 1910, p. 136. Cf. *Vita Nuova*, II, 6-8.

² *Ibid.*, II. 46-53.

Spogliatevi di questa veste grama,
Da che voi siete per ragion richiesto:
Chè l'omo per dolor muore e dispera.
Come vedrete poi la bella clera
Se v'accogliesse morte in disperanza?
Da si greve pesanza
Traete il vostro core omai, per Dio;
Che non sia così rio
Ver l'alma vostra, che ancora spera
Vederla in cielo, star nelle sue braccia;
Dunque di speme confortarvi piaccia.

It is not an unfamiliar story. There is also something not unfamiliar in Dante's insistence that the other lady was "gentle, beautiful, young, and sage,"¹ that indeed she first attracted by reminding him of his old love,² so that in the new were "vestiges of the antique flame." It is but human to plead extenuating circumstances. The reader smiles, and—with Beatrice—forgives.

But many readers find it hard to forgive Dante's calm assertion in the *Convivio* that by this other lady, his "second love," he only meant Philosophy. If, as he says,³ "not passion but virtue" had really moved him to sing of her, why have called his desire of her "culpable"?⁴ Why have shed bitter tears for shame of it? If the *Donna Pietosa* was just Philosophy, how have denounced her as an "adversary of reason,"⁵ and in the name of Virtue have renounced her? Not for being a pagan: the philosophy of the *Convivio* is orthodox Christian-Aristotelian. If common-sense suggests that he simply forgot his dead lady in study, the *Convivio* emphatically replies: "I believe, affirm, and am certain that I shall pass from this to another and better life, where that glorified Lady liveth, of whom was my soul enamored."⁶

Is Dante then just fooling us? Critics have said so—Signor Antonio Santi, for instance, recently.⁷ According to Santi, Dante is concerned to explain away not so much his "second love," namely, for the *Donna Pietosa*, as what we may term his third love, namely, for *la Pietra*, so called. In fact, however, the *Convivio*, as far as it goes, does nothing of the kind. It is the *Donna Pietosa*, not *la Pietra*, who is identified with Philosophy. How Dante, had he continued the *Convivio*, would have "moralized" the *canzoni* relating to *la Pietra* is matter of conjecture; but Santi's allegation of disingenuous trickery on Dante's part in leaving the *Convivio* unfinished is gratuitous. The symbolic logic of the *Convivio*, as it stands, provides for *la Pietra* in a way verified, as I shall attempt to show, by the argument of the *Commedia*. Meanwhile, let us consider the prior issue of the Second Love, or *Donna Pietosa*, as presented in the *Vita Nuova* and *Convivio*.

¹ *V.N.*, xxxix, 5–6.

² *Conv.*, I, ii.

³ *Ibid.*, xl, 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xxxvii, 1–6.

⁵ *V.N.*, xl, 14–15.

⁶ *Conv.*, II, ix, 132–36.

⁷ "Il ravvedimento di Dante è l'inganno del Convivio," *Giornale dantesco*, July-August, September–October, 1914.

In both works, certain poems, purporting to record actual experience, are brought together and interpreted from the vantage-ground of retrospect. The interpreter views the recorded experience as a whole, knows its outcome of spiritual regeneration—"new life" sustained by Wisdom. And now he would share his crumbs from the "banquet" of that "food of Angels." Every happening on the way to this fortunate outcome now looks providential, however dubious at first.

There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them how we will.

For Dante, Love was that divinity. Obedient to Love's inspiration, often enigmatic, he had come by successive trial and failure to a final success, the test of which was inward peace; as the proof of previous failure had been inward unrest. His service of the *Donne dello Schermo* in Beatrice's lifetime, and of the *Donna Pietosa* after Beatrice's death had indeed been at noble Love's bidding, and so of virtuous intent; yet of the insufficiency of these loves each ensuing "battle of thoughts" had been proof. Service of Beatrice on earth or in heaven had alone brought peace. And peace, stilling of desire, is the one and final object of all desire.¹

So subtly, but truly, in the retrospect he can declare Beatrice from first to last the one real object of his desire.

I mind me not
That ever I estranged myself from thee,
Nor have I therefore conscience that doth prick.²

Before this declaration, to be sure, he has drunken of Lethe; but Lethe washes away, not the deed, but the sin in the deed. Blindfold, he had all along been groping for her in whom his desire might be stilled. If in his infirmity he had grasped at others in the way, they had been but mistaken identities,

false images of good
The which no promise can fulfil entire.³

Now his eyes are unbandaged. He knows his true lady. Detaining him from her, these other loves had been "culpable"; yet in fact Providence had brought him by way of them to her; and for Providence, the end justifies the means. He had been weak; but Beatrice

¹ Cf. *Epist.*, X, 472-74.

² *Purg.*, xxxiii, 91-93.

³ *Ibid.*, xxx, 131-32.

might say, as God to Paul: "Sufficit tibi gratia mea: nam virtus in infirmitate perficitur."

Now if by grace his very infirmity had been seed of good, why might not the voice of his infirmity, his song of false love, show inspired intimation of his predestined true love? So he looks, and finds there oracular ambiguities, coincidences big with fate. That "salute di Beatrice," his first blessedness shows also as his last; for *salute* means "salvation" as well as "salutation"; and the root of the name "Beatrice" is that of "Beatitude," the Christian's reward. And truly "nomina sunt consequentia rerum",¹ for as the root of her attendant Nine is Three, so must Beatrice herself be rooted in the Trinity. Singing of the Lady Joan preceding Beatrice, had he not unwittingly implied that other John who had preceded the "True Light"? Had he not reason also, like St. Paul, to "glory in an abundance of visions" to guide him?

Is Dante serious? Well, if we are to go on calling him a mystic, we should remember that the word means something—meant more yet in the thirteenth century. Dante certainly believed that Virgil had unwittingly announced the Messiah, and had come—unhappily too late for his own profit—to know it.² If Virgil in his song might build better than he knew, why not Dante? And why not to Dante the more blessed grace of realizing in time his own at first unapprehended inspiration, of playing the Daniel to his own Nebuchadnezzar's dream?

But even if prophecy were "read into" his songs by Dante for literary effect, the things prophesied were real for him. The *Donna Pietosa* became for him Philosophy, because through her he achieved Philosophy. Consider the situation.

Beatrice was in heaven; Dante disconsolate with life; the accepted consolation of the *Donna Pietosa* reconciled him with life—saved him from the sin of moral and perhaps physical suicide which Cino warned him against, and led him back to his appointed duty, fulfilling which he might earn that merit through which, grace given, salvation was to be won and Beatrice's salutation in heaven. So by the inscrutable decree of Providence the rival of Beatrice is transformed into her ally.

¹ *V.N.*, xlii, 20–21.

² *Purg.*, xxii, 67–69.

Now to be with Beatrice in heaven would be to share her blessedness, communion with God.¹ That "blessed joy, which," as Cino had said, "her name signified," is in effect the joy of the blest.² Beatrice in glory, "la viva Beatrice beata," becomes then no arbitrary, but a *real*, symbol of heavenly blessedness. Attaining her means attaining that, just as for Catholics partaking of the consecrated bread and wine means partaking of Christ.

Similarly, as the *Donna Pietosa* was the providential agency which called Dante from rebellion against God back into the path of obedience which leads to earthly blessedness, so she becomes a real symbol of that earthly blessedness. Desire of her fatefully involved desire of that.

Again, if Beatrice so is heavenly blessedness—not as a mere figure of speech, but as a real symbol—her guidance is one with the guidance of theology—revelation as interpreted by the pope. As she herself says:

Ye have the Old and the New Testament,
Also the Shepherd of the Church to guide:
Let this suffice unto your salvation.³

So, if the *Donna Pietosa* is, symbolically, earthly blessedness, her guidance is one with the guidance of philosophy—reason as interpreted by Aristotle. "Because," says Dante,⁴ "all human activities require a single end, namely, the end of human life for which man is ordained so far as he is man, the master and artificer who shows us this end and devotes himself to it ought to be most of all obeyed and trusted; and this master is Aristotle . . . [his] school [of moral philosophy] at the present day holds the sceptre of the world in teaching everywhere, and their doctrine may almost be called 'Catholic opinion.' Thus it may be seen that Aristotle was the guide and conductor of the world to this goal"—earthly blessedness.

Thus by her fruits known and symbolized, the *Donna Pietosa* signifies Moral Philosophy, and her sphere of influence is the active life presided over by philosopher and emperor, as Beatrice, signifying Theology, has for her sphere of influence the contemplative life presided over by Scripture and pope.

¹ Cf. *V.N.*, xlivi, 15–17.

² Cf. *Purg.*, xxxi, 22–24.

³ *Par.*, v, 76–78.

⁴ *Conv.*, IV, vi, 63 ff. (transl. of W. W. Jackson).

To call this interpretation a deception is to mistake Dante's purpose. *Vita Nuova* and *Convivio* are not personal memoirs like the *Confessions* of Rousseau, but edifying confessions like St. Augustine's, like parts of St. Paul's Epistles. The common theme is redemption by grace of divine love. That for Dante divine love shone through the eyes of two women, "gentle" and "gentlest," may have been the fact. It may have happened so. The same love spoke to Paul through a great light, to St. Augustine in a mysterious voice.¹

God moves in a mysterious way
His wonders to perform.

Dante is talking about the effects of his loves on himself. Edification of others is his excuse. And so, for speaking of himself, he pleads the precise precedent of Augustine, who "in the *Confessions* . . . by the progress of his life, which was from bad to good, and from good to better, and from better to best, . . . gave example and instruction. . . ."² The three stages of progress, moreover, are precisely Dante's, (1) to the good of the Christianly active life, (2) to the better of the Christianly contemplative life, (3) to the best of the perfect life to come.

Let me now briefly trace this argument in the *Convivio* itself.

Beatrice is dead. "The source of edification"³ for Dante has been suddenly dried up. He is left forlorn—like the apostles, Christ being risen. Fitly therefore had his vision of her passing savored of the Crucifixion.⁴ He knows indeed, without Cino's reminder, that his redeemer liveth, and his orphaned soul yearns to her. "I was, and am certain," he declares,⁵ "by her gracious revelation that she was in heaven. Therefore many a time, pondering on her as deeply as I might, I went thither as though rapt." Indeed, such was the sweetness of this thought, "that it made me long for death, to go thither where it went."

But such impatience is subject to Cino's admonition. Against it, as rebellious to God's will, a spirit of love from Venus incites. The angelic Intelligences are not urging unfaith to Beatrice, but on the

¹ *Confessiones*, VIII, xii.

² *Conv.*, I, ii, 104–10.

³ *la fontana*
D'insegnamento, tua donna sovrana.
ANON.: Ben aggia l'amoroso e dolce core.

⁴ *V.N.*, xxiii.

⁵ *Conv.*, II, viii, 40–55.

contrary would exact the one thing presently needful for the final fulfilment of faith to her, by "indirections finding directions out." Humanly blind to that divine purpose, Dante hesitates, questions. Even as the angelic adviser in the *Vita Nuova*, Love "clad as a youth in whitest raiment," they in effect answer: "Ask not more than is expedient for thee."¹

The love to which the Intelligences incite is of earth, "the only region within their power."² Its reward lies within the "active or civil life."³ For as motor-Intelligences, they possess only the blessedness of the active life, and cannot confer a blessedness which they have not.

So in effect, they, agents of divine Providence, would correct Dante's *inordinate* desire of instant salvation by inspiring a love reconciling him with present duty. As they are the agents of God, the *Donna Pietosa* is their agent. Themselves, as Dante says,⁴ "natured by love of the Holy Spirit," send to him a comforter to his earthly task, as the Holy Spirit itself, the Comforter, was sent to the apostles for theirs. So Dante is brought to "the loving practice of wisdom," "l'amoroso uso della Sapienza," to the

Virtue which giveth man felicity
In his activity.⁵

So known by her fruits—"finis est principium omnium operabilium"⁶—his Second Love is fittingly hailed as "fairest and most noble daughter of the Emperor of the Universe . . . Philosophy."⁷ By the figure she would be younger sister of Beatrice. Later, as we shall see, Dante draws analogy between his two loves and the sisters Martha and Mary.

This symbolical sisterhood of the two loves is further indicated by the parallelism of the two *canzoni* of praise, first of the *Vita Nuova* and secondly of the *Convivio*. But the *Convivio* also draws clear distinction. To possess the "hope of the blest,"⁸ "la viva Beatrice beata," would be "for the human intellect," says Dante, "to find that full satisfaction, that perfect peace, which constitutes eternal blessedness. But such is for man only when he shall have become

¹ Cf. *V.N.*, xii. ² *Cone.*, II, ix, 30–48. ³ *Ibid.*, II, v, 66–80. ⁴ *Ibid.*, II, vi, 110.

⁵ *Virtute . . . che fa l'uom felice
In sua operazione* [*Conv. Canz.*, iii, 83–84].

⁶ Aquinas, *Comm.*, II Cor., 12:3. ⁷ *Conv.*, II, xvi, 100–103. ⁸ *V.N.*, xix, 47.

as an angel in heaven.”¹ The *Donna Pietosa*, on the other hand, offers indeed “pleasures of paradise,” such that her lover finds satisfaction (*si contenta*), “but in other wise than contentment in Paradise, which is perpetual: and to man on earth such is not vouchsafed.”² She represents perfection “up to the limit of capacity of the *human* essence.”³ And Dante’s capacity was for God’s purposes in the activity of prophetic song.

Book III having declared the virtue of the Second Love, Book IV shows how that virtue, descending into the lover, may exalt him to likeness. Whatever degree of nobility, *gentilezza*, is latent, God-given, in him may be actualized. In the measure of his grace he may receive the freedom of Eden, human perfection.

There is a higher earthly blessedness, communion with Beatrice in thought, contemplation of heavenly blessedness. That, however, Dante must postpone until his mission is fulfilled, as St. Bonaventura in the zeal of his “great offices ever postponed the left-hand care” of mystic contemplation.⁴

Again, there is a highest blessedness, not earthly—communion face to face with the glorified Beatrice. For that Dante must be “transhumanized,” either through the purgation of death, or—as in the *Commedia* he actually represents—by the miracle of rapture.

Such I take to be the dialectic of the *Convivio*. Toward the end of Book IV, the argument is summed up impersonally in two allegories. In the first,⁵ the Lord’s judgment of Martha and Mary is declared to mean that the contemplative life is “best,” although the active life is “good.” In the second allegory, Marcia, by command of her first husband, Cato, leaves him for her second, Hortensius; then, her womanly task accomplished, asks as reward of her merit reacceptance by Cato. This means, says Dante, that the noble soul by God’s will turns from contemplation of him to its earthly task, then, that accomplished, would return to its first loving contemplation. Substitute for Marcia Dante, for Cato Beatrice, Dante’s First

¹ Cf. Aquinas, *Summa Theolog.*, I-II, qu. iii, a. 2: “Promittitur nobis a Deo beatitudo perfecta, quando erimus sicut angeli in caelo.”

² *Conv.*, III, iv, 34–37.

³ *Ibid.*, III, vi, 85–87.

⁴ *Par.*, xii, 129. Cf. E. G. Gardner, *Dante and the Mystics*, London, 1913, pp. 255–56; but cf. *infra*, pp. 10, 14.

⁵ *Conv.*, IV, xvii, 85 ff.

Love, and for Hortensius the *Donna Pietosa*, Dante's Second Love, and the analogy is perfect.

There is also in Book IV a third allegory, which would show the Second Love, if not ordered to God, "culpable"—thus justifying the judgment at the close of the episode of the *Donna Pietosa* in the *Vita Nuova*. This allegory of the Angel at the Tomb¹ repeats the moral of the episode of the Pilgrims in *Vita Nuova*, xli, as later interpreted in *Paradiso*, xxxi, 103–11. The three Marys, or the three sects of the philosophy of the active life, vainly seek Christ, *la somma Beatitudine*, in the tomb of this world. The Angel, or "appetite of the soul" for Wisdom, food which satisfies but never sates,² directs the seekers to where alone that Highest Blessedness is to be found on earth, namely, in Galilee. For "Galilee," meaning "whiteness," "a color more charged with material light than any other," says Dante, may properly signify Contemplation.

For the Marys to have remained at the tomb after the Angel's enlightenment would have been culpable. The risen Christ was not there. So for the Christian to cleave to the active life as if highest blessedness were to be found in it would be equally culpable. The contrary has been revealed to him. He is erring, therefore, not in darkness—like the virtuous pagan Virgil—but against the light. Ignorance of God is only privation of good, the judgment of limbo. Defection from God is election of evil, meriting the judgment of hell. Dante was called into the active life of this world for God's purposes. His confessed error was for a time to be seduced by "things present with their false pleasure,"³ and to follow a worldly life, not for God's purposes, but for his own; or, symbolically speaking, to cleave to the *Donna Pietosa*, forgetting Beatrice. So Aquinas: "The perfection of man is that, despising things temporal, he cleave unto spiritual. . . . Imperfection is it to desire temporal goods, though ordered to God; but it is perversity to set in temporal goods the end."⁴

¹ *Conv.*, IV, xxi, 134 ff.

² Cf. *Par.*, ii, 11–12:

pan degli angeli, del quale
Vivesi qui, ma non sen vien satollo.

³ *Purg.*, xxxi, 34–35.

⁴ "Perfectio autem hominis est ut contemptis temporalibus, spiritualibus inhaereat. . . . Imperfectorum autem est quod temporalia bona desiderent, in ordine tamen ad Deum: perversorum autem est quod in temporalibus bonis finem constituant."—*S.T.*, I-II, qu. xcii, a, 6. This allegory also interprets retrospectively the episode in the *Vita*

In the *Divina Commedia* this progressive allegory of the two Loves is only dramatically clarified. Moved by the divine Love expressed through Beatrice in glory, Virgil—or Moral Philosophy unillumined by Faith¹—leads Dante up to the Earthly Paradise, freedom whereof is given by Matilda, opener of Dante's eyes to the faith by the pageant of the church. Matilda's reward, therefore, is earthly blessedness so far as attainable by Christian moral philosophy. She is the antitype of the Leah of Dante's dream,² who is explained as signifying "action." In other words, Matilda is simply the symbolic *Donna Pietosa*, given a "local habitation [in Eden] and a name."³

She leads him back to Beatrice, clothed in the symbolic attributes of the Christian contemplative life—the colors of the theological virtues and the crown of wisdom. She is thus the antitype of Rachel in the same dream.⁴ But though absolved from his guilt of alienation from Beatrice, Dante may not yet satisfy his thirst for contemplation of her. The Seven Virtues themselves forbid, just as before the angelical Intelligences had done. "Too absorbedly," they cry, and turn away his eyes.⁵ Beatrice herself explains why.⁶ Like the Disciples, like St. Paul, Dante must abide yet awhile in the active life of this world. He must prophesy to men the wrongs of church and empire, that these may be set right. He must call men to salvation by declaring his vision. That done, the reward of his service shall be contemplation of her. So him, through his attendant guides,

Nuova of the *Donne dello Schermo*—simulacra of true love from whom Dante is providentially recalled to that. In other words, his successive experiences progressively illustrate one spiritual lesson.

¹ Quivi [in limbo] sto io con quei che le tre sante
Virtù non si vestiro, e senza vizio
Conobber l'altre, e seguir tutte quante.
—*Purg.*, vi, 34–37.

² *Purg.*, xxvii, 94–108.

³ Dante sees Leah under the planet Venus (*Purg.* xxvii, 94 ff.) under the influence of which he had been moved to love the *Donna Pietosa*.

⁴ *Ibid.* The contention of some critics that Rachel's antitype is not Beatrice but St. Bernard is counter to Dante's custom of making his dreams in the *Purgatorio* symbolically anticipative of immediately following experience. Moreover, St. Bernard symbolized passage from mediate to immediate vision of God. Dante is not competent for this until "transhumanized."

⁵ *Purg.*, xxxii, 1–9. If the "sinistra cura" of *Par.*, xii, 129, means "temporal care," the turning here of Dante's eyes "to the left hand" may appropriately signify his turning to the active life at the bidding of all the virtues. Cf. again *Par.* x, 55–63.

⁶ *Purg.*, xxxii, 100–105; xxxiii, 31 ff.; also *Par.*, xvii, 124–42.

the Seven Virtues, Beatrice comforts in the very words of Christ to his disciples:

Modicum, et non videbitis me,
Et iterum, sorelle mie dilette,
Modicum, et vos videbitis me.¹

In identifying the *Donna Pietosa* with Matilda, I do not mean to say that at the time of her appearance in the *Vita Nuova* or even in the *Convivio* she would have responded to that name. I do not know whether she would have or not. Her development as a symbolic character was, I repeat again, by retrospective process. She may in the first place have been a real woman loved by Dante after Beatrice's death, and made the theme of his occasional verse. The retrospective interpretation of the *Vita Nuova* then at once justifies his love of her as "noble," and yet condemns it as "culpable." Resolution of the apparent contradiction lies, I think, in the logic of the *Vita Nuova* itself, but—as the dramatic plan of that work demanded—the truth is shown enigmatically, "quasi in sogno."² Next, the *Convivio*, more clearly shows the benign effects of the *Donna Pietosa*'s influence, namely, his attainment through her agency of an earthly activity in accord with Wisdom. But the *Convivio*, though it implies, yet slurs the resolution of the dramatic conflict between her and Beatrice. Finally, in the *Divina Commedia* all strands of the argument, both dramatic and symbolic, are smoothly interwoven, their tangles untwisted. The *Donna Pietosa* becomes a God-given Comforter to his appointed activity in the world, Philosophy, peace-bringer to the "battle of his thoughts," soothing his sense of exile from his true Blessedness, Beatrice, by the realization given that this exile is but temporary and a needful "way of sighs," on which God has sent him forth, yet by which, his mission done, he shall return to God. But, on the other hand, to desire the *Donna Pietosa* inordinately, to make her the too great delight of his eyes, as in the *Vita Nuova*³ he confesses to have done—was to make of her a "siren" seducing him from his true blessedness, Beatrice.⁴ To follow worldly activities in a Godly spirit is man's bounden duty; to follow them in a worldly spirit—for their own sakes—is, as Aquinas said, "perversity." "Amicitia

¹ *Purg.*, xxxili, 13–15.

² *Conv.*, II, xli, 27–29.

³ xxxviii, 1–3.

⁴ *Purg.*, xxxi, 45.

hujus mundi, inimica Dei."¹ Enmity with God is anticipation of hell. But by divine grace Dante was warned in time.

So low he fell that all expedients
For his redemption were already vain
Else than to show him the lost folk.²

Dante believed himself the object of a special providence. He believed that, like St. Paul, an "abundance of visions" guided him. These called him from the withdrawn life of contemplation to active service in the affairs of men, the "civil life." According to his capacity, he was given Martha's "good part," not Mary's "best part."³ Though he might yearn toward Beatrice in heaven, he was bound on earth to service of the *Donna Pietosa*.

Actually, the "active life" into which he plunged shortly after Beatrice's death was that of politics. The reward of his labors was exile. That he felt his judges to be unjust would be no bar to his recognizing in the affliction itself the hand of Providence. On his own showing, the Jews were no less unjust in crucifying Christ for that they were at the same time carrying into effect the will of God.⁴ Divine justification of his exile must lie in its warning of a more perilous and self-imposed exile of his soul from the higher *patria* of heaven. So Virgil warns him among the sons of Cain:

ye take the bait, so that the hook
Of the old adversary draws you to him;
And so availeth little curb or call.

The heavens call unto you, and wheel around you,
Displaying unto you their everlasting beauties;
And your eyes yet but looketh unto earth.
Hence doth he buffet you who seeth all things.⁵

In other words, betrayed in his weakness like St. Paul by the "angel of Satan," the *stimulus carnis*—or concupiscence, as Aquinas interprets⁶—Dante is also chastened into humility. Now the category of concupiscence in Dante's dramatic symbolism is represented, as shown above, by the *Donna Pietosa* in so far as Dante's desire of her

¹ James, 4:4.

² *Purg.*, xxx, 136–38.

³ Vulgate: *optimam partem*.

⁴ *Par.*, vii.

⁵ *Purg.* xiv, 145–51.

⁶ Comm., II Cor. 12:3. Beset by the Evil One at the precise noon of his earthly day—"nel mezzo del cammin"—Dante may possibly have had in mind the "noon-devil," "Daemonum meridianum" (*Ps.* 91:6), theologically identified with the proneness to worldliness of middle life.

became inordinate. But just as the other and benignant aspect of the *Donna Pietosa* comes in the *Commedia* to be represented by Matilda, so this her malignant influence may well, as Signor Santi argues, be represented by the Medusa-like siren, *la Pietra*. In other words, the influence of the *Donna Pietosa* was equivocal—good or bad according to Dante's reaction upon it. Matilda and *la Pietra* may represent univocally the divergent potentialities of the influence of the ambiguous *Donna Pietosa*.¹

Although, both literally and symbolically, Dante's desire of *la Pietra*—if indeed she is to be identified with the *pargoletta* of Beatrice's rebuke²—was admittedly culpable, it is still rigorously possible even here for him to maintain that the “moving cause” of his praise of her was “not passion, but virtue.” Again, *in the retrospect* he sees how by divine grace his weakness was made strength; therefore, like St. Paul, he will glory in his weakness. “Libenter igitur gloriabor in infirmitatibus meis, ut inhabitet in me virtus Christi.”³ In other words, as before in the case of his Second Love, behind his will was the will of God.⁴ Not his “passion,” but the “virtue” of divine Love was the true “moving cause” of his conduct, itself needful to bring him to contrition. He must experience subjectively that “hell” which he objectifies in the great confession of his poem. Thanks to his *inordinate* desire of her, *la Pietra*, he says,

robs me of that
Whereof I have most thirst.⁵

Later enlightenment has shown him that his truly greatest thirst is for Wisdom. Unconsciously, therefore, he had declared that his inordinate love had robbed him of that. And so again he had spoken prophetically when he had said, “For her I boil in the hot caldron.”⁶ For the soul which has lost Wisdom is in danger of hell-fire. And in a consistent continuation of the *Convivio* Dante might have moralized these passages of his *canzone* on the text of Job: “Si deceptio est

¹ By analogous process differentiation of the category of Reason into Reason unillumined by Revelation, and illumined, is symbolized by Virgil and Matilda, respectively, Dogmatic and Mystic Theology by Beatrice and St. Bernard.

² *Purg.*, xxxi, 59.

³ II Cor. 12:9.

⁴ *Par.*, v, 7-12.

⁵ Quello, ond'io ho più gola, m'involta
—*Così-nel-mio-parlar*, ll. 80-81.

⁶ per lei nel caldo borro.
—*Ibid.*, l. 60.

cor meum super muliere. . . . Ignis est usque ad perditionem devorans. . . .”¹

In fact, humbled in spirit, having paid his penitential scot of tears,² he is brought back to his true blessedness, to Beatrice. His temporary experience of “hell” had been the only way, as she said. Consolation of his exile is given him. Not ungrateful Florence, but the world is his country,³ yet only as a “threshing-floor” where he may aid in God’s task of separating the chaff from the corn.⁴ His ultimate mood is in effect one with that expressed by Hugh of St. Victor in the *Didascalicon*.⁵

All the world is a place of exile to philosophers. It is a great beginning of virtue for the mind to learn by degrees, by exercise, first to change these visible and transitory things, that afterwards it may be able also to relinquish them. He is yet delicate to whom his native land is sweet. But he is already strong to whom every soil is his country, and he is perfect to whom the whole world is a place of exile. The first has fixed his love on the world, the second has scattered it, the last has quenched it.

Dante fixing his love on the *Donna Pietosa* inordinately, or upon *la Pietra* inordinately, is the real exile from his true *patria*, having lost his way among “these visible and transitory things”—

present things
With their false pleasure turned aside my steps.⁶

Yet exile for a while he must be, serving his time as God’s laborer, overseen by his Second—rather, secondary—Love, that Moral Philosophy which may reward him with earthly blessedness, promissory itself of the wages of his true mistress, his First Love and Last, Beatrice, dispenser of the heavenly blessedness which is eternal.

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¹ 31:9, 12.

² *Purg.*, xxx, 144–45.

³ “Nos autem cui mundus est patria”—*De Vulg. Elog.*, i, 6.

⁴ *Par.*, xxi, 151.

⁵ iii, 20. I quote Gardner’s translation—*Dante and the Mystics*, London, 1913, p. 150.

⁶ *Purg.*, xxxi, 34–35.

THE INFLUENCE OF GEORGE BORROW UPON PROSPER MÉRIMÉE.

Scholars who have concerned themselves with the life and writings of Mérimée have generally assumed that the descriptions of Gypsy life in *Carmen* are the fruit of the author's personal observation and first-hand study of the language and lore of that interesting people. In thus supposing *Carmen* to be a portrait painted *ad vivum* they are not wholly wrong; but the important part which the writings of Borrow play as sources of *Carmen* appears to have escaped attention. In the final chapter of *Carmen*, added after the first appearance of the story in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*,¹ Mérimée mentions Borrow's name solely to hold him up to ridicule. Always fond of mystifying his readers he throws dust in their eyes by affecting an authority of knowledge not possessed by the writer whose works he has been exploiting. But he is more ingenuous in his intimate correspondence with his Inconnue, Mlle Jenny Dacquin. He there confesses that much of his Gypsy lore was derived from Borrow: "You asked me the other day where I obtained my acquaintance with the dialect of the Gypsies. I had so many things to tell you that I forgot to reply. I got it from Mr. Borrow; his book is one of the most curious which I have read."² In view of this admission there is no need of proving that such an influence existed. The purpose of the present article is merely to examine its extent.

The Gypsy was one of the stock characters of Romanticism, and Mérimée in his earliest works exhibits the prevailing interest in the race. His mythical Clara Gazul is the offspring of a Granada canon and a gitana of the Albaicfn. Her favorite ditty is: *Cuando me parió mi madre, la gitana*. His equally mythical Hyacinthe Maglanovich, the bard of *La Guzla*, owed his gift of song to the Tchingémcha or Bohemians who kidnapped him when a child. His first real Gypsy character occurs in *la Chronique du règne de Charles IX* in the person of Mila. We know that Mila is a Gypsy because we are told that

¹ *Carmen* was first published in the issue of October 1, 1845.

² *Lettres à une inconnue* (Paris, 1889), II, 289.

such is the fact. The portrait exhibits a complete lack of modeling. Not the slightest bit of local color illustrative of Gypsy life is introduced, unless the telling of fortunes and a propensity for theft may be so considered. Borrow had not yet published the results of his studies, and Mérimée was still to begin his own. But these slight allusions at least betray an interest in the subject, an interest which will quicken with the first opportunity to see and associate with the race.

That opportunity came in the year 1830 when Mérimée first visited Spain. In that year he gathered some of the material afterward woven into the fabric of *Carmen*. It was then that the Condesa de Teba (later the Condesa de Montijo) related to him the anecdote which served as the "germ" of *Carmen*, a trivial drama of jealousy and murder in which Gypsies played no part. "Il s'agissait d'un Jacques de Malaga, qui avait tué sa maîtresse, laquelle se consacrait exclusivement au public," writes Mérimée to the countess, recalling the incident fifteen years later.¹ In 1830, likewise, he wrote his article on the bandit José María. And in this same year also the Condesa de Teba introduced him to the Spanish novelist Estébanez Calderón.

Estébanez Calderón and Mérimée had much in common. Both were intimates of the Condesa de Teba, assiduous attendants at her *tertulia*, moving on a footing of easy familiarity with the aristocratic circle of Madrid; yet the Spanish *costumbrista* might have said as truly as Mérimée that he was never so in his element as "in a Spanish *venta* with muleteers and peasants of Andalusia." Both men were novelists devoted to the depiction of manners and the creation of local color. Both plumed themselves on being serious historians as well. Both were bibliophiles. Estébanez Calderón purchased books for Mérimée in Madrid; Mérimée in Paris attended book auctions in the interest of his friend. But above all Estébanez was valuable to Mérimée in the capacity of guide. He it was who introduced him to certain aspects of the low life of Madrid from which was gained a first-hand knowledge of Spanish manners. This intimacy was not suspected by even the best-informed *Mériméeistes* of France until the

¹ First printed in the preface to the édition de luxe of *Carmen*, "Pour les cent bibliophiles" (Paris, 1901). Not having seen this edition, I quote from the reproduction of the letter. Cf. Pinvert, *Sur Mérimée, Notes bibliographiques et critiques* (Paris, 1908).

recent publication of seven letters addressed by Mérimée to his Spanish friend.¹ Much of this correspondence is the reverse of edifying, but reveals how helpful each friend was in the literary labors of the other.

Years afterward Estébanez Calderón received a presentation copy of *Carmen* with the inscription: "À mon maître en *chipe callé*" ("To my master in the Gypsy tongue").² In an accompanying letter he says: "Voici en attendant un petit souvenir de nos anciennes études sur la *chipe callé*, pour lequel je vous demande un coin dans votre bibliothèque."³ Estébanez Calderón was, therefore, the first who made Mérimée acquainted with the Spanish Gypsy and his language, but we may doubt whether Mérimée was able to acquire from his friend more than a few scattered phrases of the jargon. When he departed for the South he continued his investigations alone. The Gypsies of Granada excited his lively interest. Whether, as has so often been stated, he there found the original of Carmencita cannot definitely be decided. But Filon, quoting from the unedited Montijo correspondence, has indicated that at Granada he flirted with a pretty gitana, "assez farouche aux chrétiens, mais qui, pourtant, s'apprivoisait à la vue d'un duro."⁴ This trip "of a thousand follies" as he termed it in later life was by no means wholly devoted to frivolity. We may be confident of his sincerity when, writing from Valencia, he said: "In a foreign land, one is compelled to see everything and is always apprehensive lest a moment of idleness or disgust will make one lose a curious bit of manners."⁵

For over a decade after his first visit to Spain Mérimée's interest in the Gypsies lay dormant. It was reawakened by the successive publication of Borrow's works. The first of these, the translation of the Gospel of Luke into *caló*, appeared in 1837.⁶ That Mérimée had the patience to read this book through we know from a statement in his correspondence with Mme de la Rochejacquelein. That good

¹ Mitjana, "Lettres de Mérimée à Estébanez Calderón," *Revue bleue*, November 12 and 19, 1910, pp. 609-14 and 645-47.

² *Ibid.*, p. 609.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 612.

⁴ Filon, *Mérimée et ses amis* (Paris, 1909), p. 54.

⁵ *Mosaïque*, *Lettre de Valence* (Paris, 1909), p. 287.

⁶ *Embéo e Majaró Lucas. El evangelio según S. Lucas traducido al Romant, ó dialecto de los Gitanos de España* (Madrid, 1837).

lady, whose efforts to convert the skeptical courtier of Napoleon III are well known, had apparently been urging her friend to read his Testament. We may imagine the malicious glee with which he coolly informs her that he has even read the Gospel of Luke in Romany.¹

But two far more stimulating books were soon to follow: *The Zincali; or an Account of the Gypsies of Spain* (London, 1841)² and *The Bible in Spain* (London, 1842). Salillas has stated that serious interest in the Spanish Gypsy dates from the publication of Borrow's *Zincali*.³ The statement might well be broadened to include Gypsy studies the world over. Whatever the defects of this work from the philologist's point of view, no other writer has done anything comparable in arousing interest in the "affairs of Egypt." Superficiality and inaccuracy were not Borrow's worst faults. He dishonestly utilized the work of his predecessors in the field without giving credit.⁴ Yet many of his more scholarly successors have acknowledged that to Borrow they owed their first interest in the Gypsies. His vivid style and propensity for romancing won him a popular audience. *The Zincali* inspired a *Carmen*, a thing Pott's learned *Zigeuner* could never have done.

Naturally Estébanez Calderón was one of the first in Spain to learn of the publication of *The Zincali*. In a letter dated May 6, 1842, he requested his friend Pascual Gayangos, then residing in London, to procure him a copy. "Buy me," he writes, "the *Cancionero de burlas* of Usoz and Borrow's book on the Gypsies. He has not remembered to send me a copy, though I procured for him so many data. Tell him he does not know the word for 'manger.'"⁵ From this we see that Estébanez was not only "master of *chipe callí*" for Mérimée but for Borrow as well, a detail which has escaped the notice of that author's biographers. Mérimée's own study of *The Zincali* seems to date from August, 1844, as appears from a letter

¹ *Une Correspondence inédite* (Paris, 1897), p. 125.

² My references are to the enlarged and corrected second edition (London: John Murray, 1843).

³ Salillas, *Hampa* (Madrid, 1898), p. 130.

⁴ Cf. Groome, *The Academy*, July 13, 1874. Borrow took much from Bright's *Travels in Hungary* (Edinburgh, 1819). He was also indebted to Grellmann, though he specifically denies having seen that author's book. As we shall see he was also indebted to Estébanez Calderón.

⁵ Cf. Cánovas del Castillo, "*El Solitario*" y su tiempo (Madrid, 1883), II, 381.

which he wrote on the twenty-first of that month to his friend Grasset, French consul in Janina:

Apropos of linguistics, I have been studying for several days the jargon of the Bohemians (Zingari). Probably you have some of them in Albania as in all the Turkish provinces. Could you answer these two questions? Have they an individual tongue or only a patois? Do you know whether they know the time of their arrival in Albania and from what direction they came? There is a German who is now writing their history and who seems to me to be making a kind of romance. An English missionary or spy has made a very amusing book on the Gypsies of Spain; it is Mr. Borrow. He lies frightfully, but now and then says things both true and excellent.¹

This letter shows Mérimée, just previous to the writing of *Carmen*, eagerly seeking detailed information about a distant Gypsy tribe. Doubtless other friends like Gobineau and Francisque Michel were similarly questioned. The German referred to can only be Friedrich Pott, professor in Halle, and author of *Die Zigeuner in Europa und Asien*.² Mérimée had just seen the first volume of Pott's work. The second appeared in 1845, and at a joint session held May 2, 1845, the five academies conferred upon the author the Volney prize in linguistics. The *Proceedings* of the Academy fail to show whether Mérimée was instrumental in the award of that prize to Pott. Pott's work was the first rigidly scientific study of the Gypsy race and language which had appeared. He does not seem to have studied the Gypsy tongue at first-hand, but he subjected the work of others to a critical examination from the viewpoint of a trained Orientalist. It is certain that Mérimée knew Pott's book, but as a source for the *Carmen* it counts for little. Its ponderous erudition must have seemed to Mérimée *rébarbatif*.

The allusion to Borrow shows that Mérimée was not the dupe of that author's romancings; yet it hardly tallies with what Mérimée says of him elsewhere. For example he writes to the Inconnue:

What he (Borrow) relates of the Bohemians is perfectly true, and his personal observations are entirely in accord with mine save on a single

¹ Cf. *L'Intermédiaire des chercheurs et curieux*, October 16, 1892. This letter offers evidence that Mérimée was familiar with either the first or second English edition of *The Zincali*. The French translation appeared a year later: Borrow, *Esquisses de la vie des gitans d'Espagne* (Paris, 1845). This translation is not mentioned in the Borrow bibliography compiled by Professor Knapp and published in his biography. A more complete Borrow bibliography has just appeared: Wise, *Bibliography of the Writings in Prose and Verse of G. H. Borrow*, London, 1914.

² Halle, 1844-45.

point. In his capacity of clergyman (*sic*), he may very well have deceived himself where I, in my capacity of Frenchman and layman, was able to make conclusive experiments. What is very strange is that this man, who has the gift of tongues to such an extent that he can speak the dialect of the *callí*, has so little grammatical perspicuity that he fails to recognize at the first glance that many roots foreign to Spanish have remained in the dialect. He claims that only Sanskrit roots have been preserved.¹

In the *Carmen* also he ridicules Borrow for naïvely believing in the chastity of Gypsy women. He cites an Andalusian friend (possibly Estébanez) who had a different tale to tell. This Andalusian may have had the best possible sources of information, but the majority of Spanish writers bear out Borrow's statement. Besides, Borrow was not a clergyman, and the man who taught Isobel Berners of Mumpers Dingle to conjugate the verb "to love" in Armenian may not have been so naive an observer after all. Mérimée's second statement is incomprehensible. Borrow did not refer all words in the language of the Spanish Gypsies to Sanskrit roots. He derived several from modern Greek, and Mérimée himself cited these same examples in *Carmen*.

Mérimée's interest in Borrow continued to the end of his life. He doubtless read with interest *Lavengro* and *Romany Rye*, though there is no record of the fact and these works did not influence his own writings. Late in life he records his disappointment on reading *Wild Wales*, a book which he had purchased for 30 francs and would gladly relinquish for 15. He further remarks that Borrow had deteriorated greatly.² The most ardent Barrovian would agree with this opinion. An allusion to the British Bible Society in the opening pages of *Lokis*, his last novel, shows that Borrow was still in his mind. He had in common with Borrow and many other Romanticists a dilettante interest in exotic tongues. At various periods of his life he studied such out-of-the-way languages as Arabic, modern Greek, Lithuanian, Armenian, Catalan, Basque, and the Celtic speech of Brittany. His knowledge of most of these dialects was superficial, and his proficiency in languages which he better understood such as Spanish and Russian has been somewhat exaggerated.³ His point of view was not that of

¹ *Lettres à une inconnue*, II, 289.

² *Ibid.*, II, 229.

³ Cf. Groussac, *Une Enigme littéraire* (Paris, 1909), p. 170: "Son savoir était si réel et si complet sur presque toutes les choses dont il parlait que, sans le vouloir, il a fait

the philologist. He studied for personal amusement and to gain local color for his books. The Gypsy speech seems to have interested him longer than most of the other languages mentioned, excepting only Russian, though writing to his friend Gobineau, February 9, 1855, he says: "I am beginning to be very rusty in *chipe callí* which I formerly jabbered with some success in Madrid."¹ In this and subsequent letters he gives ample evidence that he has studied not only the Gypsy dialects of Spain, but other European dialects of that tongue as well. He subjoins a list of 28 Gypsy words of general European use (certainly not taken from Borrow's vocabulary), and asks his friend, then secretary of the French ministry in Persia, to send him the corresponding forms used by the Gypsies of Persia. This Gobineau did, and Mérimée replies:

I have read and reread your little vocabulary of the Persian Gypsies, and from the trouble which I had in collecting a few of the words of their Spanish brothers, I understand all that the list which you have been so kind as to transcribe for me has cost you. There is certainly a striking connection between the majority of the words of your Gypsies and those of ours, and it is astonishing that an unwritten language should not alter far more among individuals situated so far from each other.²

The translation of Pushkin's *Bohémiens* is another token of the interest Mérimée took in Gypsy matters late in life.

When at last Mérimée was able to command the assistance of books, he renewed his direct observation of the Gypsy. He has left us several accounts of his methods of work:

I found at Perpignan two superb Bohemians shearing mules. I spoke *caló* to them, to the great horror of the artillery colonel who accompanied me, and it was found that I was far cleverer than they and that they rendered a startling testimony to my learning of which I was not a little proud.³

This proves no more than that Mérimée was master of a few conversational phrases. A very slight knowledge of Romany is

illusion sur d'autres aux critiques les plus défiants—comme il est arrivé pour sa connaissance du bohémien et même de l'espagnole, qu'on a fort exagérée." Groussac probably had in mind Taine's remarks on this point. Cf. Taine's introduction to the *Lettres à une inconnue*. Groussac's statement is correct except in supposing Mérimée innocent of a desire to impose upon his readers, which in view of his many mystifications we may well doubt.

¹ *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1902, 5th period, 728.

² *Ibid.*, p. 733.

³ *Lettres à une inconnue*, I, 256.

sufficient to arouse Gypsy astonishment. The following passage gives a better idea of his methods of investigation:

Yesterday they came to invite me to a party on the occasion of a Gypsy mother's accouchement. The event had taken place only two hours ago. We numbered about thirty individuals in a chamber like that which I occupied in Madrid. There were three guitars, and they sang at the top of their voices in Romany and Catalan. The society was made up of five gitanas, one of whom was tolerably pretty, and a like number of men of the same race; the rest were Catalans, thieves, I suppose, or horse jockeys, which amounts to the same thing. Nobody spoke Spanish, and mine was hardly understood. We exchanged ideas only by means of a few words of Gypsy, which greatly pleased the honorable company. "He is one of us," they said. I slipped a duro into the hand of a woman, telling her to go and get wine. These tactics had occasionally proved successful under similar circumstances in Andalusia. But the Gypsy chief immediately snatched the money from her hand and restored it to me, saying that I honored his poor house only too much. They gave me wine, and I drank without paying. On returning home, I found watch and handkerchief in my pocket. . . . The songs, all of which were unintelligible to me, had the merit of recalling to my mind Andalusia. One of them they dictated to me in Romany which I understood. It has to do with a man who speaks of his wretchedness and tells how long he has been without eating. Poor people! Would they not have been perfectly justifiable, if they had taken my money and clothes and ejected me with a beating?¹

These adventures occurred subsequent to the writing of *Carmen*, but previous to 1844 he had conducted many similar investigations among the Gypsies of Madrid, Granada, Seville, and Cordoba. He had also visited some of the tribes of Germany and the Vosges Mountains. Mérimée's opportunity for direct observation of Gypsy manners was therefore extensive. Why, then, is it necessary to seek a literary source for the *Carmen*? Because Mérimée when he set out to manufacture local color seldom dispensed with literary aid. He did, indeed, frequently dispense with direct observation. Thus, *Le Théâtre de Clara Gazul* was drawn entirely from the author's reading and imagination. Mérimée, at the time of its publication, had never set foot in Spain, South America, or any of the other countries described. Yovanovitch has ably indicated the sources of *La Guzla*.² It will be remembered that Mérimée, desiring to journey to Illyria, had written that famous mystification based upon rare books of

¹ Filon, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

² Yovanovitch, *La Guzla de Prosper Mérimée* (Paris, 1911).

travel, with the intention of later using the profits of his book to defray the expenses of a tour beyond the Adriatic which would enable him to ascertain how near he had come to the truth. The trip to Illyria never came to pass, but Mérimée did visit Corsica after having first written his little masterpiece *Mateo Falcone*, a work filled with Corsican local color. As has recently been shown, personal observation led him to make numerous alterations in later editions of the story.¹ The local color of *Lokis* is reminiscent of the author's studies on Lithuania. Not having himself visited the region described, Mérimée asked Tourgénieff to criticize the local color in it. *Colomba* and *Carmen*, on the other hand, were written after Mérimée was personally familiar with Corsica and Spain; nevertheless in writing the latter work, he depended even more upon books than upon his own eyes. And the book from which he drew most freely was Borrow's *Zincali*.

Except for the strong impulse given to Gypsy studies by the publication of the *Zincali*, *Carmen*—at least in the form in which we know it—would never have been written. The vulgar little item of police court news related by the Condesa de Teba afforded scant material for a masterpiece. It was not until Borrow's books had revived Mérimée's interest in the Gypsies that he conceived the idea of *Carmen*. This we may infer from the letter to the Condesa de Montijo (May 15, 1845) from which I have already quoted: "As I have been studying the Gypsies for some time, I have made of my heroine a Gypsy."² He had waited fifteen years before turning to literary account the story which is rightly regarded as the germ of *Carmen*. Meanwhile Borrow had published his *Zincali* (1841), *The Bible in Spain* (1842); Trujillo his *Vocabulario del dialecto gitano* (1844); Pott his *Zigeuner* (1844–45).³ *Carmen*, then, was written at

¹ Cf. Souriau, "Les Variantes de Mateo Falcone," *Rev. d'hist. litt. de la France*, XX, No. 2, 332–42.

² Pinvert, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

³ Without attempting to give a complete bibliography of works dealing with the Gypsies prior to 1845 (for such a list see Pott), the following are the more important works which Mérimée may have used: Grellman, *Die Zigeuner* (Leipzig, 1873); Hoyland, *A Historical Survey of the Customs, Habits, and Present State of the Gypsies* (York, 1816); Puchmayer, *Romaní Chib* (Prague, 1821); Passa, *Essai historique sur les Gitano*s (Paris, 1827); Bischoff, *Deutsch-Zigeunerisches Wörterbuch* (Ilmenau, 1827); Kindler, *Mitteilungen über die Zigeuner* (Nürnberg, 1831); J. M.—, *Historia de los Gitanos* (Barcelona and Madrid, 1832, cited by Borrow); Graffunder, *Ueber die Sprache der Zigeuner* (Erfurt, 1835); Tetzner, *Geschichte der Zigeuner* (Weimar, 1835); Heister, *Ethnographische und geschichtliche Notizen über die Zigeuner* (Königsberg, 1842). Most of these works I have handled and can find no evidence that Mérimée used any of them in writing *Carmen*, except for a few words which he may have taken from German glossaries.

a time when definite information about the Gypsies was beginning to replace the imaginings of the preceding decade. The day of the *Preciosas* and *Esmeraldas* was past. The heroine of the *Condesa de Teba*'s story was not a Gypsy. Mérimée alters facts in order to provide himself with an opportunity of creating local color and to air his newly acquired knowledge of the Gypsy tongue and Gypsy manners. Similarly, in order to display his scanty knowledge of Basque, the original *Jacques de Málaga* is transformed into *Don José Navarra*.¹ It remains now to examine the *Carmen* in detail and to point out what facts Mérimée drew from Borrow.

First of all, the *Carmen* contains a number of Gypsy proverbs, all but two of which are taken from Borrow's collection in the *Zincali*: "Chuquel sos pirela, cocal terela" ("The dog who walks finds a bone"); "Or esorjié de or narsichislé sin chismar lachinguel" ("The extreme of a dwarf is to spit largely");² "Len sos sonsi abela pani o rebländani terela" ("The river which makes a noise has either water or stones"). Here Mérimée corrects an error of Borrow who had written *bela* for *abela*, but himself has *rebländani* instead of the correct *reblandi*. That Mérimée did not follow his authority slavishly is shown also by the following example: Borrow writes: "Aunso me dicas vriardó de jorpoj ne sirlo braco" ("Although thou seest me dressed in wool, I am no sheep"); Mérimée gives it thus: "Me dicas vriardá de jorpoj, bus ne sino braco." He has omitted the word for "although" and substituted that for "but." He has changed the agreement of the participle from masculine to feminine to suit his context, and lastly he has corrected the misprint of *sirlo* to *sino*. Nobody has hitherto pointed out that the *Carmen* ends with one of those pretty mystifications of which Mérimée was so childishly fond. The last sentence of *Carmen* contains a proverb not found in Borrow: "En retudi panda nasti abela macha" ("A fly does not enter a closed mouth"). This is nothing in the world but the common Italian

¹ Mérimée may have been indebted for his knowledge of Basque to his friend, Fransque Michel, professor in Bordeaux, the future author of *Le Pays basque*, with whom he maintained a constant correspondence. In that book Michel devotes a chapter to the Basque Gypsies. He also has something to say of the Gypsies in his *Histoire des races maudites de la France et de l'Espagne* (Paris, 1847).

² In all the editions of *Carmen* this is rendered: "La promesse d'un nain c'est de cracher loin." This is nonsense. For *promesse* read *prouesse*. This misprint which dates from the first issue of *Carmen* in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* has never before been corrected.

proverb: "In bocca chiusa non entró mai mosca" which Mérimée has amused himself by rendering into *caló* with the aid of Borrow's glossary. But even this was, I think, suggested by Borrow. The one proverb given in the *Zincali* without a Gypsy equivalent runs thus: "The poor fool who closes his mouth never winneth a dollar." This may have suggested to Mérimée the well-known Italian proverb which is such a close equivalent. That he was capable of writing a sentence in the *caló* dialect is proved by the correspondence with Estébanez Calderón. Another proverb also seems to be the author's own invention: "Sarapia sat pesquital ne punzava" ("Gale avec plaisir ne démange pas"). None of these proverbs is taken from Pott's collection or from any other printed source then available.

We have Mérimée's own statement that he was familiar with several glossaries of the Gypsies' dialects; but in writing *Carmen*, Borrow's vocabulary was his chief aid. Nearly all the Gypsy words and phrases used in *Carmen* may there be found. E.g., *baji*, *rommani*, *chipe callí*, *payllo*, *bar lachi*, *romalis*, *rom*, *romi*, *caló*, *majari*, *ustilar á pastesas*, *killipendi*, *erani* (Borrow, *erañi*), *minchorró* (Borrow, *minchoró*), *bari*, *crallisa*, *pani*, *manro*, *lon*, *jamar*, *lillar*, *gras*, *graste*, *gris*, *fila*, *sarapia* (Borrow, *zarapia*). He accepts Borrow's etymologies in the case of three words without giving credit—proof positive that the *Zincali* was his source: *cocal* from Greek *kokkalon*; *petalli* (Borrow, *petali*) from Greek *petalon*; *cafi* from Greek *karphi*. He occasionally makes slight changes in the orthography which seem to show that his own observations were different. There are only a few Gypsy words not found in Borrow: *tchouri*, a variant of *chori*; *rommané tshavé*; *firla*, a variant of *fila*. These, as well as the statement regarding perfects in *-ium* he took from some German source; it would be impossible to say which. He further gives a sentence which he says he took down from the lips of a Gypsy in the Vosges: "Singo, singo honti hi mulo." This is clearly not the *caló* dialect.

Many a detail in the plot and local color of *Carmen* was taken directly out of Borrow's works, though there are a few resemblances which may be nothing more than coincidences. Two such close observers as Borrow and Mérimée visiting Spain at about the same period must have seen many of the same things. Nevertheless, for

the details which I shall now mention the Frenchman must have been indebted to the Englishman.

The narrator of *Carmen* meets the highwayman at the bottom of a mountainous gorge through which runs a rivulet. The *mise en scène* is identical with that in which Borrow's traveler has his sinister encounter with the Gypsy horde. The description of the women bathing in the Guadalquivir is reminiscent of a similar picture in the *Bible in Spain*. The description of Carmen in anger suggests Borrow's portrait of the "gitana of Seville": "Elle s'avançait en se balançant sur ses hanches comme une pouliche du haras de Cordoue . . . le poing sur la hanche, effrontée comme une vraie bohémienne qu'elle était." Borrow's gitana of Seville "stamps on the ground, and placing her hands on her hips, she moves quickly to right and left, advancing and retreating in a side-long direction." In describing Carmen's dress Mérimée says: "Elle avait un jupon rouge fort court qui laissait voir des bas blancs," etc. Borrow quotes the Spanish writer J. M—— to the effect that the Gypsy women wear "a scarlet colored *saya*, which only covers a part of the leg." The *romalis* dance is frequently referred to and described in the *Zincali*. What Mérimée tells us of the *bar lachi* or loadstone and the charms wrought with it is information derived from Borrow. In describing the riot of a Gypsy wedding Borrow tells of their lavish expenditure for *yemas* and other sweetmeats which they strew upon the floor and dance upon. Carmen on the occasion of her quasi-marriage with Don José purchases sweetmeats lavishly, breaks the *yemas* against the wall, smashes crockery, and dances madly upon the débris. "I pay my debts," says Carmen, "that is the law of the Gypsies." Borrow expatiates at length on the "Gypsy law," especially emphasizing the antipathy of the race to remaining in debt and the fidelity which the *romi* must observe toward her *rom*. We have seen that Mérimée was a skeptic in the matter of Gypsy chastity, but even here he saves himself from criticism by making Carmen a half-blood, and on one occasion makes her say to her lover: "I should like to be your *romi*; but that is nonsense; it is impossible." When Don José inquires Carmen's whereabouts, he is told that she has gone to Laloro (Portugal). Borrow mentions Laloro as a favorite resort of Spanish Gypsies who are pursued by justice. "The Affairs of Egypt" is a

phrase of frequent recurrence in Borrow's works; compare Mérimée's "Les Affaires d'Egypte." Similarly one author has "Flamenca de Roma," the other "Flamande de Rome." Don José kills his lieutenant. Whether the hero of the Condesa de Teba's story committed any other murder than that of his wife we do not know; but it is interesting to note that the husband of the Gypsy crone in the *Bible in Spain* was a soldier who murdered his sergeant, after which the two took refuge among the Moors of Barbary. A sleeping potion is administered to Don José. This is the Gypsy *draq* mentioned in Borrow. Carmen's exploits on the highway were unquestionably suggested by those of Borrow's one-eyed feminine *contrabandista*, La Tuerta. As Mérimée had no occasion for two female smugglers, La Tuerta suggested the name for a male character, Le Borgne. La Tuerta dealt chiefly in cotton goods, Carmen in *cotonnades*. Carmen frees her husband from jail. "Carmen a si bien embobelé le chirurgien du presidio, qu'elle en a obtenu la liberté de son rom." In the *Zincali* a Gypsy says: "My wife soon got me out; she went to the lady of the corregidor, to whom she told a most wonderful *bahi*, promising treasures and titles, and I wot not what; so I was set at liberty." Carmen also tried to liberate Don José from jail by somewhat different means. Carmen sang one of the songs in which the Gypsies invoke María Padilla. Borrow gives one of those songs in full. Mérimée as the future historian of Peter the Cruel was naturally interested in this bit of folk-lore.¹ Mérimée mentions the well-known Gypsy trick by which a Gypsy woman induces a credulous victim to tie some gold pieces in a handkerchief as a means of discovering a buried treasure, whereupon the Gypsy disappears with the handkerchief and its contents. This is the *hokano baro*, or "great trick," of the Gypsies which Borrow describes at length. The trick is also described in some of the old Spanish picaresque novels, but Mérimée probably did not resort to such an out-of-the-way source.²

The general account of the Gypsies with which *Carmen*, in its final form, ends is the result of Mérimée's wide reading on this subject. Nevertheless, here as elsewhere, Borrow is his chief source.

¹ Cf. Schuchardt, "Los cantes flamencos," *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, V, 260.

² Cf. Salillas' very interesting chapter on "Los gitanos en la novela picaresca," *op. cit.*, pp. 142 ff.

Some of his generalizations about Gypsy customs and characteristics are so vague that it would be futile to attempt to indicate an exact source; but we may be sure that he draws from Borrow in giving the etymologies of the three words *cocal*, *petalli*, and *cafi* referred to above. Mérimée further imitates Borrow in connecting thieves' slang with the Romany. The author of the *Zincali* had shown how much the criminal jargons of Spain and England owed to the Gypsy tongue. This suggested to Mérimée a few similar remarks on the language of French thieves. Both writers quote Vidocq's *Mémoires*. In this connection it may be remarked that Mérimée's etymology of *fri-mousse*, though apparently overlooked by subsequent lexicographers, who naturally do not turn to novels for philological facts, appears far more plausible than any other derivation that has been proposed. It is in this last chapter that Mérimée most unkindly heaps ridicule upon the head of the author whose works he has so thoroughly exploited.

In the foregoing study I have made no attempt to study all the possible sources of *Carmen*. The work reflects many of its author's variegated interests and is indicative of wide reading in numerous unrelated fields. I have merely sought to show that in his study of the Gypsies Borrow was Mérimée's most important, though not his sole, literary guide; and of that a careful comparison of the two works leaves not the slightest doubt.

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NOTES SUR LE PROLOGUE D'“ATALA”

I

Il est peu de passages dans l'œuvre de Chateaubriand qui soient plus connus que la description du Mississippi qui se trouve au début d'*Atala*; il en est peu aussi qui aient été plus discutés et plus critiqués.¹ Dès la publication du livre, le critique de la *Décade philosophique, littéraire et politique*, dans le numéro du 10 floréal, an IX, sans mettre en doute l'exactitude des “couleurs” employées par Chateaubriand, se récriait devant “les ours enivrés de raisins qui chancellent sur les branches des ormeaux.” Le passage piqua évidemment au vif Chateaubriand qui, dans une note du *Génie du Christianisme* (IV, 180), appela à la rescousse pour se justifier et “Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America*, p. 443, 3d ed., London, 1791, et John Bartram, *Description of East Florida*, 3d ed., London, 1768, et Charlevoix, *Voyage dans l'Amérique septentrionale*, tome IV, lettre 44, pp. 175, édition de Paris, 1744, et Imley (*sic*) qui dit en propres termes que les ours s'enivrent de raisins (intoxicated with grapes).”

L'auteur tenait à prouver “l'exactitude scrupuleuse” de ses descriptions de la nature, et dans la préface de l'édition d'*Atala-René* (édition de 1805) il est revenu encore une fois sur le sujet: “des notes ajoutées à cette édition d'*Atala*, disait-il, m'auraient aisément justifié; mais s'il avait fallu en mettre dans tous les endroits où chaque lecteur pouvait en avoir besoin, elles auraient bientôt surpassé la longueur de l'ouvrage” (Préface, p. 7).

Malgré une affirmation aussi nette, les critiques ne se sont pas avoués vaincus. En 1832, un voyageur qui signe René Mersenne, après avoir pris connaissance d'un article de l'*American Quarterly Review* (déc. 1827, p. 460), entreprit de vérifier sur place la véracité de Chateaubriand. Il fit le voyage du Niagara, descendit le Mississippi, et arriva à la conclusion suivante:

Il faut donc confesser que les hérons bleus de M. de Chateaubriand, ses flamants roses, ses perroquets à tête jaune voyageant de compagnie avec des

¹ J. Bédier, *Etudes critiques* (Paris, 1903); E. Dick, *Les Plagiats de Chateaubriand* (Berne, 1905) et *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, XIII, 228-45; Emma Kate Armstrong, *Modern Language Publications*, XXII, 345-70; Madison Stathers, *Chateaubriand et l'Amérique* (Grenoble, 1905).

crocodiles et des serpents verts sur des îles flottantes de pistia et de nénuphar, plus son vieux bison à la barbe antique et limoneuse, dieu mugissant du fleuve; plus ses ours qui s'enivrent de raisins au bout des longues avenues, là où il n'y a pas d'avenues; plus ses cariboux qui se baignent dans des lacs, là où il n'y a pas de lacs; plus la grande voix du Meschacebé qui s'élève en passant sous les monts, là où il n'y a pas de monts; plus les mille merveilles de ces bords, qui font du Meschacebé l'un des quatre fleuves du Paradis terrestre, sont des contes à dormir debout, et que les bords de la Garonne eux-mêmes n'auraient pu inspirer.

Sainte-Beuve eut connaissance des lettres de Mersenne et leur emprunta un trait ou deux (*Chateaubriand et son groupe littéraire*, I, 207); mais sans mettre sérieusement en doute la véracité de Chateaubriand, l'accusant tout au plus d'avoir remanié d'autorité ses souvenirs.

C'est depuis les études de M. Bédier que les attaques se sont multipliées. Mlle Armstrong s'est spirituellement moquée de la couleur locale de Chateaubriand; M. Stathers qui n'est pourtant point suspect d'hostilité à l'égard de l'auteur d'*Atala* n'a pas osé le défendre dans le détail, et M. Dick l'a vivement pris à parti. Dans l'ensemble, on paraît avoir adopté l'attitude incrédule et désappointée que le fils du maréchal Ney avait prise après un voyage en Amérique:

Avant d'avoir vu le Mississipi, [écrivait-il] je ne m'en faisais pas une image moins séduisante que celle du Meschacebé d'*Atala*. . . . Mais c'est en vain que je cherchais à me reconnaître dans le pays que j'avais sous les yeux par les descriptions du livre. . . . J'étais réellement désappointé en me trouvant ainsi en face de la réalité. La description de ce fleuve, dans *Atala*, est faite par quelqu'un qui ne l'a jamais vu.¹

On pourrait s'en tenir là, et moi-même après avoir indiqué un emprunt fait par Chateaubriand à Carver, dans cette fameuse description (*Modern Philology*, IX, 129-49) j'ai cru que les hérons bleus, les serpents verts et les flamants roses n'avaient jamais existé que dans l'imagination de Chateaubriand. Pour qui est familier avec les procédés de composition de l'auteur d'*Atala*, il y a cependant quelque difficulté à admettre que l'homme qui a suivi si fidèlement les ouvrages de Bartram, de Carver, et de Charlevoix dans le *Voyage en Amérique*, et même dans *Atala*, se soit fié à son imagination quand

¹ *Revue des Deux Mondes*, I (1883), 531-32, cité par M. Bédier, p. 134.

il s'agissait de peindre le panorama du Mississippi. Il reste aussi cette affirmation de l'auteur qu'il aurait pu démontrer l'exactitude de ce tableau par des notes dont l'étendue aurait dépassé celle du texte. Ce travail qu'il a dédaigné de faire, il est cependant possible de le faire aujourd'hui. C'est le dossier qu'il avait sous les yeux au moment où il écrivait le Prologue d'*Atala* que nous avons voulu essayer de reconstituer. Pour cela il nous a suffi de consulter les auteurs que Chateaubriand lui-même nous a indiqués comme ses autorités; nous y avons cependant ajouté quelques ouvrages que Chateaubriand a pu connaître mais qu'il n'a pas expressément cités, et plusieurs autres qui n'ont paru qu'après *Atala*, mais qui confirment la vérité du tableau du Mississippi. J'ai eu plus particulièrement recours à Marc Casteby, *Histoire Naturelle de la Caroline, de la Floride et des Îles Bahamas, contenant les desseins des Oiseaux, animaux, poissons, serpens, insectes et plantes . . . avec leur description en anglais et en français*, Londres, 1737, 2 vols. in 8; à Thomas Ansbury, *Journal d'un voyage fait dans l'intérieur de l'Amérique septentrionale . . . traduit de l'anglais par M. Noël*, Paris, 1793, 2 vols. in 8; à H. M. Brackenridge, *Recollections of Persons and Places in the West*, Philadelphia, 1834; enfin à Elliott Coues, *Key to North American Birds*, nouv. éd., Boston, 1903. J'ai cru utile de reproduire fidèlement le texte de la première édition d'*Atala*, plus près des sources que le texte des éditions suivantes; pour les autres ouvrages de Chateaubriand je me suis servi de l'édition des œuvres complètes de 1826.

On pourra voir dans les pages suivantes où "les notes surpassent la longueur de l'ouvrage" avec quel soin minutieux Chateaubriand s'est renseigné; on y pourra étudier sur le vif ses procédés de travail et de composition; on pourra se rendre compte du labeur auquel s'est astreint l'auteur d'*Atala* pour rendre sa documentation aussi exacte que le permettaient les ouvrages qu'il avait à sa disposition.

A) La France possédoit autrefois dans l'Amérique septentrionale, un vaste empire, qui s'étendoit depuis le Labrador jusqu'aux Florides, et depuis les rivages de l'Atlantique jusqu'aux lacs les plus reculés du haut Canada.

Quatre grands fleuves, ayant leurs sources dans les mêmes montagnes, divisoient ces régions immenses: le fleuve Saint-Laurent, qui se perd à l'Est dans le golfe de son nom; la rivière de l'Ouest, qui porte ses eaux à des mers inconnues; le fleuve Bourbon, qui se précipite du midi au nord

dans la baie d'Hudson; et le Meschacebé, qui descendant du nord au midi, s'ensevelit dans le golfe du Mexique.

Ce dernier fleuve, dans un cours de plus de mille lieues, arrose une délicieuse contrée que les habitans des Etats-Unis appellent le nouvel Eden, et à qui les François ont laissé le doux nom de Louisiane. Mille autres fleuves, tributaires du Meschacebé, le Missouri, l'Illinois, l'Akansa, l'Ohio, le Wabache, le Tenase, l'engraissent de leur limon, et la fertilisent de leurs eaux.

Les éléments principaux de ces paragraphes se retrouvent dans le *Voyage en Amérique*:

Au bout de la vallée, et loin par-delà, on aperçoit la cimes des montagnes hyperboréennes, où Dieu a placé la source des quatre plus grands fleuves de l'Amérique septentrionale. Nés dans le même berceau, ils vont après un cours de douze cents lieues, se mêler aux quatre points de l'horizon, à quatre océans: le Mississippi se perd au midi, dans le golfe Mexicain; le Saint-Laurent se jette, au levant, dans l'Atlantique; l'Ontawais se précipite, au nord, dans les mers du Pôle; et le fleuve de l'Ouest porte, au couchant, le tribu de ses ondes à l'Océan de Nontouka (*Voyage en Amérique*, p. 67).

M. E. Dick (p. 34) a vu dans ce passage du *Voyage* un emprunt à Beltrami dont l'ouvrage ne fut publié qu'en 1823. Il est bien évident que tout au contraire Chateaubriand n'a fait que reproduire dans le *Voyage* des notes déjà utilisées pour *Atala*. Il n'est du reste pas original et s'il n'a pu se servir de Beltrami, et pour cause, il a combiné ici deux passages de Carver. "La source des quatre grands fleuves qui prennent naissance à quelques lieues seulement les uns des autres, vers le centre de ce vaste continent; sc̄avoir, la rivière Bourbon qui se jette dans la baie de Hudson, celle de Saint-Laurent, le Mississippi et l'Orégon ou la rivière de l'Ouest qui verse ses eaux dans la mer Pacifique. . . .¹" Ailleurs Carver avait dit: "Les quatre principaux fleuves de l'Amérique Septentrionale, sc̄avoir le fleuve Saint-Laurent, le Mississippi, la rivière Bourbon, et l'Orégon ou la rivière de l'Ouest, prennent leurs sources dans un petit espace de terrain assez circonscrit. . . . Du lieu de leurs sources à la baie de Saint-Laurent à l'Est, au golfe du Mexique au Sud, à la baie de Hudson au Nord, et au détroit d'Anian ou à la mer Pacifique à l'Ouest, il y a au moins deux mille lieues" (Carver, pp. 47-48).

¹ Carver, *Voyage dans les parties intérieures de l'Amérique septentrionale*, trad. française, Paris, 1784, introduction, p. xxi.

B) Quand tous ces fleuves sont gonflés des déluges de l'hiver; quand les tempêtes ont abattu des pans entiers de forêts; le Temps assemble sur toutes les sources, les arbres déracinés. Il les unit avec des lianes, il les cimente avec des vases, il y plante de jeunes arbrisseaux, et lance son ouvrage sur les ondes. Chariés par les vagues écumantes, ces radeaux descendant de toutes parts au Meschacebé. Le vieux fleuve s'en empare, et les pousse à son embouchure, pour y former une nouvelle branche. Par intervalle, il élève sa grande voix, en passant sous les monts, et répand ses eaux débordées autour des colonnades des forêts, et des pyramides des tombeaux indiens: c'est le Nil des déserts. Mais la grâce est toujours unie à la magnificence dans les scènes de la nature: et tandis que le courant du milieu entraîne vers la mer les cadavres des pins et des chênes; on voit sur les deux courants latéraux remonter, le long des rivages, des îles flottantes de Pistia et de Nénuphar, dont les roses jaunes s'élèvent comme de petits pavillons. Des serpens verds, des hérons bleus, de flammans roses, de jeunes crocodiles s'embarquent, passagers sur ces vaisseaux de fleurs, et la colonie, déployant au vent ses voiles d'or, va aborder, endormie, dans quelque anse retirée du fleuve.

Ici Chateaubriand a consulté au moins deux auteurs. La première partie de cette description me paraît surtout devoir à Imlay, la seconde à Bartram. On en jugera par les passages suivants:

The bars that cross most of these small channels, opened by the current, have been multiplied by means of trees carried down with the streams; one of which stopped by its roots or branches, in a shallow part, is sufficient to obstruct the passage of a thousand more, and to fix them at the same place. . . . No human force being sufficient for removing them, the mud carried down by the river serves to bind and cement them together. . . . In less than ten years, canes and shrubs grow on them, and form points and islands, which forcibly shift the bed of the river. . . . It is certain that when La Salle sailed down the Mississippi to the sea, the opening of that river was very different from what it is at present. . . . The slime which the annual floods of the river Mississippi leave on the surface of the adjacent shores may be compared with that of the Nile (G. Imlay, *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America*, 3d ed., London, 1797, pp. 404, 405, 410).

Les courants latéraux ou contre-courants sont trop connus pour qu'il soit nécessaire d'insister, tous les voyageurs en ont parlé; mais ces courants latéraux transportent des îles flottantes que Bartram avait vues non sur le Mississippi, mais sur la rivière Saint Jean dans la Floride orientale.

Je remis de bonne heure à la voile [dit Bartram], sur la rivière Saint Jean, et je vis ce jour là de grandes quantités de *pistia stratiotes*, plante aquatique très singulière. Elle forme des îles flottantes dont quelques-unes ont une très grande étendue et qui voguent au gré des vents et des eaux. . . . Quand les grosses pluies, les grands vents font subitement éléver les eaux de la rivière, il se détache de la côte de grandes portions de ces îles flottantes. Ces flots mobiles offrent le plus aimable spectacle: ils ne sont qu'un amas des plus humbles productions de la nature, et pourtant ils troublient et déçoivent l'imagination. L'illusion est d'autant plus complète qu'au milieu de ces plantes en fleurs, on voit des groupes d'arbres-sous-eau, de vieux troncs d'arbres abattus par les vents et habités et peuplés de crocodiles, de serpents, de grenouilles, de loutres, de corbeaux, de hérons, de courlis, de choucas (Bartram, *Travels through North and South America*, Philadelphia, 1791; trad. française, Paris, an vii, I, 167; cité par M. Bédier, p. 265).

L'emprunt fait par Chateaubriand à Bartram est manifeste; il est cependant probable que Chateaubriand l'a complété par quelque autre ouvrage, car ni les hérons bleus, ni les serpents verts ne sont des animaux imaginaires.

Casteby décrit deux espèces de serpents verts: le serpent vert tacheté, *anguis viridis maculatus*, et le serpent vert proprement dit, *anguis viridis*, et en donne des reproductions en couleur (Casteby, II, 53, 57).

Le héron bleu est probablement *l'ardea herodias*, ou grand héron bleu, qui se trouve dans toutes les parties de l'Amérique du Nord, jusqu'au Labrador et à l'Alaska (Casteby, I, 76; E. Coues, p. 875).

On est plus étonné de rencontrer des flamants roses sur les bords du Mississippi. Casteby qui décrit cette espèce et en donne une reproduction en couleur ne l'a rencontrée qu'aux îles Bahamas (Casteby, I, 75). Cependant Coues indique comme habitat du *flamingo* ou *phoenicopterus ruber* les Bahamas, la Floride, le Golfe du Mexique, et peut-être même la Caroline du Sud. De plus, le même auteur étudiant l'ibis rouge, *eudocimus ruber*, renvoie à Audubon qui, en juillet 1821, vit en Louisiane un échantillon de cette espèce très rare aujourd'hui aux Etats-Unis. Ibis ou flamant, peu importe, l'essentiel est d'établir la possibilité de l'existence d'un grand oiseau rose sur les bords du Mississippi. Chateaubriand pourrait bien ici comme en beaucoup d'autres endroits avoir raison contre ses critiques. Nous verrons plus loin que ce n'est pas le seul passage où il a eu recours à Casteby pour se documenter.

C) Mais qui pourroit peindre les sites du Meschacebé? Depuis son embouchure jusqu'à la jonction de l'Ohio, le tableau le plus extraordinaire suit le cours de ses ondes. Sur le bord occidental, des savanes se déroulent à perte de vue: leurs flots de verdure, en s'éloignant, semblent, par une progression insensible, monter dans l'azur du ciel, où ils s'évanouissent. Quelquefois un bison chargé d'années, fendant les flots à la nage, se vient coucher parmi les hautes herbes dans une île du Meschacebé. A son front orné de deux croissans, à sa barbe antique et limoneuse, vous le prendriez pour le dieu mugissant du fleuve, qui jette un œil satisfait sur la grandeur de ses ondes, et la sauvage abondance de ses rives.

Telle est la scène sur le bord occidental; mais elle change tout-à-coup sur la rive opposée, et forme un admirable contraste. Suspendus sur le cours des ondes, groupés sur les rochers et sur les montagnes, dispersés dans les vallées, des arbres de toutes les formes, de toutes les couleurs, de tous les parfums, se mêlent, croissent ensemble, montent dans les airs à des hauteurs qui fatiguent les regards.

Une des phrases de cette description se retrouve presque textuellement dans le *Voyage en Amérique*; il s'agit il est vrai de montagnes et non de savanes, mais la notation est la même: "d'autres collines parallèles, couronnées de forêts, s'élèvent derrière la première colline, fuient en montant de plus en plus dans le ciel, jusqu'à ce que leur sommet frappé de lumière devienne de la couleur du ciel et s'évanouisse" (*Voyage*, 34). Chateaubriand n'est d'ailleurs pas original ici, c'est à Imlay qu'il a emprunté le trait essentiel de ce paysage: "the eye receding, finds new beauties in the rising hills of Silver creek, which, stretching obliquely to the north-west, proudly rise higher and higher as they extend, until their illuminated summits imperceptibly vanish" (Imlay, p. 34).

Chez Carver, Chateaubriand a trouvé le contraste entre les deux rives:

Ce fleuve a de chaque côté une foule de montagnes tout le long de son cours: et ces montagnes tantôt s'approchent, et tantôt s'éloignent considérablement. Le terrain entre ces montagnes est en général couvert d'herbes avec quelques bouquets de bois dispersés là et là, près desquels on voit des troupeaux de cerfs et d'élans qui paissent tranquillement dans ces vastes solitudes. En plusieurs endroits on aperçoit des pyramides de rochers qui ressemblent à de vieilles tours en ruines, dans d'autres on voit des précipices effrayants, et ce qu'il y a de plus remarquable, c'est que tandis qu'un côté présente cet aspect, le côté opposé est couvert de la plus belle verdure jusqu'à son sommet. On jouit là d'une vue dont la beauté et l'étendue surpassent tout ce que l'imagination peut se figurer. Qu'on se représente

des plaines verdoyantes, des prairies couvertes de fruits, des îles nombreuses, le tout rempli d'une variété d'arbres fruitiers, comme des noyers, des érables à sucre, des vignes chargées de riches grappes et de pruniers succombant sous le poids de leurs fruits: qu'on se figure ce riche spectacle rehaussé par la perspective d'un superbe fleuve roulant majestueusement son cours aussi loin que la vue peut s'étendre (Carver, p. 31).

D) Les vignes sauvages, les bignonias, les coloquintes s'entrelacent au pied de ces arbres, escaladent leurs rameaux, grimpent à l'extrémité des branches, s'élancent de l'érable au tulipier, du tulipier à l'alcée, en formant mille grottes, mille voutes, mille portiques. Souvent égarées d'arbre en arbre, ces lianes traversent des bras de rivières, sur lesquels elles jettent des ponts et des arches de fleurs. Alors les chaînes de feuillage, les pommes d'or, les grappes empourprées, tout pend en festons sur les ondes. Du sein de ces massifs embaumés, le superbe magnolia élève son cône immobile. Surmonté de ses roses blanches, il domine tous ces berceaux, et n'a d'autre rival que le palmier qui balance légèrement auprès de lui ses éventails de verdure.

Bartram avait écrit:

It is very pleasant to observe the banks of the river ornamented with hanging garlands, composed of varieties of climbing vegetables, both shrubs and plants, forming perpendicular green walls, with projecting jambs, pilasters, and deep apartments, twenty or thirty feet high, and completely covered with *Glycine frutescens*, *Glyc. apios*, *Vitis labrusca*, *Vitis vulpina*, *Rajana*, *Hedera quinquefolia*, *Hedera arborea*. . . . *Bignonia crucigera*, and various species of *Convolvulus*, particularly an amazing tall climber of this genus, or perhaps an *Ipomea*. . . . It is exceedingly curious to behold the Wild Squash climbing over the lofty limbs of the trees; its yellow fruit, somewhat the size and figure of a large orange, pendant from the extremities of the limbs over the water (Bartram, pp. 134-35).

Il est facile de reconnaître dans les pommes d'or qui dans le texte de Chateaubriand font tout d'abord naître l'idée d'oranges le très prosaïque fruit de la coloquinte ou "wild squash" de Bartram.

Le magnolia a été décrit plusieurs fois par Bartram et dans des termes qui se ressemblent tellement qu'il est difficile de distinguer de quel passage Chateaubriand a fait usage. "It is a tree perfectly erect," dit Bartram à un endroit, "rising in the form of a beautiful column, and supporting a head like an obtuse cone" (*ibid.*, p. 84). Ailleurs, il le montre poussant à côté de palmiers nains et continue: "but what appears very extraordinary is to behold there depressed and degraded, the glorious and pyramidal magnolia *grandiflora*, associated amongst these vile dwarfs, and even some of them rising

above it, though not five feet high; yet still showing large and expansive white fragrant blossoms" (*ibid.*, pp. 169-70). Chateaubriand semble bien avoir combiné ces deux passages, non sans transformer en arbres majestueux les arbustes rabougris qu'avait vus Bartram.

E) Pour embellir encore ces retraites, l'inépuisable main du Créateur y fit une multitude d'animaux, dont les jeux et les amours répandent la vie de toutes parts. De l'extrémité des avenues, on aperçoit des ours enivrés de raisins, qui chancellent sur les branches des ormeaux; des troupes de cariboux se baignent dans un lac, des écureuils noirs se jouent dans l'épaisseur des feuillages; des oiseaux moqueurs, des colombes virginianes, de la grosseur d'un passereau, descendant sur les gazons rougis par les fraises; des perroquets verds à tête jaune, des piverts empourprés, des cardinaux de feu, grimpent en circulant, au haut des cyprès; des colibris étincellent sur le jasmin des Florides, et des serpents oiseleurs sifflent suspendus aux dômes des bois, en s'y balançant comme des festons de lianes.

Chateaubriand a suffisamment justifié en invoquant l'autorité de Charlevoix "les ours ivres de raisins qui chancellent sur les branches des ormeaux." Je citerai cependant le témoignage du voyageur anglais Thomas Ansbury qui parlant de l'ours du Canada a écrit: "Il aime avec passion le raisin et, pour en avoir, il grimpe au sommet des arbres les plus élevés. Après qu'il s'en est nourri quelque temps sa chair devient délicieuse et continue de l'être jusqu' au printemps" (T. Ansbury, I, 166).

L'écureuil noir est bien connu, c'est le "*scurius niger*, très préjudiciable aux bleds de la campagne" (Casteby, II, 73).

L'oiseau moqueur ou "mocking bird" est le "*turdus minor* qu'Hernandès a raison d'appeler le roi de tous les oiseaux chantants, . . . son ramage est varié à l'infini. Il fait entrer dans la composition de ses airs les chants de tous les oiseaux" (*ibid.*, I, 27).

La colombe virginienne est la "ground dove, petite tourterelle tachetée . . . le poids de cet oiseau est d'une once et demie, et la grosseur celle d'une alouette. . . . Ils vivent dans la partie basse des pays vers la mer. Ces oiseaux volent en troupe, ils s'arrêtent souvent et se reposent ordinairement sur la terre" (*ibid.*, I, 26). Son nom scientifique d'après Coues est *columba passerina terrestris*.

Au nombre des productions de la Virginie qui pour lui s'étend jusqu'au Missouri, Jefferson indique les "scarlet strawberries" (*The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, Washington 1903, II, 49-53).

"The native strawberry is found in these places in the greatest abundance," dit Imlay (p. 36); et il ajoute ailleurs: "Scarlet strawberries; *fragaria virginiana*; of an excellent flavor, and so plentiful, that from the beginning of April the savannahs appear quite red with them" (Imlay, p. 266).

Les perroquets verts à tête jaune sur les bords du Mississippi ont exercé la verve de plusieurs critiques. On les verra représentés dans l'ouvrage de Casteby. "Il a le devant de la tête couleur d'orange; le derrière de la tête et le col jaune, tout le reste de l'oiseau paraît verd," dit le vieux naturaliste (Casteby, I, 11). On s'est fort moqué de ces perroquets qui auraient fréquenté les bords du Mississippi. Au commencement du XIX^e siècle, on en trouvait cependant encore quelquefois aux environs de Cincinnati. Voir sur ce point Daniel Drake, *Notices concerning Cincinnati*, 1810, réimprimé dans les *Quarterly Publications of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 16. Imlay (p. 319) cite le *perroquet*, un animal qui ressemble en tout au *parrot*, mais plus petit, au nombre des animaux qui fréquentent les bords de l'Ohio. J'emprunte le passage suivant à Coues, j'espère qu'il paraîtra concluant:

L'opinion répandue que les perroquets sont des oiseaux des Tropiques est une grave erreur. Dans l'Amérique du Nord, le Perroquet de la Caroline, *Conurus Carolinensis*, au commencement du siècle, se trouvait en été jusque sur les rivages de l'Erié et de l'Ontario; dans les quarante dernières années, suivant des témoins dignes de foi, il remontait jusqu'à l'embouchure de l'Ohio, bien que maintenant son territoire soit très diminué et qu'il ne se trouve plus que près du golfe du Mexique (Coues, p. 617).

A la page même où Casteby donnait une gravure représentant le perroquet verd à tête jaune, s'en trouve une autre représentant le Cyprès d'Amérique: "sa situation invite un grand nombre d'oiseaux à se loger sur ses branches pour y multiplier leur espèce" (Casteby, I, 11), notation dont Chateaubriand a fait immédiatement son profit comme on peut le voir par son texte.

Le cardinal ou *cardinalis* habite le sud-ouest des Etats-Unis et se trouve de façon permanente dans les Etats du Golfe. "Il fréquente les buissons, les lianes, les arbres bas et épais, les fourrés et se fait remarquer par son activité inlassable" (Casteby, I, 38; Coues, p. 455).

Casteby a représenté le *Picus niger maximus capite rubro* (I, 17-19); Carver a décrit le même oiseau, "qui," dit-il, "a le plumage noir par tout le corps excepté la tête et le cou qui sont rouges," et le traducteur français a ajouté en note: "c'est le Pic à domino rouge décrit par Edwards" (Carver, p. 360).

On pourrait opposer aux critiques de Mersenne bien des pages tirées des voyageurs français ou américains et qui confirmeraient l'impression de splendeur et de richesse luxuriante laissée par le tableau de Chateaubriand, je ne citerai que quelques lignes empruntées à Brackenridge qui visita le haut Mississippi en 1794 et qui en a tracé une description enthousiaste publiée seulement en 1834:

We gathered the wild pea vines and made ourselves soft beds under the shades of the trees, which stretched their giant vine-clad limbs over the stream. Flocks of screaming paroquets frequently lighted over our heads, and the humming birds attracted by the neighbouring honeysuckles came whizzing and buzzing around us (Brackenridge, p. 34).

II

Nous ne reviendrons pas ici sur la question si discutée du voyage de Chateaubriand en Amérique, nous réservant de le faire ailleurs et en détail. La seule conclusion que nous puissions tirer des rapprochements que nous venons d'indiquer c'est que le paysage du Mississippi a changé de façon considérable durant les premières années du XIX^e siècle. Si aux environs de 1830 on ne voyait plus ni hérons bleus, ni buffles, ni serpents verts, la faute en était uniquement à l'homme, devant qui la vie sauvage s'était retirée, et non à Chateaubriand. Le Mississippi qu'il prétend décrire n'est du reste pas le Mississippi de 1830, ni même celui de 1791, c'est "le Mississippi de La Salle et de Charlevoix," comme il l'a dit lui-même. Si donc nous voulons juger Chateaubriand selon les règles de la méthode historique, il nous faudra tout d'abord chercher à reconstituer le paysage depuis longtemps disparu. Si l'on se place à ce point de vue, et en bonne justice on doit le faire, bien des reproches adressés à Chateaubriand par des voyageurs venus longtemps après lui ou par des critiques mal informés, perdront toute valeur. L'auteur d'*Atala* a pu remanier d'autorité quelques textes, comme l'avait soupçonné Sainte-Beuve, il a pu transporter sur les bords du Mississippi quelques plantes comme le *pistia stratiotes* qui ne se voyaient qu'en Floride, il n'en reste pas

moins que, dans l'ensemble, sa documentation est aussi exacte que peuvent le souhaiter les plus exigeants. Il avait parfaitement le droit de répondre avec quelque hauteur dédaigneuse à l'abbé Morellet et au critique de la *Décade philosophique, politique et littéraire*; s'il avait voulu se justifier, il aurait pu le faire aisément.

Cet article était déjà sous presse quand on m'a signalé l'existence d'une édition d'*Atala* publiée par M. Timothy Cloran, professeur de langues romanes à l'Université d'Orégon (Jenkins, New York, 1911), et qui contient des notes érudites et nombreuses dont je regrette de n'avoir pu faire usage. M. Cloran a très soigneusement étudié la géographie du Prologue d'*Atala* en se servant de Charlevoix et de Carver, il cite Bartram comme l'autorité de Chateaubriand pour les *vignes sauvages*, les *coloquintes*, le *tulipier*, le *magnolia*, etc. Il a retrouvé chez Carver, p. 485, les *serpents-oiseleurs* que je n'avais rencontré ni chez Casteby, ni chez Bartram. Je tiens à signaler ici la priorité de M. Cloran et à attirer l'attention sur son travail qui vient confirmer cette étude sur plusieurs points.

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CORNEILLE AND THE ITALIAN DOCTRINAIRES

Writing thirty years after the event, Corneille asserts that he had never heard of the rules governing dramatic composition when he wrote his first play.¹ However, we find him citing Horace, and apparently from memory, in the preface of *Clitandre* published in 1632 (I, 261). Two years later in the preface of *La Veuve* he is evidently much concerned with the question of the unities and he promises: "Quelque jour je m'expliquerai davantage sur ces matières" (I, 378). In 1637, at the time when the Academy was at work upon its *Sentiments sur le Cid*, *La Suivante* was published. In its preface Corneille cites: le docte Scaliger. He declares: "j'aime à suivre les règles," and he hopes once more: "un jour traiter ces matières plus à fond" (II, 119). The quarrel of the *Cid* directed forcibly his attention to the doctrinaires² and marked a turning-point in his career as a dramatist. His letter to M. de Zuylichem states the matter very clearly. Corneille is speaking of the first volume of the 1648 edition of his works which contained the plays composed before the *Cid*: "Ce sont les péchés de ma jeunesse et les coups d'essai d'une muse de province qui se laissez conduire aux lumières purement naturelles, et n'avoit pas encore fait réflexion qu'il y avoit un art de la tragédie" (X, 449 f.). While this statement should not perhaps be taken too literally, it is evident that Corneille, himself, divided his work into two parts, of which one was composed before, the other after he had taken up the study of the art of tragic composition.

Just how assiduously he studied this art which had been finally revealed to him must be largely a matter for conjecture, because his writings prior to the publication of the *Trois discours*³ (1660) contain but few indications. In the preface to *Héraclius* (1647) he cites the

¹ *Oeuvres*, Paris, 1862, I, 137.

² See A. Gasté, *La Querelle du Cid*, Paris, 1898. *Lettre apologetique du Sieur Corneille contenant sa responce aux Observations faites par le Sieur Scuderi sur le Cid*, pp. 147 ff.; and *La Preuve des passages alleguez dans les Observations sur le Cid* (Scudéry), pp. 219 ff.

³ "Discours de l'utilité et des parties du poème dramatique"; "Discours de la tragédie"; "Discours des trois unités," *Oeuvres*, Paris, 1862, I, 13 ff., 52 ff., 98 ff.

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"Latin terms (*extra fabulam*) of the interpreters of Aristotle" (V, 146). The *Avertissement* of the 1648 edition of the *Cid* speaks of the different interpretations of Aristotle's text given by the philosophers (i.e., the commentators): "qui le tirent chacun à leur parti dans leurs opinions contraires" (III, 85), and in the same connection he makes a very clear allusion to a page of Robortelli: "un des plus doctes commentateurs de ce divin traité" (III, 86). In a letter of 1650 to M. de Zuylichem he claims to be speaking "le langage d'Aristote" (X, 454) and the *Épître* of Don Sanche, published the same year, cites a definition from the commentary of Averroes on Aristotle¹ along with a reference to Heinsius.

The studies which these statements suggest entered into the composition of Corneille's theoretical writings, the *Examens* and *Les trois Discours*, which were incorporated for the first time in the collective edition of his works published in 1660. He declares near the end of his first *Discours*: "Je tâche de suivre toujours le sentiment d'Aristote," and he cites the following commentators as auxiliaries in his quest for the real meaning of some of the statements contained in the *Ars Poetica*: Robortelli,² Vettori,³ Heinsius,⁴ Castelvetro,⁵ Beni,⁶ and Minturno.⁷ But he insists that these "interpreters" have often "explained" Aristotle and Horace "only as grammarians or philosophers" and he declares: "Le commentaire dont je m'y sers le plus est l'expérience du théâtre et les réflexions sur ce que j'ai vu y plaire ou déplaire" (I, 51). We shall not attempt to determine exactly to what extent these conflicting statements are to be taken literally. It would be merely a matter of patience to tabulate our reading notes and show that on all points, save possibly in the introduction of the love element in tragedy and a few minor details of doctrine and stagecraft, Corneille was in substantial conformity with

¹ Corneille was probably indebted for this bit of erudition to Robortelli, who quotes Averroes very frequently throughout his commentary.

² In *Librum de Arte Poetica Explicationes*, Florentiae, 1548.

³ In *primum Librum de Arte Poetarum Commentarii*, Florentiae, 1573.

⁴ *De Tragoediae Constitutione*, Lugduni Batavorum, 1611.

⁵ *La Poetica d'Aristotile, vulgarizzata e sposta*, Basilea, 1576.

⁶ In *Aristotelis Poeticam, Commentarii*, Padova, 1613.

⁷ *De Poeta*, Venetia, 1559.

There are also some passages which seem reminiscent of Piccolomini, *Annotationi nel Libro della Poetica*, Vinegia, 1575; Corneille seems to have had a special predilection for Robortelli, Castelvetro, and Minturno.

these authorities whom he treats so disdainfully. We shall limit ourselves to the consideration of those few cardinal or working principles to which were due Corneille's successes and failures as a dramatic poet.

Lanson considers Corneille "véritablement original et novateur" in his definition of the unity of action; for, while d'Aubignac had preceded him in the formulation of the rule, the poet had first exemplified it in his works.¹ This is Corneille's definition: "L'unité d'action consiste, dans la comédie, en l'unité d'intrigue, ou d'obstacle aux desseins des principaux acteurs, et en l'unité de péril dans la tragédie, soit que son héros y succombe, soit qu'il en sorte. Ce n'est pas que je prétende qu'on ne puisse admettre plusieurs périls dans l'une, et plusieurs intrigues ou obstacles dans l'autre, pourvu que de l'un on tombe nécessairement dans l'autre" (I, 98). And this is what Castelvetro has to say, after dilating upon the necessity of the tragic or comic action being one and complete, with a beginning, middle, and end, according to the consecrated formula: "Adunque è cosa manifesta che le solutioni delle favole deono avenire per la favola stessa, cio è, che l'uscita dei pericoli, & che i cessamenti delle difficulta sopravvenute nella favola deono avenire per messo delle cose della favola, che di necessita, o di verisimilitudine seguitono dopo i pericoli, o le difficulta" (p. 332).

The idea of the tragedy as a problem, as a product of literary art which strives to "exposer les moyens par lesquels le fait illustre, qui est le sujet tragique, est produit, à mettre sous les yeux du public le jeu de sentiments et de passions qui, concourant ou s'opposant, travaillent à retarder ou amener l'événement final," and which, according to Lanson (*loc. cit.*), "est, dans la technique du théâtre, la grande invention de Corneille, l'idée par laquelle il est le vrai fondateur du théâtre français," is all contained, at least in the germ, in this passage of Vettori: "Qui mores optime in personis exprimere scierit, aliosque post alios pro eorum natura, ex verisimile effingere, facile inveniet solutionem fabulae, tota enim pendet ex personarum moribus; vitabitque erratum, in quo saepe veteres poetae inciderunt, qui per machinam inducentes Deos Deasque, solvunt fabulam atque exodum, quae ultima est tragediae pars, conficiunt. Nam solutio

¹ *Corneille* ("Les grands écrivains français"), Paris, 1898, p. 65.

fabulae, est ipsa exodus seu exitus fabulae; exitus vero debet deduci ex praecedentibus moribus, non quibusvis, sed qui magis accommodati ad *solvendam* fabulam videbantur" (p. 176).

Equally characteristic is Corneille's interpretation (not often followed in his practice), of the rule of twenty-four hours: "La représentation dure deux heures et ressembleroit parfaitement si l'action qu'elle représente ne demandoit pas davantage pour sa réalité. Ainsi ne nous arrêtons point ni aux douze ni aux vingt-quatre heures; mais resserrons l'action du poëme dans la moindre durée possible, afin que sa représentation ressemble mieux et soit plus parfaite" (I, 113). "Voilà," says Lanson (*op. cit.*, p. 64), "le principe rigoureux: le portrait le plus vrai est celui qui est *grandeur nature*." Now Castelvetro says the same thing and in terms quite similar to those of both Corneille and Lanson: "Della grandezza della favola, che è sottoposta ai sensi . . . è da dire, che sia tanta, quanta sarebbe quella d'un caso fortunoso degno d'istoria, che avenisse veramente, essendo di necessita, che corra tanto tempo in rappresentare questo caso della favola imaginato . . . quanto corse in simile caso, o correbbere, mentre veramente avenne o avenisse. Perche si puo dire, che la grandezza della favola, la quale è cosa artificiale, in quanto è sottoposta ai sensi, sia uguale alla grandezza della verita del caso fortunoso, & che ella tenga quel luogo, che tiene, pogniamo, la figura, quanto è d'uguale grandezza all' huomo vivo figurato" (p. 163).¹

The one thing which, according to Lanson (*op. cit.*, p. 71), reveals better than anything else "la nature originale" of French tragedy, and in which Corneille entered into conscious opposition to Aristotle, is his insistence that the highest type of tragic action is that action in which the parties involved know what they are doing, and will to do what they do (I, 63). While it must be conceded that Corneille formulated here with more force and precision than his predecessors, he did not lack for a precedent. Castelvetro, after a laborious analysis of the different types of plot and their relative merits, closes the series with this conclusion: "La favola volontaria . . . nella quale la mutatione dello stato si fa in alcuno di sua volonta . . . è piu à lodare che la necessaria" (p. 312).²

¹ About the same statement, except for the comparison with the life-size portrait, is found in Vettori, p. 79.

² That is, one in which the solution is brought about by external or involuntary causes.

Here are two or three points of a less general nature which may be taken as fairly typical. In discussing the *dénouement*, Corneille remarks: "Nous devons garder toutefois que ce consentiment [i.e., solution of the plot in comedy] ne vienne pas par un simple changement de volonté, mais par un événement qui en fournit l'occasion. Il n'y auroit grand artifice au dénouement d'une pièce, si, après l'avoir soutenue durant quatre actes sur l'autorité d'un père qui n'approuve pas les inclinations amoureuses de son fils ou de sa fille, il y consentiroit tout d'un coup au cinquième" (I, 27). The same idea is expressed in strikingly similar language by Vettori: "Recte autem concludit agnitiones factas a poeta arte carere: *nullum magnum artificium poetae requirit*, hoc aut illud ponere in ore alicujus personae, quod valeat ad efficiendum quod illi volunt" (p. 158). Corneille's definition of the *nécessaire*: "Je dis donc que le nécessaire, en ce qui regarde la poésie, n'est autre chose que le besoin du poète pour arriver à son but, ou pour y faire arriver ses acteurs" (I, 94), finds its parallel in Castelvetro's defense of Dante who had made Virgil descend to limbo during the war between Caesar and Pompey: a thing manifestly impossible, since Virgil was not dead at that time. However it serves in the formation of the plot and should therefore be accepted (p. 565).¹ In the following instance Corneille seems to have consulted Castelvetro without however taking advantage of all the latitude which his Italian forerunner would allow. At the close of his long discussion of the *vraisemblable* and the *nécessaire*, he seeks to formulate a principle regarding the extent to which a poet may go in the invention of surprising details. He arrives at the conclusion that the poet must not invent any which are more extraordinary than the historical details contained in the same poem. He adds that this is contrary to the opinion of those who believe that such improbable inventions are proper if one can find any parallel for them in history or mythology, even though one has to search for them outside of the subject being treated (I, 97). This must be a reference to the following passage of Castelvetro: "Egli è vero, che bisogna, accioche le cose avenevoli, & non avenute ancora sieno verisimili, & credibili, o che sieno simili a quelle, che sono avenute altra volta, o a quelle, che havevano minore verisimilitudine di dovere avenir, & non dimeno

¹ Castelvetro illustrates his point further by reference to some of the Greek tragedies; Corneille cites his own.

sono avvenute, o almeno che le parti d'esse, o le particelli sieno simili a quelli parti, o particelli, che sono avvenute in diversi accidenti a diverse persone" (p. 186).

Near the beginning of his first *Discours*, Corneille gives expression to the doctrine to which is due much of what is most characteristic in his work: "Les grands sujets qui remuent fortement les passions, et en opposent l'impétuosité aux lois du devoir ou aux tendresses du sang, doivent toujours aller au delà du vraisemblable" (I, 15). This was not only in accord with the poetic art of the ancients, as Lanson states (*op. cit.*, p. 67), but it is insisted upon by practically all the Italian doctrinaires; by Castelvetro, for example: "La compassione, & lo spavento sono richiesti alla tragedia. Ma l'una & l'altre cose ricevono accrescimento grandissimo, quando oltre alle predette qualita sono anchora maravigliose, perciòche la maraviglia è il colmo dello spavento, & della compassione" (p. 232).¹ Corneille insisted that the poet must derive this improbable subject-matter from history because these "great subjects" "ne trouveroient aucune croyance parmi les auditeurs, s'ils n'étoient soutenus, ou par l'autorité de l'histoire qui persuade avec empire, ou par la préoccupation de l'opinion commune qui nous donne ces mêmes auditeurs déjà persuadés" (I, 15). Here, too, he could find ample confirmation and perhaps sources in the authorities whom he avowedly consulted: as, for example, in the following passage from Robortelli: "Necesse est igitur, ut sciant (spectatores) prius rem ita cecidisse; quod si fabula tragica actionem contineat, quae non acta sit, neque sit vera, sed ab ipso poeta fuerit afficta secundum verisimile, commovebit fortasse animos audientium, at minus certe, nam verisimilia si nos oblectant, oblectatio omnis inde provenit, quod in veris inesse ea scimus; & omnino quatenus verisimile veritatis est particeps vim habet movendi ac persuadendi. . . . Verisimilia nos movent quia fieri potuisse credimus ita rem accidisse. Vera nos movent quia scimus ita accidisse, id totum arripit a vero" (p. 93).²

Thus far Corneille may fairly be said to have been guided. Here are two important instances in which he may well have been misguided. The farther the poet proceeds in his career as a dramatist,

¹ Cf. Robortelli, p. 294; Minturno, pp. 121, 124; Vettori, p. 119.

² Cf. Castelvetro, pp. 188 f., 205, 212, 383; Vettori, p. 95.

the more one notes in him the tendency to "fix up" dramatic situations. In the *Examens* and *Préfaces* of his later plays, one comes more and more frequently upon passages like this, where, in speaking of *Rodogune* (1644), he admits that his predilection for this particular play is due to "les incidents surprenants et qui sont purement de mon invention, et n'avoient jamais été vus au théâtre" (IV, 421); or, in the *Préface* to *Othon* (1664), where he declares that he had, up to that time, produced no tragedy in which there was a greater display of his "invention" (VI, 571). Such statements recall very forcibly this precept given by Robortelli: "Si videatur (exodus) non posse deduci ex praecedentibus, ingeniosus, peritusque poeta debebit excogitare aliquid verisimile, quod cum iis, quae ante dicta sunt, sit conjunctum quasi pars ex quo deducat exodus seu solutionem fabulae, id vero sit multis modis" (p. 176). A still more conclusive bit of evidence that Corneille sought at least confirmation for his procedures, along this particular line, is to be found in the last sentence of the *Préface* to *Sertorius* (1662), where, seeking indulgence for a breach of verisimilitude, he asserts: "Vous n'en serez désavoué par Aristote, qui souffre qu'on mette quelquefois des choses sans raison sur le théâtre, quand il y a apparence qu'elles seront bien reçues, et qu'on a lieu d'espérer que ces avantages que le poëme en tirera pourront mériter cette grâce" (VI, 363). Corneille's editor, Marty-Laveaux, notes with some surprise that nothing in the *Ars Poetica* quite corresponds to this statement of the poet. But it does occur in Castelvetro, who, like Corneille, claims to have deduced it from Aristotle's treatise: "Ultimamente la predetta seconda, o quarta maniera d' impossibilita si puo fingere per lo poeta, con tutto che non sia informata di ragione, ne accompagnata da molti beni, ne ricoperta da ignoranza degna di scusa, quando opera il fine della poetica, cio è giova alla constitutione della favola" (p. 619).

The next and last point which we shall consider exerted a more and more important influence upon Corneille's dramatic production. Corneille at least implies that he is giving an original interpretation to Aristotle's precept regarding the average goodness required of tragic characters: "S'il m'est permis de dire mes conjectures sur ce qu'Aristote nous demande par là (la bonté des mœurs), je crois que c'est le caractère brillant et élevé d'une habitude vertueuse ou

criminelle, selon qu'elle est propre et convenable à la personne qu'on introduit" (I, 31 f.). Now Robortelli, whom, moreover, Corneille cites in this very connection (p. 33), had arrived at precisely the same interpretation: "Sed Aristotelis in tradendis praeceptionibus tragoe-diae actionis, personaeque deligendae, quae apta sit ad tragoediam, specimen capit a praestantissima actione & persona, quae sibi videtur aptissima" (p. 133); and again, after adducing numerous examples from the ancients: "Eodem modo censenda est apta ad tragoediam persona, quae fortitudine corporis sit praedita; sed summa iniquitate, & crudelitate insignis hujus personae exemplum non apposuit Aristotelis, sed a nobis facile potest proferri" (p. 219). Castelvetro held the same view: "Io non posso comprendere, come la persona di santissima vita, trapassando da felicita a miseria, non generi spavento, & compassione, & molto maggiori anchora, che non fa la (persona) mezzana."¹ After dilating upon this idea, Castelvetro applies the same line of reasoning to vicious characters and then concludes for both classes: "Si che puo non meno il trapassamento del malvagio da miseria a felicita generare spavento & compassione, che il trapassamento del giusto da felicita a miseria" (p. 279).

It will be remembered that after the *Cid* (end of 1636) Corneille produced nothing until the end of the dramatic season of 1640–41. Then he came forward with two plays which, in spite of their greatness as tragedies, may be regarded as experiments; one, *Cinna*, a conspiracy tragedy, ending in the exit of the hero from peril by means of a reconciliation, without bloodshed or catastrophe; the other, *Horace*, ending in the exit from peril of the hero by means of the killing in duel of his friends and brothers followed by the murder of his sister. These two plays were followed (1642 or 1643) by *Polyeucte* in which the tragic situation is quite as extraordinary as that of *Horace*, and whose hero presents the type of a flawless character. According to a familiar tradition, Corneille, before risking his tragedy on the stage, read it at the Hôtel de Rambouillet, whose guests objected to the sanctity of the hero. In spite of their adverse comment the play succeeded. While we have no proof at hand, it is reasonable to suppose that it was in the face of this criti-

¹ Corneille presents the same point of view in the *Examen* of *Polyeucte* (III, 479) where he cites in support Minturno, pp. 182 f.

cism and of this success that Corneille sought and found confirmation for his procedure in the passage of Minturno, which he cites in his *Examen*, written some seventeen years later. At any rate, from this time on, the trend toward the extraordinary, in character as well as in situation, becomes more and more strongly marked in his tragedies. It appears even to some extent in his very next play of the following year, *La Mort de Pompée*, in which two of the principal characters (César and Cornélie) showed traits so extreme as to draw down upon them the savage raillery of Racine in the preface of *Brittanicus*,¹ which was published a few years later. Nor can it be entirely fortuitous that his next two dramatic works are comedies, *Le Menteur* and its sequel (*La Suite du Menteur*), in which the leading character is an embodiment of "l'habitude vicieuse de mentir." Corneille again seems to be experimenting, to be "trying out" in a less elevated form of dramatic composition, his idea of an extreme, vicious character before risking it in the tragedy. This impression is confirmed by the satisfaction which the poet seems to find in the fact that, although *La Suite du Menteur* had been "mieux écrite," it had not, nevertheless, pleased the public as well as had *Le Menteur*, and that the hero had lost, at the same time with his "bad habits," "almost all his graces" (IV, 280). In his next play, *Rodogune* (1644) he ventures, finally, to present a tragic heroine who is "treméchante" and who recoils before no crime to attain her ends. In his *Examen*, written some fifteen years later, he declares that to this play, among all those which he had hitherto composed, "j'aurois volontiers donné mon suffrage, si je n'avois craint de manquer de quelque sorte, au respect que je devois à ceux que je voyois pencher d'un autre côté" (IV, 420).

After his *Rodogune*, Corneille's predilection for extraordinary situations and extraordinary characters is very strongly marked, and after that play his productions begin to have less attraction for the public. It was, finally, this predilection that led directly to the failure of *Pertharite* and his first retirement from dramatic composition, as he himself confesses, with some bitterness: "Ce qui l'a fait avorter au théâtre a été l'événement extraordinaire qui me l'avoit fait choisir" (VI, 17).² To the same cause are due those other

¹ *Oeuvres*, Paris, 1885, II, 254 f.

² And especially the extraordinarily virtuous character of the hero; see below.

characters of his final period of composition, which elicited the biting sarcasm of Racine (*loc. cit.*), who accused him of having "betrayed common sense" and of having "abandoned the natural to plunge into the extraordinary." This explains the long, sometimes broken, but always dropping, curve which leads from *Rodogune* (1644) to *Suréna* (1674), which was so complete a failure, that the poet had the heart to write only three sentences in his *Préface*, of which here are the two which bear upon our thesis: "Le sujet de cette tragédie est tiré de Plutarque et d'Appian Alexandrin. Ils disaient tous que Suréna étoit *le plus noble, le plus riche, le mieux fait et le plus vaillant des Parthes*" (VII, 460).

It is quite possible that Corneille discovered in the doctrines of these Italian theorists only what he had already observed in practice, although it hardly seems probable. We may at least accept Lanson's statement that he did "what he wanted to do" (*op. cit.*, p. 61); only we shall have to add that really he carried his independence too far. In doing this he sought confirmation in these Italian doctrinaires, who thereby exerted a greater influence upon him than is generally placed to their credit, or, if one prefers, to their discredit. But our findings do not conform to Lanson's other assertion that Corneille was "docile to the indications of the public" (*loc. cit.*) unless indeed it be limited to a relatively short period of his career, i.e., for a few years preceding and following the *Cid*. The discussion to which that play gave rise convinced him of the necessity of adopting certain rules and especially of concentrating his dramatic materials. Since he avowedly studied, during the period that followed, these Italian exponents of Aristotle (see above) whose doctrines or interpretations of doctrines we have confronted with his, he must have derived more or less assistance from them, although he may have become unconscious of it, at the time when he wrote his *Discours* and *Examens*. His great successes followed rapidly and his docility diminished accordingly.¹ He becomes more determined to proceed along the way most congenial to him and he gradually assumes the attitude that his audiences, like his stage heroes, shall be what they ought to be, instead of being what they are. He rails at them for having hissed the too perfect husband, Pertharite, on the ground that "les vertus de bon mari sont peu à la mode" (VI, 17).

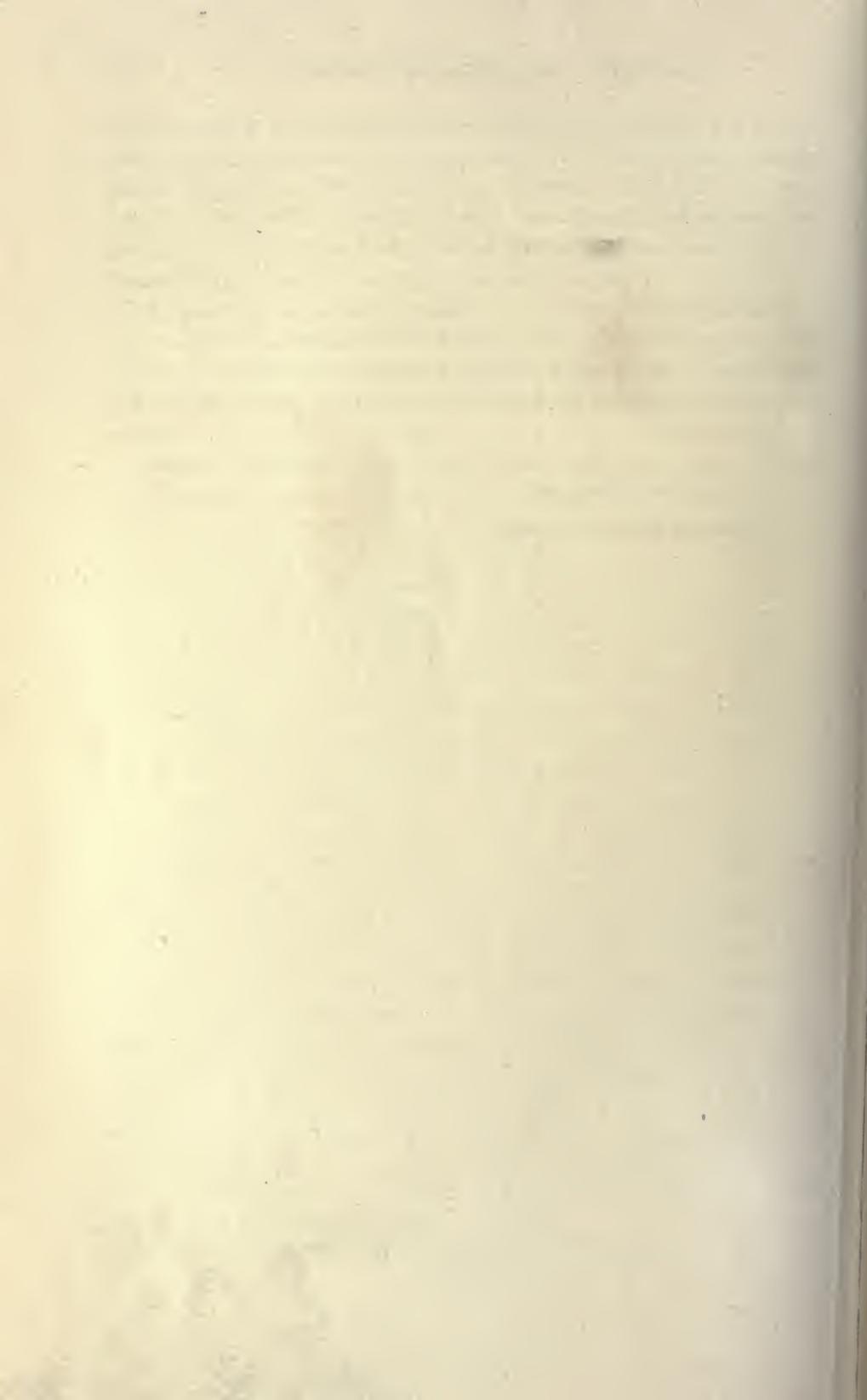
¹ Note his preference for *Rodogune* in the passage cited above.

In the discomfitures, at first partial, and then complete, which came to him, it was only natural that he should turn again to the sources which had confirmed him in his successes:¹ they confirmed him now in his obedience to certain dramatic principles which led to his defeats. Hence, if the latter part of his work is relatively a failure, it is very largely because, lawyer-like, he sought justification for his methods in opinions and interpretations of the law emitted by these earlier doctrinaires, instead of letting himself be guided by that intercourse with the theater, the court, and the town, which shaped so happily the work of Molière, his friend, and of Racine, his victorious rival.

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¹ Notably for *Polyeucte*; see above.



"GUY OF WARWICK" AND THE SECOND "MYSTÈRE" OF JEAN LOUVENT

In an inedited and little-known manuscript (*Nouv. Acquis.* 481) in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, there is a curious collection of early sixteenth-century mystères which from a literary point of view, perhaps, merit the little attention they have received. The plays have, however, a genuine interest for the student of the early drama, or for one who cares about the later history of mediaeval romance. In general the material for either investigator has been made accessible by a Greifswald dissertation, *Untersuchungen über Jean Louwets 12 Mysterien zu Ehren von Notre Dame de Liesse*, 1900, by Wilhelm Lohmann. In this, Dr. Lohmann gave a résumé of each play and made some attempt to identify its sources. As he failed to identify the second play, and as it is of interest both for its primitive dramatic technique, which is more suggestive of the fourteenth than of the sixteenth century, and for its evidence as to the passing of a story from romance to exemplum, and from exemplum to drama, it has seemed worth while to consider the matter at more length.

In regard to the author little is known beyond the fact recorded in the manuscript that in 1541–49 he was "sergent à verge au Chastelet" and that his plays were produced in Paris from 1536 to 1550. Dr. Lohmann seems to have proved that Petit de Julleville¹ was wrong in denying the identity of the author of these mystères with the Jean Louvet "operateur aux fleurs" who was in 1540 one of the "Entrepreneurs" of the *Actes des Apostres* given by the Parisian Confrérie de la Passion. Beyond this little or nothing is known. From the plays themselves, which are obviously written to appeal to an audience whose credulity was as great as its humor was rough, we may infer that their author was of distinctly bourgeois taste and character.

Knowledge of the confrérie for which Louvet wrote these mystères comes largely from the notices heading the individual plays.

¹ *Untersuchungen* (=L.), pp. 1–10. Cf. Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, II, 608. Lohmann's arguments are accepted by Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, III, 15. 181]

Other confréries in France were similarly dedicated to Notre Dame de Liesse,¹ but no evidence of any connection between them has so far been adduced. In Liesse, a small town northeast of Laon, was the famous miracle-working statue of the Virgin which inspired the formation of these confréries and the coming of countless pilgrims. The Paris confrérie with which Louvet was connected seems to have been small. The largest number of speaking parts in any of his plays is eighteen, and it is evident that by doubling the rôles a much smaller number of actors could handle the play. The incomplete list of names at the end of Play III seems to establish the fact that women belonged to the confrérie and that at least three of them took part in this particular play which was "faict et composé" in 1538. The plays were given annually; the dates for the most part are indicated in the manuscript. They were commonly acted in the hall of the confrérie. Play VIII has: "joué au siège de ladite confrarie en la salle de l'ostel—rue vielle Tixirranderie, 1543." As Dr. Lohmann points out, this was "in unmittelbarer Nähe des Hotel de Ville, ebenso wie die Chapelle du Saint Esprit in der die confrérie gegründet war" (cf. Plays IV and IX). The stage properties seem to have been of the simplest sort.²

As to the plays, Dr. Lohmann divides them into four groups: I, Solche Stücke die ernste romanartige Stoffe enthalten; II, Stücke die vermutlich humoristisch gefärbten Legenden ihre Entstehung verdanken; III, Stücke die Lokallegenden von durchweg ernstem Charakter nachgedichtet; IV, solche Stücke die frei erfunden zu sein scheinen." The second play Dr. Lohmann rightly classified as belonging to the first group but he was at a loss for a more specific identification: "Wie man aus der folgenden Inhaltsgabe entnehmen kann, finden sich in demselben Anklänge an die Sage von *Amis et*

¹ L., p. 95, quotes from a *Histoire de Notre Dame de Liesse*, Liesse (no date): "Paris avait autrefois une confrérie sous le nom de Notre Dame de L. Une grand nombre d'autres villes de France se sont également vouées à Notre Dame de L." The confrérie existed until the Revolution; it was re-established in 1793.

Another confrérie, similar to that for which Louvet wrote, was the one existing in Paris from 1229 to 1426 to which belonged the well-known repertoire of the Cangé MS, ed. by G. Paris and U. Robert, Soc. des anciens Textes fr., 1870. Still others were found in Paris, Amiens, Nantes, and Rouen; cf. E. Roy, *Études sur le Théâtre fr. du XIV et du XV siècle*, Paris, 1901, p. 10; E. K. Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, Oxford, 1903, Index, "Confrérie," "Puyss."

² L., p. 10, gives a list of the few stage directions and the properties noted in the MS.

Amile, und vielleicht ist irgend ein auf ihr beruhender Roman die Quelle Louvets" (p. 36).

But there can be no doubt that the ultimate source of the second play is the romance of *Guy of Warwick*. The list of dramatis personae with "Guyon, chevalier d'Angleterre," and "Tirius, compagnon de Guyon," as its chief personages, is in itself sufficiently suggestive. In all the mediaeval versions of *Guy*, French,¹ English,² or even Irish,³ the romance tells the same story as the play: how Guy, the pilgrim-warrior, on his return from the Holy Land, fights a duel with the persecutor of his old comrade Tirius: how the opponents are separated for the night; how Guy, sleeping in the King's care, is thrown, bed and all, into the sea by the emissaries of his enemy; how he returns next day to accuse and conquer his would-be murderer. It is, of course, exactly the same story that is told in the French prose version of the romance printed at Paris in 1525 "par Anthoine Couteau pour Francoys Regnault, libraire."⁴ As Louvet's play is dated "Mistere pour l'an mil cinq cens trente sept," there could be no special objection to supposing that he might have used this particular edition were it not for certain dissimilarities and for the difficulty of understanding why he should choose this particular series of incidents out of the whole long-winded romance. The reason is clear only when we return to the direct source of the play, the *Guy* story as it is told in the *Gesta Romanorum*.⁵

¹ See J. A. Herbert, *Romania*, XXXV, 69–70; T. A. Jenkins, *Mod. Phil.*, VII, 593, for French MSS. They are for the most part inedited.

² The English versions are listed by A. Billings, *A Guide to English Metrical Romances*, New York, 1901, p. 31. Cf. Zupitza's edition, *Early English Text Society*, 1883–91 (Auch. MS st. 142: Caius 903).

³ F. Robinson, *Zeitschrift f. Celt. Philologie*, VI, 167–81 (1907).

⁴ The 1525 edition represents the same version of the *Guy* story as that in the British Museum, MS Royal 15 E VI, ff. 227–72, which was written about 1445. Cf. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, I, 488.

⁵ Ed. H. Oesterley, Berlin, 1872. In the majority of the continental Latin texts the story is given as chap. 172, "De Constantia fidelis anime." In W. Dick's "Die *Gesta Romanorum* nach der Innsbrucker Hds. vom Jahre 1342." *Erlanger Beiträge zu Eng. Phil.*, VII, 1890, it is chap. 194, "De duobus militibus Gidone et Tyrio." It is variously numbered in the Anglo-Latin *Gesta*. In Herbert's *Cat. of Romances*, III, 209, 215, it is listed as chap. 70; on p. 219 as chap. 78; on p. 224 as chap. 69 (in these versions Guy is called Josias or Rosias); on p. 241 as chap. 72, etc. The connection of the *Gesta* with the romance was pointed out by Warton, *Hist. Eng. Poetry*, I, 286; by Tanner, *Die Sage von Guy von Warwick, Untersuchungen über ihr Alter u. ihre Geschichte*. Diss., Bonn,

The *Gesta* version is one of the stock examples for the critic of the way in which popular stories, often excerpts from the romances, were used as exempla in that amazing "moral" collection. In no case, perhaps, is the allegorical explanation tacked on to the end of the *Gesta* tales more naïvely ridiculous than that which explains Guy as Christ; Tirius as man in general; the King's daughter into whose care Guy was given as the Virgin Mary; the seven sons of the villain as the Seven Deadly Sins; and the fisherman who rescued Guy as the Holy Ghost! Difficult as it is to understand the ancient popularity of such poor stuff as this and many others of the *Gesta*'s moralized tales, the fact of that popularity is not to be questioned, nor the influence which it exerted. It would be futile to number all the editions of the *Gesta* which were printed even in the one city of Paris in the early sixteenth century, but one may note in passing that the British Museum alone has at least ten Paris editions dating from 1499 to 1531.¹ Any one of these might have come into Louvet's hands, and that he used the *Gesta* version of Guy is shown by the following evidence.

The *Gesta* abbreviates Guy's famous history in startling fashion. A page or so does for his early life, marriage, and conversion—a matter of several thousand lines in the Middle English romance; five pages describe his meeting with Tirius and his fight with Tirius' enemy; two pages do for his return to England and death. The emphasis of the *Gesta* version falls on exactly those incidents which reappear in the play and amply explains its choice of material. In the *Gesta* and the play the story is localized in the eastern kingdom of Dacia and in the city of Constantinople; in the romance in the city of Spires, the present capital of the Rhine Palatinate, Bavaria. The latter version motivates the attack of the villain on Tirius by

1877, p. 39; by Oesterley and Herbert, *op. cit.*; by Swan, translator of the *Gesta*, re-ed. by Baker, London, 1905, p. 354.

The fact that the story of Guy and Tirius was of sufficient interest to be singly translated is shown by the fifteenth-century German prose text published by P. Mau (Jena, 1909), under the title *Gydo und Thyrus, Ein deutscher Ausläufer des alfranzösisch-mittelenglischen Freundschaftsromans "Guy von Warwick."* This translation follows the Latin versions of the *Gesta* tale. It omits the moral.

¹ J. Graesse, *Gesta Romanorum*, Leipzig, 1905, pp. 306–18, lists some of the early editions printed in France, Germany, etc. He notes the French translations printed in Paris in the years 1525–29. It is probable that Louvet used the French and not the Latin texts.

making him desirous of revenge on the friend of the man who had killed his uncle; in the other two versions it is through jealousy of the honors heaped on Tirius by the King. In the play and the *Gesta* the villain's name is Pleb(e)us or Phebus; in the romances he is called Besart or Berard. Small as are these differences, the fact that *Gesta* and the play are alike in having them shows their relationship.

In comparing the two related versions it is seen that they differ chiefly in omissions which are clearly due to the need for dramatic condensation. Louvet omits the meeting of Guy and Tirius when the former returns from his pilgrimage. Guy sees his friend approaching the gallows and so learns his situation. In the *Gesta*, as in the romance, he meets Tirius wandering about in misery outside the city and learns his story from his own lips. The *Gesta* has the fantastic and dramatically impossible dream episode by which Tirius is led to investigate a cave in which he finds the sword destined to give Guy victory over his opponent. The play also omits from the fights between Guy and Phebus, the incident belonging originally to Guy's fight with the Saracen giant Amoraunt, of Guy's courtesy in allowing his opponent to drink and refresh himself, a favor which Phebus later refused to Guy. Possibly this knightly scene would have been beyond the appreciation of Louvet's practical, bourgeois audience. Out of regard for the number of his actors, he undoubtedly reduced the sons of Phebus from seven to two. He introduced, however, these few subordinate characters, a mariner, heathen “mamelukes,” the executioner, etc., but for such parts not more than two actors would have been required. The one important addition to the *Gesta* story which is made in the play is the scene of divine intervention which Louvet had necessarily to introduce. It was this which gave justification to the play, just as the tag-end moral justified the highly romantic exemplum. Through omitting the rescue of Guy by the fisherman and substituting the Virgin as the familiar and pleasant *dea ex machina* who gave help so freely to her faithful servants, Louvet simply continued a dramatic tradition long since established.¹

¹ Cf. *Les Miracles de Notre Dame* (Cangé MS), ed. Paris et Robert, and Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, I, 120 ff. Lohmann compares the *Miracles* with Louvet's belated *Mystères*, pp. 24 ff.

In estimating the interest of the play it is obvious after reading a very few pages that its poetic merit is negligible. The language is dull and uninspired and occasionally burdened with strained rhetoric. In structure it is more successful. It has more unity of action than might be expected. Except for the lapse of time between the scenes in which Guy is supposed to have journeyed to the Holy Land, fought many battles, and returned to Constantinople, the action of the play is singularly quick. After Guy returns, he fights his battle for Tirius in the late afternoon, his attempted assassination takes place that night, and he achieves victory over his enemy the next morning.

The simple methods used by the confrérie in staging its plays are evident from the fact that a gallows, a bed, and an exit which could be used as a window seem to have been the only necessary accessories for this play which has almost no stage directions. It is difficult to conjecture any division into scenes, although Dr. Lohmann does attempt it, and lists twenty-three scenes with seven "Mansions" or changes of scene.¹ But the supposition is needless and improbable. Up to the attempted murder scene, where specific allusion to the bed and window fix the scene as an interior, there is no necessity for supposing that the stage was conceived as other than a field which served first as a meeting-place for Guy and Tirius in England, then as the field before Constantinople where the action of the play, with the exception of this one scene, can be supposed to have taken place.

A word may be added as to the history of the *Guy* legend in drama. So far as the writer has been able to discover, Louvet's play is the first extant dramatization in England or France of any portion of the romance. In England, where the story had been so long and so widely known,² there may well have been earlier versions, but the first allusion to a play on the subject is that by John Taylor, the

¹ L., p. xi: "Ich habe mit Hilfe der vorhandenen Bühnenanweisungen u. nach dem was aus den Texten der Stücke zu entnehmen ist, mir, die meiner Meinung nach, notwendigen 'Mansions' zusammengestellt. 1, Schloss Guyons (Schloss des Tirius?); 2, Paradies; 3, Konstantinople, Mauer; 4, Palast des Kaisers, Constantinople; 5, Palast des Phebus; 6, Palast des Sultans; 7, Wohnung des Henkers."

² The Anglo-French MSS date from the thirteenth century; most of the Middle English ones from the fourteenth. An instance of the popularity of the romance in the fifteenth century is found in the version made by John Lydgate (cf. F. Robinson, *Harvard Studies*, V, 194). Cf. "Guy of Warwick, Chap books and Broadsides," *Harvard Bibliographical Contributions*, No. 56 (1905).

Water Poet. In his *Pennilesse Pilgrimage*, 1618,¹ he records: “At Islington . . . we had a play of the life and death of Guy of Warwicke played by the Right Honourable the Earle of Darbie his men.”² This play was evidently more inclusive than Louvet’s *Mystère* and must have belonged in type, not to the *Miracles*, but to the “heroical” plays which for a time afforded so much joy to those Elizabethan playgoers satirized in the *Knight of the Burning Pestle*.³ A play similarly entitled was entered on the Stationer’s Registers “for J. Trundle, 1620, Jan. 19,” as by John Day and Thomas Dekker. Another play on *Guy* was printed in 1661.⁴

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¹ F. S. Fleay, *Chronicle of the English Drama*, 1891, I, 136.

² This item seems to have escaped J. T. Murray who writes in *Eng. Dramatic Companies*, New York, 1910, I, 293: “As nothing is heard of an Earl of Derby’s company after 1617, William Stanley’s players probably disbanded about this time.”

³ Ed. by H. S. Murch, Yale Diss., New York, 1908. Dr. Murch gives a thorough-going account of the early dramatized romances, the attitude of the common people toward them, and the derision in which the old romances were held by the more cultured classes.

⁴ Fleay, I, 736; II, 370; Ward, *Eng. Dramatic Literature*, II, 592.

ON THE TEXT OF "LA BATAILLE DES VII ARTS"

Dr. Paetow's is the sixth (and the most elaborate) edition¹ of this deservedly celebrated poem, four² having been put forth by Jubinal (1838-39, 1875) and a much better one in 1880 by A. Héron, for the Société rouennaise de Bibliophiles. Jubinal dealt with the poem merely as an appendix to his edition of Rustebuef, defender of the University of Paris against the Mendicants; Héron's interest was primarily that of the local antiquary (for Andeli is supposed to be Les Andelys, on the Seine, 23 kilometers northeast of Evreux), and Dr. Paetow, whose dissertation, *The Arts Course at Medieval Universities*, 1910, is favorably known, approaches the work of Henri d'Andeli from the side of the history of pedagogy. Thus it happens that very little serious work has been done upon the text itself since G. Paris reviewed Héron's edition, in 1882; on this score, the editor's chief service is to have provided admirable facsimiles of the two Paris manuscripts.

Dr. Paetow aimed also to furnish "a faithful, line for line, prose reproduction [that is, English translation] of the contents of the original." His French text, however, appears to be based upon a somewhat capricious and wholly subjective choice of readings; no doubt the editor is aware that it deserves the name of "the original" only by courtesy. Thanks are expressed to Professors Weeks, Hamilton, and Beck for their assistance and Professor Weeks is thanked a second time "for much valuable help in editing and translating the poem." We imagine, however, that none of these scholars reviewed the text or the translation in its entirety, for there is cause for a good deal of dissatisfaction on the linguistic side, some of the errors made being of a kind easily avoidable by stricter attention to

¹ *The Battle of the Seven Arts*. A French poem by Henri d'Andeli, Trouvère of the Thirteenth Century, edited and translated, with Introduction and Notes, by Louis John Paetow. Memoirs of the University of California, Vol. IV, No. 1. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1914.

² The editor has overlooked the first edition of 1838, a copy of which is in the University of Chicago Library: *La Bataille et le Mariage des VII Arts, pièces inédites du xiii^e siècle en langue romane publiées pour la première fois par Achille Jubinal. Paris chez Edouard Pannier. Cette publication n'a été tirée qu'à un très-petit nombre d'exemplaires.* [MODERN PHILOLOGY, July, 1915]

Old French grammar and phraseology. In what follows I have attempted not to criticize the French text in detail but to remove some of the "dreary and obscure reaches of the poem" of which the editor complains, my conviction being that it is not too much to hope that some future editor may be able to eliminate them entirely, and so justify a better opinion of this witty and extremely interesting satire.

14–15 are obscured by the division in two of the word *porvers* (the rhyme VERSUS:VERUM being impossible here) so that we should translate: "But they [the clerks of Orleans] in turn also talk wickedly, in that they call Dialectics rubbish."¹ 26 As the editor says, *Donaet* is, strictly speaking, the *Ars minor*. The form is interesting because the fall of the intervocalic consonant shows that the compound *Donatittus* (or *-etus*?) dates from at least the tenth or eleventh century. 38 I imagine the author is here speaking of a pepper-sauce thickened with burnt bread, with which curious material the salmon and dace were daubed upon the shield. 46 O. Fr. *ire* is "chagrin," "vexation" rather than "wrath." 55 *levent* has no support; *trousserent* of B is good, especially as *troi seuent* of A could easily have been corrupted from it. 63 The battle took place in the shadow of Montlhéry, on the plain: why then render *soz* by "on"? 77 *Distrent* is mistranslated: it was these church Fathers who took pains to warn Divinity that she should avoid the emptiness and squabbles of the Rhetoricians, and this she proceeds to do. 97–98 I render: "The arts students and the grammarians all are now acting exactly contrary to the customs of the good old times." 107 Raoul de la Charité came perhaps from the town of that name on the Loire.

109–10 are mistranslated, *nul* requiring *ne* to make a negation. Rather: "All these [bold surgeons] would gather to the money-making if they saw there [in the coming battle] any prospect of illnesses [or wounds]." 112 I suspect the correct reading was *Cirurgie* *Se seoit lez un sanglent tastre*, that is, "beside a trestle," or "butcher's block," the humble ancestor of the operating-table.

¹ *Porvers* is Lat. *PERVERSUS*. Elsewhere, it is true, Henri uses (*gent*) *pervere* (l. 93) which is the biblical phrase, but the form *porvers* is also well attested, e.g., *Richeut* 568 (*Romanic Review*, IV, 280, 296). The idiom reoccurs *Pel. Charlem.* 716: *il dist que curteis*, and often elsewhere. For *quikelique* I adopt the explanation offered in *Studies in Honor of A. Marshall Elliott*, I, 79.

170 The reading of A, *entre .ii. os*, "between the armies," is excellent; that of B, *entre irois*, is plainly a corruption and unintelligible. The editor adopts *irois*, but then translates quite unaccountably, "between the combatants." 210 *Propertius* in the translation is a slip for *Prosper*.

244 *hoschier* in B should not have been overlooked; as it has more point, it should have been preferred to *hochier*. 265 Rather: "For she could not be expected to resist everybody at once." 279 *nes* is misdivided: *ne les* is satisfactory for meaning. 311-12 I understand differently. The ladies went into Montlhéry (as they had been advised to do) and did this, not through fear of the enemy (which they never would admit); no, they went in "merely because of the love which they were [graciously] willing to bestow upon the castle." The dames really were afraid, but for the world would not admit it. And the irony continues:

Et de ce firent els savoir
Qu'els aiment les choses hautaines,
Et Gramaire aime les fontaines.

The editor does not help us on the last of these lines. Evidently Dame Grammar loves things not lofty, but what are these disreputable weaknesses of hers? According to Larousse,¹ *fontaine* also meant *grand vase d'orfèvrerie qu'on plaçait au moyen âge au milieu de la table et qui contenait du vin, de l'ypocras et d'autres liqueurs*. To Villon, *boire ypocras à jour et à nuitée* was the very acme of the indulgent life, and it may well be that these *fontaines* are connected with the *granz gomers* mentioned at the beginning (l. 10). I might observe, however, that both Du Cange and La Curne register the expression *faire ses fontaines*, c.à.d., *se livrer aux divertissements de la mi-carême*.² The day of *Laetare, Jerusalem*, it appears, was called *le Dimanche des fontaines*: *on se rendait à une fontaine pour boire des eaux*. The happy character of the service at mid-Lent is otherwise well known. In the service for the day occurs the word *sitiens*, signifying the person who may desire to join the church at Easter: could this be the needed link between the idea of rejoicing (*gaudete in laetitia*) and the custom

¹ I am indebted to Dr. C. J. Cipriani for noting this. It ought not to be difficult to verify Larousse's statement.

² Cf. also Chesnel, *Dictionnaire des superstitions populaires*, s.v. "fontaines."

of a picnic in the woods, with a draught from the spring? However this may be, *faire ses fontaines* meant undoubtedly "to have a festive time": *pour eux esbatre et faire leurs fontaines* says one text. It may well be that while Logic claimed to love lofty things, Grammar was scorned as being content with frivolous amusements. Henri himself, in a passage (254 ff.) of which much more might have been made, for it shows the author very plainly in the rôle of an outsider in the quarrel, speaks of the *vanités* of the Grammar party.

325 *En l'essil ou il [Ovide] fu du moins*: "in the exile to which Ovid was relegated," rather than "where he was in want." The expression *estre du moins* had various meanings, and it is not easy to be certain of one's translation here, or at ll. 20, 120; but some help might be drawn from Tobler's note, *Li Proverbe au Vilain*, p. 142.

334-36:

Estacez Achilleidos

Menoit par devant soi les hez:

"The word *hez* is somewhat troublesome," says the editor, but the reading of B, *les ez*, might have put him upon the right track. All the combatants introduced in this passage, beginning with the leader Estacet, have the diminutive termination -et—Chatonet, Avonet, Panfilet, and Theaudelet: so these were not the "vets" but the junior contingent, the cadets, and they followed their leader with such ardor and nimbleness (346 ff.) that they came very near capturing Dames Logic, Astronomy, and Rhetoric by the feet,¹ but the ladies were lodged too high (in the tower of Monthéry) to be caught. Cf. 416. 355 *encressent* is a variant of *engressent*, hence: "they stir up their pupils with their whips and their tongues." 357 *lasses* could never mean "tiresome." 358-59 Possibly the original read:

Logique fier tant es siuanz
Qu'ele a mis sa cotele a panz.

362, 363 are two co-ordinate propositions: "With her arms she makes a great pretense, [but] on her body there is no substance," which fits the satire perfectly. 391 "Than there are disputes in Logic."

¹ Dr. Paetow's acceptance of Héron's suggestion (*les hez*, "the stakes") in 336 seems to lead him into the bizarre translation of *parmi les piez* by "among the stakes." Perhaps he has *pieuz* in mind for this second passage, but one would have to go far afield among the dialects for such a variant as *piez* for *pieuz*. Besides, both his MSS usually have *s* for *z*, and not *z* for *s*.

392 "Was unable to get thru successfully." 404 Here is mentioned a Walter the Englishman, *qui lut sur Petit Pont*, *lut* being, I suppose, pf. 3 of *lire*. The editor in both his translation and his note seems to refer it to *lutter* (!). But Dame Grammar here raises her voice to protest that ps. 3 of *lutter* in O.F. was necessarily *luite*—two syllables, hence impossible here. 427 ff. are badly mixed in the translation, and possibly not satisfactory in the MSS. In 427, *rabaces* is almost certainly modern *rabâches*, which appears to be a Picard form; cf. *Aussi ne fait il fors rabaches*, in Adam's *Ju de la Feuillie* (*Anc. Théâtre frç.*, p. 72), while *rabasser* is noted by Bescherelle as "a former variant" of *rabâcher*. 445 "Have no longer any use for their [hospitable] quarters" (which Versifex used to occupy). 450 ff. are the concluding reflections of Henri d'Andeli: some of these I understand quite differently from the editor. In Brittany and in Germany, it appears, you may still study Grammar, but not in the neighborhood of Paris nor in Lombardy. "Sirs, the people of this world come and go in streaks: after good wheat will come oats (an inferior grain); for as much as thirty years they will act thus, until a new generation will come on the scene who will go back to Grammar, just as they used to do when Henri d'Andeli was born, who comes forward to say in Grammar's name [*de par li*] that the smart pupil who cannot construe his lesson should be destroyed."

Cognitio duplex, said Erasmus: *verborum prior, rerum potior.*

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BALZAC AND COOPER: *LES CHOUANS*

The influence of Fenimore Cooper upon the work of Balzac is more definite and prominent than has hitherto been supposed. Their relationship will be here displayed in three or four aspects. It will be well to realize first Cooper's vogue in the France of 1830 and to reckon with Balzac's knowledge and criticism of the American romancer. Traces of the latter's footprints in various parts of the *Comédie humaine* will be used as corroborative items. But the surest and most specific evidence of this ascendancy will appear from a comparison of *Les Chouans* (1829) with *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826).

There are two periods of culminating excellence in Cooper's career, tallying with two epochs of his fame in France and in the eyes of Balzac. The first covers the time from the earliest translation of *The Spy* (1822) until about 1830. It is the epoch of the more famous Leather-Stocking volumes and of the first sea-tales, all of which were quickly translated into French. The second period culminates in 1840, which is the date of *The Pathfinder* and of Balzac's chief critical study of Cooper, in the *Revue Parisienne*. As a matter of general vogue and definite influence we are here mainly concerned with the first period.

No less than eighteen titles appear as attributed to Cooper in the *Journal de la Librairie* from 1823 to 1828. These include six duplicates—new editions of the more popular novels—as well as one edition of the complete works up to date, and one title whose

attribution is doubtful. Without copying the bibliographical information of the complete list,¹ I note three editions of *The Spy*, two of *The Pioneers*, two of *The Last of the Mohicans*, and two of *The Prairie*. These are the most important for our purpose, though there are also represented *Precaution*, *Lionel Lincoln* (*Légendes des Treize Républiques*), *The Pilot*, *The Red Rover*, and *Notions of the Americans*—these nine titles including everything that Cooper had published up to 1829. A certain *Redwood* is likewise listed, though this seems to be attributed wrongly to Cooper. The “complete” edition began to appear in 1827 and reprinted most of the above stories. The publishers of nearly all the translations were exactly the two houses with whom Balzac had most to do in his early days—Mame et Delaunay, and Gosselin. The translator was generally Defauconpret, already known for his version of the Waverley Novels.

Professor Lounsbury, in his biography of Cooper,² observes that the French enthusiasm for that author began with *The Spy*, which was translated in the summer of 1822: “In spite of its anonymous character and of some extraordinary blunders in translation, it was warmly received in France. From that country its reputation in no long space of time spread in every direction; translations followed one after another into all the cultivated tongues of modern Europe.” The statement that France made the Continental reputation of *The Spy* may be generalized for Cooper’s other works. Balzac himself expresses the truth when he declares: “Cooper a été bien compris, il a été surtout apprécié par la France.”³

Concerning the *Mohicans* especially, it is often considered in France as Cooper’s masterpiece, and Lounsbury holds that its success was even greater in Europe than in America. “Throughout the whole civilized world the conception of the Indian character, as Cooper drew it in *The Last of the Mohicans* and still further elaborated it in the later Leather-Stocking Tales, has taken permanent hold of the imaginations of men.” This ignores the part played by Chateaubriand in establishing the legendary conception of the noble

¹ For this I am indebted to the kindness of my friend, Professor A. Marin La Meslée of Tulane University.

² T. R. Lounsbury, *James Fenimore Cooper* (“American Men of Letters”), Boston, 1883, p. 36.

³ *Oeuvres complètes* (Michel Lévy edition), XXIII, 588.

Indian. Lounsbury seems right, however, in averring that Cooper surpassed even Washington Irving in his Continental and contemporary popularity—the greatest ever achieved by an American; but it is an exaggeration to consider that this fame abroad "could fairly be said to hold its own with that of Sir Walter Scott."¹

The linking of these names, to which every critic is and was impelled, will prove significant in several directions. They had both been welcomed in Paris in 1826, when, according to "the American Scott," at the Princess Galitzin's, "the Scotch and American lions took the field together." It is not impossible that Cooper met Balzac during the same period. At any rate it is important to observe how Cooper's long residence in France must have forwarded his fame. He was in or near Paris from July, 1826, to February, 1828, and again from July, 1830, until some time in the year 1833. The first dates would fall very near the epoch of the composition of *Les Chouans*. During that time Cooper wrote much of *The Prairie* and *The Red Rover*, published respectively at Paris, 1827 and 1828.

He was lionized from within a few weeks after his first arrival at the capital. Later, he presided at meetings and banquets, and was undoubtedly a figure in the "colony" and among the cultured. It is natural to suppose that his residence in Paris would increase the interest attached to his books by the author of *Les Chouans* as well as by other Parisians.

Balzac's opinion of Cooper has been expressed incidentally in a number of places, but nowhere with more point and penetration than in the set article for the *Revue Parisienne* of July, 1840.² I give a short analysis of this, italicizing the points that will have later significance.

He begins in a tone of general eulogy, warm and enthusiastic. He promptly states that Cooper is now the only author worthy of being compared with Scott. "Il ne l'égalera point, mais il a de son génie, et il doit la haute place qu'il occupe dans la littérature moderne à deux facultés, celle de peindre la mer et les marins, celle d'idéaliser les magnifiques paysages d'Amérique." His best works are the

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 55-57. The following facts are also mainly from Lounsbury's fourth chapter.

Oeuvres, XXIII, 584-92.

Leather-Stocking series, together with *The Pilot*, *The Red Rover*, and *The Spy*—a criticism with which the verdict of time well agrees. It is hard, continues Balzac, to understand how the same man could have written those intervening things—by which the *Heidenmauer* and the *Homeward Bound* group are probably indicated. “Je ne me prononce pas légèrement,” declares the reviewer, “*j'ai lu et relu les œuvres du romancier*, disons le mot vrai, de l'*historien américain*.” Here is already an analogy with Balzac's pretension to be the “historian” or the “secretary” of his own society. He repeats that he shares Scott's admiration for the two aforesaid faculties of Cooper, next to which he would place the creation, the grandeur, and the originality of Leather-Stocking himself. He observes that “this sublime character links together” the four tales already published. A main feature of Leather-Stocking, in Balzac's eyes, is then the unity, the linking that he gives to the series which bears his name. Now come some hyperbolical polysyllables: “*Bas-de-Cuir est une statue, un magnifique hermaphrodite moral, né de l'état sauvage et de la civilisation, qui vivra autant que les littératures.*” He is in the same class with Gurth, and it is especially in the creation of this one figure that Cooper has raised himself to the height of Walter Scott—whom Balzac placed far above Byron.

Now reaching his special subject, *The Pathfinder*, which had just been translated as *Le Lac Ontario*, the reviewer declares it to be a fine work, worthy of its three predecessors in the series.¹ Its subject is the lake itself; and Balzac likes simple subjects, which exhibit power of conception. Cooper shows his true greatness in describing the Oswego and its banks. This is the real “Cooper of the wood and wave,” as Stevenson said, mingling, as Balzac says, *his descriptions of natural objects with the ruses of the savages*. Such pictures are inimitable. “Il y a de quoi désespérer tout romancier à qui l'envie prendrait de suivre les traces de l'auteur américain.” We shall see that this “envie” confessedly seized Balzac himself. “Jamais l'écriture typographiée (*sic*) n'a plus empiété sur la peinture. *Là est l'école où doivent étudier les paysagistes littéraires, tous les secrets de l'art sont là.*” This suggests a desire and perhaps a fulfilment. He continues, with equal relevancy, that Cooper's prose not only vividly displays

¹ *The Deerslayer* was not published until the following year—1841.

to us each item in the landscape, "mais elle y parvient *en donnant à la fois les moindres circonstances et l'ensemble.*" Thereby he makes the solitudes interesting, as also by his thrilling disclosures of Indians behind the tree-trunks, under the rocks, in the water. After dwelling on the moving effect of that solitude and calm, Balzac returns to the other effect of the perils "*si bien liés aux accidents du terrain, que vous examinez attentivement les rochers, les arbres, les chutes d'eau, les bateaux d'écorce, les buissons; vous vous incarnez à la contrée;* elle passe en vous ou vous passez en elle, on ne sait comment s'accomplit cette métamorphose due au génie; *mais il vous est impossible de séparer le sol, la végétation, les eaux, leur étendue, leur configuration, des intérêts qui vous agitent.*"

The insistence on this *procédé* points to a very personal interest in it on the part of Balzac, and I will anticipate by remarking that *Les Chouans* has many such fusions of figures and landscape. Balzac thus crystallizes in the above review his opinion of a device which he had been using more or less for a dozen years and which he uses immediately after this article in *Une Ténèbreuse Affaire*.

With regard to Cooper's characters, he is less enthusiastic. They are somewhat diminished by the grand scenery. And although he thanks the author for portraying humble personages, several of whom are certainly "natural," yet there are various exceptions; the heroine, as usual, together with Cap and Muir are *manqués*. Leather-Stocking, however, dominates as always. "*Cette figure si profondément mélancolique y est en quelque sorte expliquée.*" In the *Curé de village*, a year or two previously, Balzac had written of the "melancholy" talent of Cooper, shown in the magnificent poetry of *The Prairie*.¹ The choice of that note seems peculiar and subjective.

The handling of the secondary characters in *The Pathfinder*, Balzac holds, reveals clearly Cooper's weakness, instanced also by details in the "préparation du drame." He is particularly inferior to Scott in his lack of humor, his ever-unsuccessful desire to divert you. The means chosen is the unfortunate insistence upon a *tic*, a "gag"—"*une même plaisanterieotte . . . un entêtement quelconque*"—laid down at the beginning and reappearing wearisomely

¹ *Oeuvres*, XIV, 66.

throughout the book. Hence the "dadas" of Cap, Muir, David Gamut, *et al.* Scott invented the malady, but Cooper has made of it a plague.

We may omit discussion of this artistic point, merely recalling to what an extent Balzac himself has used the *tic* and the *dada*, though to be sure he is generally clever about varying the expression. Another discussion to be passed over here is that which American critics have raised concerning the value of the foregoing opinion on Cooper's characters. The best view concedes its justice, and it is noteworthy that nearly all students of Cooper quote freely from this and other Balzacian comments, thus proving the importance and insight of the Frenchman's criticisms. Lounsbury goes so far as to say that these carry more weight than any other foreign studies of Cooper. And Brownell, while differing from the depreciation of Cooper's characters, is aware of the fact that in the eyes of the generation which followed Chateaubriand the depiction of nature was of more importance than psychology.¹

This is the next antithesis which Balzac sets forth (after some exaggerated reprehending of Cooper for his falsely supposed dislike of the French), and he sets it forth again by comparison with Scott. By the side of the latter, the American novelist has said nothing truly philosophical or impressive, when one takes a backward look. Both of these writers are cold, having offered up passion as a sacrifice to the blue-stockings of their countries—a view that Balzac repeats elsewhere. But the chief contrast is that Scott deals with humanity and Cooper with nature. Even in *Le Lac Ontario*, "vous ne trouverez pas un portrait qui vous fasse penser, qui vous ramène en vous-même par une réflexion fine et ingénieuse, *qui vous explique les faits, les personnes, leurs actions*"—which, in other words, consists of a writer's aside such as I, Balzac, am constantly contributing for the greater restlessness of aesthetic critics, and, it must be admitted, for the better intelligence of the reader in matters relating to the causal linking of topography, costume, physique, character, action, and what not. . . . But it is not true that Cooper has no such

¹ Lounsbury, pp. 241, 284, etc.; W. C. Brownell, *American Prose Masters*, New York, 1909, pp. 25-30. See also W. B. Clymer, *James Fenimore Cooper*, Boston, 1900, pp. 120-22, and Edgar Saltus, *Balzac*, Boston, 1884, *passim*; also F. Lawton, *Balzac*, London, 1910, pp. 15, 195.

reflections or asides. On the contrary, in common with most novelists of his age, he has a great many, and certain of these will offer analogies with the manner of Balzac.

The latter concludes his general confrontation of Cooper and Scott by declaring that they are two colossi all the same. Now, a more specific point is the way they both handle battles. The principle is laid down that "il est impossible à l'art littéraire de peindre les faits militaires au delà d'une certaine étendue." It is stated that neither Scott nor Cooper has tried to depict a campaign; they try to give first, by small samples, the spirit of the combatants; then Scott would choose as battlefield a "terrain circonscrit" (the Battle of Bothwell Bridge would be a case in point), and even to get this before us long preparations were necessary. Of Cooper's method several illustrations will be given in the course of this paper, and from Balzac himself an excellent skirmish is to be found at the beginning of *Les Chouans*. As an example of the other and the wrong kind of thing, Eugène Sue is cited. Big descriptions of regular battle-fields, such as Sue tries, become impossible feats for the reader's attention, "quand l'auteur ne marie pas les évènements et les hommes aux accidents de la nature, et ne les explique pas les uns par les autres, comme ont fait Cooper et Walter Scott."

This penetrating article thus ends with an important emphasis.

Mr. G. D. Morris, in his study on French criticisms of Cooper,¹ considers that Balzac's article is by all odds the best of these. He summarizes the interesting opinions of Ste.-Beuve—who also held that Cooper's *forte* was description—of G. Sand and others. He gives extracts to show that both imitation and criticism of Cooper were rife in France of the twenties; in the thirties he drew less critical attention, until his vogue was revived by Balzac's study. This impresses Mr. Morris for its enthusiasm, its sureness of taste, and its emphasis on the picturesque quality characteristic of romanticism. In fact, Balzac evinces here a combination of taste and judgment that is rare with him and that is best accounted for by the assumption (otherwise amply proved) of a deep interest and knowledge of his material. His particular esteem for *The Pathfinder* and Cooper's

¹ *Fenimore Cooper et Edgar Poe, d'après la critique française du dix-neuvième siècle.*
Thèse, Paris, 1912.

landscapes are again evidenced in an anecdote reported by Léon Gozlan and too often detailed to bear repeating.¹ Also, in writing *Le Lys dans la vallée*, its author here divulges, he followed Cooper in the intention "de faire une part splendide au paysage."

It may be well to summarize those features which Balzac, critically, has thus stressed and of which we may expect to find some imitation in his own work. The chief are these: the treatment of landscape in detail, with an eye to its causal and sociological connections; the feature of topographical incidents used in the war-maneuvers of a primitive people; the feature of linking a series of stories by reappearing characters; the feature of giving in descriptions both the details and the *ensemble*, which may mean an enforcement of the main characteristic; the feature of the repeated *tic* or "gag"; finally, the explanatory asides, which Balzac did not find in Cooper, but which we find in both.

The next question is that of dates. How early did the French novelist read the American, to what extent, and with what effect? The dates are not very numerous, but their evidence, so far as it goes, is clear.

It should be remembered that *The Last of the Mohicans* had appeared, in English and in French, in 1826. Now in a letter of 1830, when Balzac is going by boat from Touraine "au fond de la Bretagne," he writes: "Oh, mener une vie de *Mohican*, courir sur les rochers, nager en mer, respirer en plein l'air, le soleil! Oh, que j'ai conçu le sauvage! Oh, que j'ai admirablement compris les *corsaires*, les aventuriers. . . . La vie, c'est du courage, de bonnes *carabines*, l'art de se diriger en pleine mer."²

There is in this a possible reference to *The Red Rover* (*Le Corsaire rouge*, 1828),³ and an unmistakable reference to *The Last of the Mohicans*; for *The Prairie* and *The Pioneers* have little to do with the "vie de Mohican." This view is supported by an allusion in the *Physiologie du mariage* to "un Mohican à l'opéra."⁴ And the *Physiologie du mariage* appeared in December, 1829, much of it having

¹ Gozlan, *Balzac intime: Balzac en pantoufles*, etc., Paris, 1886 (1856), pp. 46-49. Cf. Morris, pp. 29-30, and Lawton, p. 195.

² *Correspondance*, p. 73. Le Breton, in quoting this (p. 79), rightly dwells on the "savage" impulse that Balzac received from Cooper.

³ For other references to piracy see *La Femme de trente ans*, *Gobseck*, etc.

⁴ *Œuvres*, XVII, 313.

been written during several years before.¹ Again in *Gobseck*, written in 1829-30, there is the following passage concerning the hero: "S'il était content de sa journée, il se frottait les mains en laissant échapper par les rides crevassées de son visage une fumée de gaieté, car il est impossible d'exprimer autrement le jeu muet de ses muscles où se peignait une sensation comparable au *rire à vide de Bas-de-Cuir*"² (*Leather-Stocking*). The miser has a "férocité de sauvage," and by way of a repeated *tic* we find this: "Gobseck se mit à rire, de ce rire muet qui lui était particulier."³ This last is the very language used of Leather-Stocking in the *Mohicans*, and we may at once class Gobseck's laugh as a frank imitation.

I have collected several dozen other references, mostly from the early *Scènes de la vie privée* (1830-32), either specifically to Cooper's works or to Indian life in general.⁴ But I reserve these for later study, since enough has been said to show that this epoch, from about 1828-32, is the time when Balzac underwent his first *grande passion* for Cooper.

As to whether the *Mohicans* really counted in *Les Chouans*, we have Balzac's own statement, in a letter of December, 1843: "J'ai néanmoins corrigé *Les Chouans* pour cette troisième édition. C'est décidément un magnifique poème; je ne l'avais jamais lu. Dix ans se sont écoulés depuis que je l'ai corrigé et publié en deuxième édition. . . Il y a là tout Cooper et tout Walter Scott, plus une passion et un *esprit* qui n'est chez aucun d'eux."⁵

If one objects that this is a very loud blast of vanity and particularly that the phrase "tout Cooper et tout Scott" should be taken rather in a flamboyant than a derivative sense, I am willing to regard it simply as one hint in a cumulative chain. It would

¹ Spoelberch de Lovenjoul, *Histoire des Œuvres de Balzac*, 1879, p. 207. This is the authority for all such dates.

² *Œuvres*, III, 467.

³ *Ibid.*, 512.

⁴ See *Adieu*, XVI, 164, 196; *El Verdugo*, XVI, 218; *La Vendetta*, V, 307. All of these and *Gobseck* as well are of 1830. In the following year appeared the *Peau de chagrin* from which there are four such allusions: XV, 17, 30, 37, 233. Of a later period are passages from the *Curé de village*, XIV, 133, 178; *Une Ténèbreuse Affaire*, XII, 361, 367, 405, 421; and *Les Paysans*, XIV, 322, 347, 389 (see also below, p. 12).

The phrase "à la manière des sauvages" is frequent. There is recurrent reference to Cooper. We learn from the *Lettres à l'étrangère* (II, 17-22, 229, 283) that Balzac at one time planned to dramatize *The Spy*.

⁵ *Lettres à l'étrangère*, II, 246.

indicate that at any rate Balzac knew Cooper at the time of composing *Les Chouans*. What exactly was that period? Without going into the debate between L. Séché¹ and J. Haas,² I think we may rely on the opinion of the latter that the story was mainly written in the autumn of 1828, *after* the visit to Fougères, which took place in the late summer of that year. At any rate, the period of composition was clearly some time in 1828, and not before "August, 1827," as Balzac misdated it, wilfully and *après coup*. Since we know from the preceding quotations that Balzac imitated something of Cooper's in *Les Chouans* and that he was familiar with the *Mohicans* at least by 1829, the supposition that this acquaintanceship began a year or so earlier involves no great risk—provided a plausible relationship between the two volumes can be shown. The probability is that Balzac knew most of these romances shortly after their appearance.

Several critics have expressed the opinion that the influence of Cooper shows in the *Comédie humaine*, both broadly in the creation of certain types and more incidentally with regard to the effect of the *Mohicans* upon *Les Chouans*.³ The latter predication, then, is neither new nor surprising; but nowhere have I found detailed proof of the influence nor any analysis of similar features in the two stories.

The other godfathers of *Les Chouans* have been more closely studied. Haas sees mainly reminiscences of Chateaubriand and Nodier in several descriptions: that of the Vallée du Coüesnon, the lake at La Vivetière, and the vapors that steal over another valley scene.⁴ Maigron and Le Breton tend to emphasize the dominion of Scott; and it would be idle to deny that the book contains a great deal of Scott, some Chateaubriand, and perhaps a little Nodier. Balzac's more general remarks on Indian life and character, including some of those quoted in this paper, may plausibly be traced either to Chateaubriand or to such well-known collections of travels as the

¹ "Balzac à Fougères," *Revue Bleue*, 1901, II, 357–62.

² "Balzac Studien," *ZfFSL*, XXX, 157–59.

³ Ste.-Beuve, *Portraits contemporains*, II, 338; Brownell, p. 24; Le Breton, p. 87. This writer deprecates the long stay that Balzac must have made in the "wigwam de Chingachgook" and his superfluity "de Mohicans en spencer ou de Hurons en redingote" (*ibid.*, pp. 82–83).

⁴ *ZfFSL*, XXXIII, 128 ff.

Lettres édifiantes or the *Voyages du Baron de Lahontan*.¹ The latter, however, deals with the Hurons rather than the Mohicans; this race, as seen through Cooper's eyes, still remains the predominant analogy for *Les Chouans*.

The question of antecedents has its importance, because the book is a turning-point in Balzac's career. It is the first acknowledged work of his pen, the first-published of the *Comédie humaine*; Haas, Baldensperger, and others now agree that in spite of its romanticism we have here a monument marking the beginning of Balzac's true method,² especially, adds Haas, in what concerns topography and documentation.³

In noting resemblances, I have used the standard edition of *Les Chouans*,⁴ as last revised by its author in 1845.⁵ The edition of 1834 (the second) already differed considerably from the first form,⁶ but as the latter is unfortunately inaccessible at present, this study aims only at establishing the connection between Balzac's standard text and *The Last of the Mohicans*.

On the other hand, I have been able to use the translation of the *Mohicans* which Balzac pretty certainly knew—the version by Defauconpret, now published in an "édition courante" by Garnier, under the title of *Le Dernier des Mohicans: Histoire de mil sept cent cinquante-sept*. Does not this suggest *Le Dernier Chouan ou la Bretagne en 1799 (1800)*—titles of the first and second edition respectively?⁷ In spite of Chateaubriand before and Bulwer Lytton afterward, the joint use of this "dernier" is another strong hint. The Defauconpret translation is by no means despicable. It is free on occasion, but in the main trustworthy; and, as several Frenchmen have perceived, it imports various literary merits into the original, notably in rendering more probable Cooper's stilted dialogue as well as in tempering the effect of the monotonous "gags"—though it seems

¹ Published in French and in English, 1703; many subsequent editions; alluded to by Balzac in *La Maison du Chat-qui-pelete*, *Œuvres*, I, 59.

² I hope to show this in a study of Balzac's realistic method.

³ *ZfFSL*, XXXIII, 101.

⁴ *Œuvres*, XII, 1–310.

⁵ See *Correspondance*, pp. 418, 425.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.197: "Mais quoi que je fasse, j'ai peur que l'écolier ne s'y montre toujours trop." See also *Lettres à l'étrangère*, pp. 7, 154, 160.

⁷ Lovenjoul, pp. 145–46.

that enough were left to irritate Balzac. Where it loses, of course, is in the flavor of the soil, the autochthonous truth of Hawkeye's speeches and personality, and in much that concerns the Indians.

The several heads under which I shall divide the resemblances are, first, racial similarities, then the connection between the characters, incidents, customs, topography, and warfare. The verbal likenesses will generally be found incorporated with the above.

It seems fairly clear that Balzac desired to present in some detail an analogy between the wild Breton peasants and Cooper's Indians—a comparison to which he returns in *Les Paysans*.¹ Several passages that indicate this intention appear in the first twenty pages of *Les Chouans*, where the word "sauvage" occurs over a dozen times and usually with reference to Indians. The first passage alludes to the appearance of the bestial and devoted Marche-à-Terre, who is *par excellence* the Cooperesque figure of the collection and who is compared by the Republican soldiers to an animal browsing in a field and "aux sauvages de l'Amérique."² On the next page Balzac speaks of "la vie sauvage" in Brittany and of a "nombre de sauvages semblables à celui qui vient de paraître dans cette Scène." Immediately afterward, still describing the nature of the Bretons, he emits the general and significant statement that primitive conditions tend to make "les habitants de ces campagnes plus pauvres de combinaisons intellectuelles que ne le sont les Mohicans et les Peaux-Rouges de l'Amérique septentrionale, mais aussi grands, aussi rusés, aussi durs qu'eux. La place que la Bretagne occupe au centre de l'Europe la rend beaucoup plus curieuse à observer que ne l'est le Canada." The last sentence suggests a conscious rivalry with Cooper; as for casually placing his savages in Canada, that would be natural from the French standpoint, historically closer to the Hurons than to the Mohicans. But a little farther on, in speaking of Breton warfare, Balzac returns to the proper American soil. "Il y avait de la conviction dans ces trahisons. C'était des sauvages qui servaient Dieu et le roi à la manière dont les Mohicans font la guerre."³

Apart from the wider racial resemblances, there are in these pages several specific allusions to savage customs. Hulot, the

¹ *Oeuvres*, XIV, 294, 308.

² XII, 13.

³ XII, 16.

Commandant of the Republicans, while on the alert for an alarm, "consulta le sable de la route, à la manière des sauvages, pour tâcher de découvrir quelques traces de ces invisibles ennemis."¹ Here also we may place the later conduct of the romantic heroine, Marie de Verneuil, who, "semblable à un sauvage d'Amérique, interrogeait les fibres du visage de son ennemi lié au poteau, et brandissait le casse-tête avec grâce. . . ."²

But as shown in many places, Marche-à-Terre is pre-eminently the "savage." His look is distinguished by "l'ironie sauvage"; he, like Cooper's Magua, disappears from the midst of suspicious foes, "avec la rapidité d'un chat sauvage"; he displays a "joie sauvage" at finding gold, and a "tendresse sauvage" with his sweetheart. Indeed the adjective is applied to him with almost wearisome iteration, and it is also applied to the Chouans in general, though with less frequency. Their battle-cries are "sauvages" and the dying Chouan, who is tattooed, has a "figure rude et sauvage." There is thus a definite likeness between Cooper's Peaux-Rouges and the Peaux-de-biques, as the Bretons are called from their costume. In his preface, Cooper marks the chief qualities of the Mohican by saying that in war he is ruthless, self-denying, and daring; while in peace, he is just, hospitable, and superstitious.³ Balzac points out in the Chouan his ferocity, faithfulness, simplicity, and generally the more heroic virtues; his superstition and self-devotion in warfare are frequently dwelt upon. The Indian, says Cooper, "draws his metaphors from the clouds, the seasons, the birds, the beasts, and the vegetable world." True; so does Cooper himself, naturally; so does Balzac, with more pains, ever seeking figures that are appropriate to the calling, whether of soldier or peasant. Another parallel in the language is to be found in the nature of the sounds and voices. The Indians in the *Mohicans*—Chingachgook, Uncas, old Tamenund—usually speak in *guttural* tones, and this adjective is kept in the

¹ XII, 20.

² XII, 121. Balzac italicizes "casse-tête," thus indicating probably that it is his own (poor) translation of Defauconpret's more guarded "tomahawk." The above quotation suggests Cooper's description of Uncas running the gauntlet.

³ My references to Cooper are to the "Mohawk" edition of the *Complete Works*, 32 vols., New York, Putnam, 1896-. It seems needless from now on to give the page references for the shorter quotations. Anyone tolerably familiar with *Les Chouans* or Cooper can place most of them from the context.

French translation. We hear in *Les Chouans* of "les sons rauques d'une voix bretonne"; Marche-à-Terre's voice is characterized by "sons rauques et gutturaux"; and "guttural" here and elsewhere is almost a favorite adjective of Balzac's as it was of Cooper's.

Other important characteristics of Marche-à-Terre¹ are, first, that quality which I shall call animalism—the *rapprochement* between a human and various animals of which Balzac is so fond—and these Indian attributes: his laconic speech; his control of emotion under suspicious observation (again like Magua)—he is sphinx-like and has a "figure impassible" in danger; his agility "d'un animal sauvage"; his keen senses which "devaient avoir acquis la finesse de ceux des sauvages"; his heavy *carabine*, so often associated with its owner, like that of Hawkeye ("La Longue Carabine"); and the whole matter of his detention and escape in the first skirmish, whose circumstances—foes in the camp, rescue, ambush, surprise, signals—are much like the first affrays in the *Mohicans*.

The stoicism of the Indians, which is imitated even by Hawkeye, their keenness and agility, are too often mentioned in the *Mohicans* to require detailing. Still other features of Marche-à-Terre are his "cri bestial," his appearance of being "taillé comme à coups de hache," and his long shining hair, like the hair of his goatskin. Only the last is strikingly Indian, and indeed the short squatness of the Breton's figure is not to our purpose. But I would call attention to the way in which that figure is put together. One characteristic, that of size, is insisted on throughout. He is "large des épaules," he has the head "presque aussi grosse que celle d'un bœuf," his nostrils are thick, his lips are big, and he has "grands et ronds yeux noirs." This preference for central, sometimes artificial, unity in a description is one of the things that has impressed me most in the method of Balzac, and, incidentally, good illustrations of that *procédé* form the main novelty of Faguet's recent study.² Let me recall that Balzac pointed out Cooper's skill in the *ensemble* of a description. David Gamut, the quaint psalm-singer, is described by Cooper from the keynote of "contrariety in his members."³ A

¹ XII, 10 ff.

² E. Faguet, *Balzac ("Grands Écrivains Français")*, Paris, 1913.

³ *The Last of the Mohicans*, p. 8.

similar peculiarity of construction and, for another person, a sort of squatness—which more nearly corresponds with Marche-à-Terre—are used as keynotes in *The Prairie*.¹ It would be difficult to prove, without a great deal of study in Scott and elsewhere, that Balzac derives this favorite practice from Cooper; but once more the similarity is striking. The same must be said concerning the device of reappearing characters. The French novelist was impressed with the American's use of this, and beyond that statement one hesitates to go. So little is known about the history of this celebrated Balzacian procedure that any definite contribution should be welcomed; the subject is now being attacked. The pertinent query meantime remains: Who more plausibly than Cooper can have given this hint to Balzac and possibly to Dumas *père*?

Among the other characters, Hawkeye's inward laugh, already seen as used for *Gobseck*, calls for fresh attention. The trait is mentioned and described early in the English *Mohicans*, but in the French translation for some pages it is reduced to a commonplace "souriant" or "baissant la voix." Only in the middle of the book do we reach this passage:² "Enfin, tous ses traits exprimèrent un accès de rire, sans produire pour cela le moindre son, expression qui lui était particulière,³ et que l'habitude des dangers lui avait apprise." This *tic* has perhaps a connection with Hulot's martial "grimace," doubtfully taken for a sort of smile by his soldiers. Hawkeye gives vent to his silent laughter while he is disguised in a bear's skin—a disguise which Uncas also assumes—and Marche-à-Terre, wearing the same thing, is once taken for a bear even by his sweetheart. Finally, Hawkeye's glance, like that of all the Indians, is keen and roving, "as if in quest of game"; and Balzac's conscripts look stealthily at the woods and rocks, also like a dog scenting game.

We are not through with the keen eyes yet. The villains of these stories are respectively Magua and Corentin. The latter's eyes are appropriately green, and again restless: "Cet incroyable, dont les petits yeux vont incessamment d'un côté du chemin à l'autre, comme s'il y voyait des Chouans."⁴ As for Magua, Cooper stresses

¹ Pp. 50 and 62.

² Defauconpret, p. 265.

³ The exact phrase used of Gobseck; see above, p. 9.

⁴ XII, 60.

"the tremulous glances of his organs, which seemed not to rest a single instant on any particular object and which at the same time could be hardly said to move." When Chingachgook is on the alert, "his quick and rapid glances ran *incessantly* over every object." Others of the Indians, even the children, have this quick rolling eye, and Corentin's is not the only case where Balzac dwells upon the power of the *regard*, a favorite word with him. A questionable allusion to Chingachgook is the phrase concerning immense roots that crawl about, "semblables à de gros serpents"—a comparison repeated later.

The names, especially the *noms de guerre* of the characters, have in the two stories this similarity, that they are usually symbolic and physical. In Cooper, we find Œil-de-Faucon or La Longue Carabine, Le Gros Serpent, and Le Cerf Agile; also Le Renard Subtil and La Main Ouverte. In Balzac, there are Beau-Pied and La-Clef-des-Cœurs among the soldiers, and among the peasants Marche-à-Terre, Galope-Chopine,¹ Pille-Miche,² and Mène-à-bien—the last, being conferred, like Hawkeye, for good conduct in the course of the action. Balzac's names have also some historical analogies,³ but they still afford interesting parallels with those of Cooper.

Among the incidents, we will consider first the private execution of Galope-Chopine, by the two other Bretons, one of whom is his cousin and friend. Le Breton⁴ thinks this the capital scene in the book and believes that it was suggested by the affair of the Porteous mob, in the early chapters of *The Heart of Midlothian*. But that episode, which is virtually a lynching of an officer of the law, is a very public deed and has nothing to do with supposed treachery; whereas the two Bretons behead Galope-Chopine in his own house, because they think he has betrayed their leader. It is almost a family affair and to my thinking, if derivative at all, it resembles more closely the family judgment-scene in *The Prairie*, where the squatter condemns and prepares to execute his brother-in-law for murdering his son. There it is a question of treachery, with the other painful element of private feeling warring with the claims of justice. The

¹ Mug-Chaser.

² Bread-Stealer.

³ See Balzac's remarks in connection with "le Gars," XII, 37, 53.

⁴ P. 88, footnote.

situation in *El Verdugo*, where a brother and son is required to execute his whole family, may also be compared.

Other incidents in *Les Chouans*, which have a certain Cooperesque quality, are these. Marie de Verneuil is made prisoner by the Bretons, as Cora is captured by the Hurons; and as the green veil of the latter is made the clue of her identification and pursuit, so the veil of Marie, floating outside of her carriage, announces that she has made good her escape. Unconsciously imitating the Indians, the peasant, Barbette, covers the fire with green *genêts*, in order to make the smoke thicker. A countryman undertakes to prove to the Commandant that the Chouans are numerous: "Il amena Hulot à un endroit du plateau où le sable avait été remué comme avec un râteau; puis, après le lui avoir fait remarquer, il le conduisit assez avant dans un sentier où ils virent les vestiges du passage d'un grand nombre d'hommes. Les feuilles y étaient empreintes dans la terre battue."¹ In much the same way does Cooper describe an "obvious trail" as imprinted in the leaves. When Le Gars escapes from Barbette's cottage, he hurls himself through seven people, somewhat as Hurry Harry does in *The Deerslayer*; but the fact that for a time he is pursued by the eager Gudin alone, while the others watch, reminds one of the way Uncas outstripped his comrades in pursuing Magua; and the whole swift and tragic *dénouement*, including the death of the heroine, the shooting and the adventures among rocks, the proposed escapes by disguise, and the final confrontation of the two funeral biers of the dead hero and maiden, is in so far identical in both stories. Other features, of course, widely differentiate their finish, and in regard to this whole matter of incidents it would be unwise to insist on any one as necessarily from Cooper; only taken together they add more plausibility to a connection already fairly well established.

Under the head of customs, I claim no more than an analogy, conscious perhaps on the part of Balzac, between the "cri de chouette," which is the regular signal of the Chouans, and the "cri du hibou," which is used by Hawkeye. Historically, of course, the Chouans² were so named from their call, which allows the Indian signal to

¹ XII, 29.

² See Meyer-Lübke, s.v.

remain only as a coincidence between primitive peoples. But what shall we say of the dead Chouan who bears on his breast "une espèce de tatouage de couleur bleuâtre qui représentait un cœur enflammé"? This sign certainly suggests the totem of the Mohicans, the blue tortoise skilfully tattooed on their breasts. The Indian council-fire is dwelt upon by Cooper, the debate which is preceded by a deliberate, rotatory, and silent smoking of the pipe. Marche-à-Terre and his comrades on several occasions substitute the *chinchoire* for the pipe, and the former takes his pinch "en homme qui voulait se préparer pour quelque action grave." Is this another conscious coincidence on the author's part? Cooper's Indians, both here and in *The Prairie*, are prone to inflammatory orations in the cause of vengeance. There is such a speech of Magua's, constructed very similarly to one by the Abbé Gudin,¹ in which either orator makes appeal to vengeful feelings, by using the sting of scorn, by dwelling on individual losses, with names and circumstances. The detailed effect on the audience is given in both cases, and the phrase, "Magua had so artfully blended the natural sympathies with the religious superstition of the audience," might equally well be applied to the Abbé.

The question of topography is more difficult. Let us remember how often in criticizing Cooper, Balzac returns to the former's descriptions of landscape, especially as intimately connected with human figures. There are broad descriptive reaches in *Les Chouans*, sometimes detailed on plans similar to those of Cooper. The three masterpieces of this kind are the valley of the Couësnon as seen by the departing soldiers; the castle of La Vivetière and its environs; and the long panorama of the view from Fougères, together with much detail regarding the site itself.

The second of these particularly contains definite touches in the manner of the American. As the travelers are nearing the castle, the effect of furtiveness and perhaps the stealthy invasion of human figures are prepared for in this sentence: "Le murmure du vent, le bruissement des touffes d'arbres, le bruit des pas mesurés de l'escorte, donnèrent à cette scène ce caractère solennel qui accélère les battements du cœur." The *château* itself is described as a kind

¹ XII, 217-18.

of natural fortress, surrounded by two ponds, which have "berges sauvages," with leafless "aquatic" trees.¹ The maid, Francine, looking out on these banks at nightfall, becomes suspicious of their appearance. "Elle entendit bruire les ronces de la berge et aperçut au clair de la lune la figure de Marche-à-Terre qui se dressa par-dessus la noueuse écorce d'un vieux saule. Il fallait connaître le Chouan pour le distinguer au milieu de cette assemblée de truisses ébranchées parmi lesquelles la sienne se confondait si facilement." After the interview with Madame du Gua, "le sauvage . . . disparut dans l'écorce du saule." A little later there is a repetition of this theme with variations. Francine, again looking out on the pond, observes the shadows of the willows and notes the uniform bending of their branches caused by a slight breeze. "Tout à coup elle crut apercevoir une de leurs figures remuant sur le miroir des eaux par quelques-uns de ces mouvements irréguliers et spontanés qui trahissent la vie." Not being a reader of Cooper, Francine thinks at first that this is only some configuration due to the shining of the moon through the foliage; but soon she realizes that it is a man. Then comes another, and still others, while the little shrubs on the bank move violently up and down. The whole hedge is agitated "like a large serpent." The girl rushes into the courtyard, pauses and listens, but discovers "aucune trace de ce sourd bruissement semblable à celui que peuvent produire les pas d'une bête fauve dans le silence des forêts."

All the stealthiness of Indian ambush is in these passages. If specific instances are desired of that fusion of figure and landscape, here are two from the *Mohicans*: "Immovable as that rock, of which each appeared to form a part, they lay, with their eyes roving, without intermission, along the dark margin of trees that bounded the adjacent shores of the narrow stream." And again: "The naked tawny bodies of the crouching urchins blended so nicely, at that hour, with the withered herbage."

The description of the panorama from Fougères has no general analogue in the *Mohicans*, but there are a few small touches that may be mentioned. Balzac refers to the Breton scenery as "cette nature dont le principal caractère est une âpreté sauvage." More

¹ XII, 137-38.

important is his device, used several times, of summarizing for clearness the main features of the topography. Cooper, since *The Pioneers*, had also adopted this practice, though not with such consistency as Balzac.

The topography of both authors is closely linked with the nature of the warfare, and the necessity of that connection is dwelt upon by both to a considerable extent. We have seen the constituents of the Republicans' first skirmish with the Chouans, after which the latter spread out into the country. This habit of scattering and hiding separately behind trees, rushes or broom-plant, and hedges is indicated in the verb "s'égailler," which is often used. Balzac thus generalizes this warfare: "Les évènements de cette lutte intestine contractèrent quelque chose de la sauvage âpreté qu'ont les mœurs en ces contrées." And he goes on to detail the elements: each flowery hedge might conceal an invisible aggressor, each field was a fortress, each tree a trap or a stratagem. When the heroine is walking across country, it is stated that "Mlle de Verneuil comprit alors la guerre des Chouans. En parcourant ces routes elle put mieux apprécier l'état de ces campagnes." They consist of thick hedges, roads that are hollow and almost impassable, with the pathway by the side, which is called a *rote*, the *échalier*, which is a tree-trunk used as a cumbersome gate, the isolated fields, which form together a chessboard aspect, and always the *genêts* for ambushes.¹

The Chouans, as appears several times, have the advantage in their own country, where the soldiers are novices. One is reminded of General Braddock's misfortunes with the Indians, and Cooper, commenting on that defeat, intimates that it was caused by English carelessness and lack of adaptability. Elsewhere he remarks on the "simplicity of the Indian contests" and the usefulness of artillery. And Hawkeye, on another occasion, says: "You may here see the philosophy of an Indian fight. It consists mainly in a ready hand, a quick eye, and a good cover."

These principles are shortly put into practice, in an affray which may be compared with the last skirmish in *Les Chouans*. The approach against the Hurons is made along the bed of a brook, which is lined with trees in various stages of decay. These are of course

¹ XII, 15-16, 212-13.

used as cover, and a charge is made by rapidly darting from tree to tree. In the Chouan affair, conducted more in the open fields and finally among the rocks, similar means of defense are employed. Gudin, in particular, saves himself by dodging from one apple tree to another, "en saisissant pour courir le moment où les Chasseurs du Roi chargeaient leurs armes." This last detail is also mentioned several times by Cooper.

It would be too tedious to exemplify general traits which are common to both authors; they prove nothing except similarity in method. Such are the habitual explanatory asides, often inserted to point out a sociological connection: an external feature of person or landscape "announces" with Balzac; it "denotes" with Cooper. Such are also the historical *aperçus*, based probably on those of Scott, leading on to a clearer understanding of situation or character. Since it has been necessary once more to mention the name of Scott, it will be wise to admit that some of the *procédés* listed in this paper will in the last analysis go back to him; there will probably be Scott on his own account and Scott through Cooper. For instance, a good amount of theatrical or stilted dialogue and pseudo-romantic balderdash in situation characterize all three, and the attribution of the original source thereof would not be a matter of pride for anyone concerned. I trust, however, that enough strictly Cooperesque material has been exhibited to indicate rather strongly that Balzac in composing *Le Dernier Chouan* felt the charm of *The Last of the Mohicans*.

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GEORGE CHAPMAN AND THE ITALIAN NEO-LATINISTS OF THE QUATTROCENTO

The Elizabethan poets and dramatists are renowned for their enormous production and their amazing versatility. But the most recent discoveries make it more and more certain that they read far more voluminously than they wrote, and that the range of their reading extended from the dryest old Greek compilations to the most recent and insignificant tracts that went through the press in England or abroad. The time-honored classics of antiquity remained of course the universal favorites, together with the new stars of foreign literatures: Plutarch and Ovid, Ronsard and Du Bartas, Bandello and Ariosto have yielded the most abundant crop to those who are interested in knowing what an Elizabethan preferably read and consciously or unconsciously imitated. But the harvest is by no means at an end, and newly arrived gleaners, those even who bring to their work an inexperienced hand, are sometimes so well served by circumstances that they would almost be deluded into thinking themselves full-sized mowers, if they did not know better.

Neo-Latin poetry is one of the vantage-grounds which offer the richest possibilities to the newcomer. Whoever opens one of the Latin works produced between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, and known to have enjoyed popularity and a wide circulation during the Renaissance, is sure of making "finds" if he happens to have fresh in his memory the works of an average Elizabethan with university training. What the possibilities are when the man in question is as inveterate a scholar as Ben Jonson or George Chapman can easily be surmised. Professor Castelain, for instance, had the courage—and, we feel sure, in many cases the pleasure—of reading Vives, Erasmus, Justus Lipsius, and Daniel Heinsius: he found¹ that Ben Jonson had known and partially adapted in his works the *Epistola Nuncupatoria*, the *De Consultatione*, the *Preface* to the *Libri de Disciplinis*, the *De Causis Corruptarum Artium*, the *De Ratione Dicendi* of the Spanish philosopher;

¹ See his edition of Ben Jonson's *Discoveries* (Paris, Hachette).

Erasmus' *Lingua*, his *Institutio Principis Christiani*, his *Apophthegmata*, his *Hyperaspistes Diatribae adversus Servum Arbitrium*, his *Adagia*, his *Epistola Apologetica ad Martinum Dorpium Theologum*; Lipsius' *Politiorum sive Civilis Doctrinae Libri 6*, and his *Epistolica Institutio*; Heinsius' *De Tragoediae Constitutione*, and his *Ad Horatii de Plauto et Terentio Judicium Dissertatio*.

Jonson drew, then, from the prose works of Spanish or Dutch scholars. Chapman's taste was apparently different from his friend's, for, as far as we can make out, with our incipient knowledge of his sources, his preference seems to have gone to Italian neo-Latinists, and mostly to their poetical works. His indebtedness to Petrarch's *De Contemptu Mundi* we have already estimated in an article in the *Revue germanique*.¹ We tried at the same time to realize how he worked on a Latin text, when he did not publicly set himself the task of translating it. The purpose of this article is to study, on a somewhat similar plan, Chapman's relation to Angelus Politianus and Jovianus Pontanus, two of the greatest and most famous writers of Latin verse in fifteenth-century Italy, and to offer some very simple conclusions on the process and spirit of the Englishman's imitation.

Angelus Politianus² (1454-98), professor of the Greek and Latin literatures at the "Studio" of Florence, friend of Lorenzo de' Medici and tutor to his children, is too well known to need lengthy introduction. His fame as a poet and scholar traveled swiftly all over Europe, and was carried to England as early as the end of the fifteenth century by such disciples as Grocyn and Linacre. No wonder that Chapman should have known him, for, since 1498, when the first collection of his works was printed in *aedibus Aldi Romani*, one edition after another had been published, throughout the sixteenth century, in Florence, in Lyons, in Bâle, in Paris—that is to say, in all the active printing centers of the time. Besides, the latest researches have proved that each separate edition had a great many more copies than was formerly supposed. Almost every college library at

¹ "Une source nouvelle de Chapman: Francisci Petrarchae de Contemptu mundi," *Revue germanique*, juillet-août 1913.

² We purposely call him by the Latinized—instead of the Italian—form of his name, as we do Jovianus Pontanus too, for we consider them only as Latin verse-writers. Besides, Chapman himself writes neither "Politian" nor "Poliziano," but "Politianus."

Oxford, at the time when Chapman probably was there, must have had on its shelves either the three octavo volumes of the Gryphian edition (1528-50), or the big folio volume of the Bâle edition (1553).

It is very likely that Chapman made his first acquaintance with Politianus in his college days, although he neither mentions nor adapts him till much later in life. It is between the years 1610 and 1614, when Chapman was over fifty years old, that he seems to have read Politianus most consistently. We can easily imagine why: Chapman was then busy completing his translation of Homer, and his attention would naturally enough have been called to all those who had attempted what he himself triumphantly achieved. Perhaps even—and no blame to him for that—he consulted the earlier translations of the "Prince of Poets," and found in them some suggestions for his own. Now, one of the best known among them, and perhaps one of the best, was Angelus Politianus' version of the *Iliad* in Latin hexameters. It was very incomplete, for Angelus started with the second book,¹ and did not proceed beyond the fifth; but the enterprise was a remarkable one for a youth of sixteen, and justified his enviable nickname of "l'Omerico Giovinetto." He certainly contributed to arousing the emulation of the English poet, and we cannot reasonably wonder that Chapman, wanting to commend his translation to the public by offering a selection of the most enthusiastic and authoritative criticisms of Homer, should have appealed to Angelus Politianus among the very first.

Thus it is that the "Dedication to the Reader" prefixed to the *Translation of the Iliad* contains a fragment translated from Politianus, and inserted between the praise of Homer due to Silius Italicus and that which occurs in Pliny's *Natural History*. The order adopted by Chapman, even if due to inadvertency, is extremely interesting, as it proves, better than any long disquisition could do, in what relation the Latin humanists of the Renaissance stood to the old Latin classics in the estimation of the Elizabethans. Indeed they did not make much more difference between classics and neo-classics than the Middle Ages did between such writers as Dictys Cretensis or Dares Phrygius and Ovid or Virgil.

¹ The first book had been translated by Carlo Marsuppini.

The passage chosen by Chapman is taken from the *Nutricia*, the last of the four *Prolusioni in versi* which Politianus wrote as introductions to his literary courses and published under the joint title, *Sylvae*. The *Nutricia*, a long poem of 790 lines, written in 1486, is, as its subtitle points out, an *argumentum de poetica et poetis*; that is to say, a learned review of all the great poets of antiquity and the Middle Ages. The review culminates in a clever tribute paid to Lorenzo's poetical merits. So much does this review resemble a mere enumeration, that Homer is dismissed in ten lines, between a passing mention of such old epic poets as Philemon or Chrysosthemis and a cursory praise of Virgil in an even smaller number of feet. These ten lines on Homer, which are themselves an adaptation from two Greek epigrams,¹ Chapman has adapted in his turn, expanding them into the fourteen lines of a regular sonnet. A comparison of the English with the Latin will show that the adaptation is skilful enough, although a little awkward at the beginning:²

Nam Demodoci vivacior aevo
Fama meletaeis gaudet juvenescere
chartis;
Et tua, neritias invitò pectine mensas
Qui celebras.

Etenim ut stellas fugere
undique caelo,
Aurea cum radios Hyperionis exse-
ruit fax,
Cerminus, et tenuem velut evanescere
lunam;
Sic veterum illustres flagranti ob-
securat honores
Lampade Maeonides: unum quem,
dia canentem
Facta virūm et saevas aequantem
pectine pugnas,

More living than in old Demodocus,
Fame glories to wax young in
Homer's verse.

And as when bright Hyperion holds
to us

His golden torch, we see the stars
disperse,
And every way fly heaven, the pallid
moon

Even almost vanishing before his
sight;

So, with the dazzling beams of
Homer's sun,

All other ancient poets lose their
light.

Whom when Apollo heard, out of his
star,

¹ *Anthology*, I, lxvii, 1 and 7.

² We quote Politianus from Del Lungo's reprint entitled: *Prose volgari inedite e poesie latine e greche edite e inedite* (Florence, 1867). We use the only available edition of Chapman's poems, that by Shepherd (London, Chatto & Windus, 1904).

Obstupuit prorsusque parem confessus Apollo est [ll. 336 ff.].

Singing the godlike acts of honour'd men,
And equalling the actual rage of war,
With only the divine strains of his pen,
He stood amazed and freely did confess
Himself was equall'd in Maeonides [p. 241].

Similarly, when Chapman prefixed to his translation of the first twelve cantos of the *Odyssey* an "Epistle dedicatory to the most worthily honoured, my singular good Lord, Robert, Earl of Somerset, Lord Chamberlain, etc.," he thought he could extol Homer no better than by letting Politianus speak for him again. The passage chosen by Chapman with that purpose is taken from the *Ambra*, which stands third among the *Sylvae*, and was written in 1485. This poem, an easy, graceful eulogy of Homer, is mainly a verse-replica of Politianus' earlier prose-work: *Oratio in expositionem Homeri*, which is itself largely adapted from the elaborate Greek essays of Pseudo-Plutarch and Pseudo-Herodotus. Chapman's choice fell upon the somewhat high-flown periods with which the poem opens. We should not wonder at this, however, for the enthusiastic note is as eagerly struck by Chapman himself as by his Italian predecessor, perhaps not without an afterthought: the sublimer Homer was represented to be, the more honor accrued to his translator.

It seems unnecessary to reprint here the Latin and the English texts. Let it suffice to say that the 19 lines which Chapman borrowed from Politianus (ll. 12-30) were expanded by him into nearly twice their original number (exactly 35), partly owing to the extreme conciseness of the Latin, hardly to be equaled in English, partly owing to a certain long-windedness which is not infrequently a blot on Chapman's style.

Another remark may not be devoid of interest: whereas Chapman elsewhere borrowed freely from Petrarch, Jovianus Pontanus, and Angelus Politianus himself without acknowledgment, in his two dedications he not only did not try to conceal his indebtedness, but rather prided himself on being the English interpreter of such a

divine poet as Angelus. These are the two lines prefixed to the Sonnet suggested by the *Nutricia*:

Now hear an Angel sing our poet's fame,
Whom fate, for his divine song, gave that name.

Similarly, in his dedication to the *Translation of the Odyssey*, Chapman appends a note to warn the reader that his epistle is partly adapted from the Latin; he even takes great care to quote the first lines of the original and give the exact reference:

Cujus de gurgite vivo
Combibit arcanos vatum omnis turba furores, etc.
Ex Angeli Politiani Ambra. 12.

He is as honest and as scrupulous a scholar when he writes in another footnote, at the end of the appropriated passage: "Thus far Angel. Politianus, for the most part, translated."

These quotations have their importance, for they prove that Chapman, like so many of his contemporaries, like our own Montaigne, was quite willing to show himself in the light of an imitator, when he happened to be in the mood, thus denying to some modern source-hunter the malignant joy of hurling at him the accusation of larceny. Let us once for all accept the unwritten code of Elizabethan imitation. We need not then frown upon Chapman because he happens not to have acknowledged publicly the two extensive borrowings which we are now to consider.

Sir Sidney Lee is, we think, the only one to have noticed that Chapman's *Epicede, or, Funerall Song: On the most disastrous Death of the High-borne Prince of Men, Henry Prince of Wales* is largely an adaptation of Politianus' Latin elegy on the death of Albiera Albitia. As he was content with stating the fact in a few lines,¹ and as both the Latin and the English poems deserve our close attention in more than one respect, we purpose to study their relations, with a view to

¹ In *The French Renaissance in England*, 1910, p. 466, note: "Another instance of Chapman's habit of 'imitation' is perhaps more curious. Many of the most moving passages in his *Epicede or Funerall Song on the most disastrous Death of . . . Henry Prince of Wales* (1612) boldly adopt long extracts from Politian's *Elegia sive Epicedion In Albierae Albitiae immaturum exitum, ad Sismundum Stupham eius sponsum, Opera, Lyons, 1546*, tom. iii, 259 seq."

determining Chapman's share of originality and weighing his merits as a writer of occasional poetry.¹

That Chapman, having decided to dedicate a poem to the memory of the Prince of Wales, should have been anxious to get his verse tribute printed and ready for sale early does not surprise us in the least, for he certainly knew that almost every poet of any mark at the time, aware of the immense popularity of the prince, would be sure to work on the same subject. Of a rather jealous nature, he went even so far as to make curious allusions to his poetical rivals in his invocation to the Muse:

What poison'd Asterism may his death accuse,
Tell thy astonish'd prophet, deathless Muse,
And make my stars therein, the more adverse,
The more advance with sacred rage my verse,
And so adorn my dearest Fautor's hearse,
That all the wits profane of these bold times
May fear to spread the spawn of their rank rhymes
On any touch of him, that should be sung
To ears divine, and ask an Angel's tongue [ll. 325-33].

These lines are the more unfair as the "wits profane" who dared versify their grief on that occasion were named Campion, Drummond of Hawthornden, Heywood, Tourneur, Webster, Sylvester, Donne, Herbert, Wither.²

That Chapman, in his hurry to be the first, should have looked for some material inspiration in the verse of an older writer, is nothing surprising either, for in such cases the Elizabethans did not crave to be thought strictly original, as the poetically gifted among us pretend to be when writing a piece of occasional poetry on a subject as novel as birth, marriage, or death.³

Further, that the works of Politianus should have been among the first which it occurred to Chapman to use in this predicament is hardly more astonishing; for we have already mentioned the fact that

¹ Politian's elegy begins on p. 238 of Del Lungo's edition; and Chapman's poem on p. 165 of the edition cited.

² John Nichols gives a long list of tracts on the death of Prince Henry in his *Progresses of King James the First*, II, 504 ff.

³ Examples are numerous: one to the point is that of Ben Jonson incorporating passages from the younger Pliny's *Panegyric of Trajanus* in his *Panegyre on the happy Entrance of James our Sovereign*, etc. See B. Jonson, *Discoveries*, ed. Castelain, p. 154.

the Italian humanist seems to have been read a great deal by Chapman about 1612, the year of Prince Henry's death. But we may wonder that Chapman should have chosen for his pattern a poem seemingly so little fitted for the occasion. He had to bewail the death of an eighteen-year-old prince, heir-apparent to the throne of England; Politianus had deplored the premature death of Albiera degli Albizzi, a Florentine girl of fifteen, soon to become a wife, who had been suddenly taken ill after a dance on Midsummer Night, 1473. Chapman's *Epicede* was to be dedicated to his "affectionate and true friend, Mr. Henry Jones"; Politianus' elegy was written for Albiera's fiancé, Gismondo della Stufa, and a great deal of its most genuine and most tender pathos revolved around the infinite sadness of that sweet impending marriage ruthlessly hindered by death. All this Chapman had to leave aside; but Politianus' elegy, once shorn of all that was inappropriate for the occasion, would obviously have been too thin and too impersonal to fill the poet's purpose. That is why all the beginning of the English poem—exactly the first 353 lines, out of 657—is Chapman's own; or at least it embodies his main preoccupations so well, and develops themes so usual with him, that, unless we be very much mistaken, it is needless to look for any source.

Perhaps the very first thing which strikes the reader in this original half of the poem is its discursiveness and lack of unity. The author's thought seems to proceed at random, as if it had no other aim than to lead up to the part adapted from Politianus. After the religious note has been struck, right at the beginning of the dirge, by these lines:

Ever, ever be
Admired and fear'd that Triple Majesty
Whose finger could so easily stick a fate
"Twixt least felicity and greatest state! [ll. 7-10]

the poet alludes to the mysteriousness of the ways of God, who chooses

Only to show the world men fit for heaven,
Then ravish them as if too good for earth.

When he has duly proposed the fate of the unfortunate Henry as a lesson to all the princes of the world, the poet proceeds to rebuke

Death for its cruelty, and then passes on to the whole-hearted praise of his hero. Most characteristic of Chapman's disposition is his trick of inveighing against the "enemies of goodness" in proportion as he extols the goodness and virtues of his "Prince of men." Thus a mention of the latter's abhorrence of flattery has for its immediate counterpart an "apostrophe" against flatterers:

Flatterers are household thieves, traitors by law,
That rot king's honours and their souls' blood draw
[ll. 213-14].

The author's thought becomes then laxer and laxer, although it is occasionally relieved by a splendid simile possibly lifted from some ancient writer. We are thus brought to the threshold of the second half of the poem (ll. 354-657), in which Chapman mainly adapts the Florentine elegy.

A careful reading of the Latin text will make it clear that Chapman had selected a fine model, and that in spite of appearances, a few suppressions and a limited number of alterations were sufficient to make it quite suitable to the occasion. The consolatory lines addressed by Politianus to Albiera's unhappy young fiancé could be equally well applied to Henry's royal father, or to his sister Elisabeth, herself betrothed to the Palsgrave. It was not much more difficult to do away with the exquisite verse portrait of Albiera (ll. 25-42), as well as with the short description of the festival soon after which she succumbed (ll. 59-80). Chapman chose to omit, along with these two passages, the more general exordium (ll. 1-24) and a brief invocation to Sorrow (ll. 43-58), so that the imitation really begins with l. 83. The elaborate theme which is introduced with that line and continued to the end of the elegy is what appealed to Chapman, and seemed to him worth putting into English verse.

Under the joint influence of classical antiquity and the Renaissance taste for allegorical pageants of all sorts, Politianus had imagined the following device: he made his Muse narrate all the circumstances of Albiera's death and funeral in the style which we presume to have been that of the Muses ever since there were Muses at all: a florid and figurative style, by means of which everything is personified

that can be personified, and that means nearly every substantive in the language. Thalia accordingly tells the pain-stricken poet how Rhamnusia (the Roman Nemesis), jealous of Albiera's accomplishments, met Fever, daughter to Erebus and Night, as she was flying through Heaven on a chariot drawn by Marmarian lions. Then follows an enumeration of all the personages who accompany her:

Luctusque et tenebris Mors adoperta caput,
Et Gemitus gravis, et Gemitu commixta Querela,
Singultusque frequens, Anxietasque ferox,
Et Tremor, et Macies, pavidoque Insania vultu,
Semper et ardenti pectore anhela Sitis [ll. 98 ff.].

Rhamnusia then hastens to recommend Albiera to Fever's worst attacks. The horrid, blood-thirsty hag readily visits the maid; one touch of her torch, and a deadly flame scorches Albiera to the marrow. She soon feels her end approaching, takes leave of her dear Gismondo in the noblest terms, and breathes her last with no less gracefulness than she had lived. The elegy concludes with an account of her funeral and a four-line epitaph.

Such is the poetical fiction which Chapman hastily adopted in his *Funeral Song*. The Christian and moralizing note which he had kept striking throughout the former half made it of course difficult for him to pass over to the pagan elements and the fantastic mythology which make up the latter part of the poem. A great deal of cleverness and a fine sense for transitions might have smoothed the way from one to the other; but Chapman never had these gifts to any great extent, and he altogether failed to harmonize his own invention with that of Politianus. Nothing indeed could be more awkward than the two lines which mark the end of the moral lesson and announce the "Musae Lachrymae," that fictitious narrative which Chapman, along with Politianus, trusts his Muse to relate for him:

With this it thunder'd, and a lightning show'd
Where she sat writing in a sable cloud.

But the Muse does not seem to be much more skilled than her learned disciple, for her exordium is as awkward as can be; and it is at the

end of an interminable, loosely built period that Chapman tacked on the first lines taken over from the Latin:¹

All other Princes with his parts comparing
Like all Heaven's petty luminaries faring,
To radiant Lucifer, the day's first-born [ll. 354-56].

If we now examine the translation in itself, what chiefly strikes us is that the Chapmanian version is much longer than the original: Politianus' 200 lines (ll. 83-286) have become over 300 in their English rendering (ll. 354-657). We do find, it is true, a number of passages in which the English, closely modeled on the Latin, is almost as short.² But it is very seldom that Chapman does not lengthen his original. In a few cases, he turns one line into two for no other reason than that prolixity is one of his *pêchés mignons*. Thus Rhamnusia's fierce ejaculation to Fever:

Aspicis hanc puellam
Quae gaudet, fati sortisque ignara futurae? [ll. 131-33]

reads in English:

Seest thou this Prince
Who joys securely in all present state,
Nor dreams what Fortune is, or future Fate? [ll. 428-31].

The half-line:

Tenebris Mors adoperta caput [l. 98]

is turned into:

Infernal Death,
His head hid in a cloud of sensual breath [ll. 380-81].

Cases such as these, in which Chapman weakens his original by the lengthening, are, however, the exception. His imagination seems to be almost constantly at work on his text, or rather his text is only

¹ The Latin has:

Tamque suas vincit comites, quam Lucifer ore
Purpureo rutilans astris minorâ premit [ll. 83-84].

² The words with which Death threatens the Prince are a good example:

Quae placidam carpis secura mente quietem,
Et fati et sortis nescia virgo tuae,
Nondum saeva meae sensisti vulnera
dextræ,
Quæ tibi ego et tecum quæ tibi fata
parant.
Stat vacua tua Parca colo, moritura puella;
Ne gemæ, cum dulce est vivere, dulce mori
est [ll. 155-60].

Henry, why takest thou thus thy rest
secure?
Nought doubting what Fortune and Fates
assure.
Thou never yet felt'st my red right hand's
maim
That I to thee and fate to me proclaims;
Thy fate stands idle; spins no more thy
thread;
If thou must, great Prince, sigh not,
If sweet it be to live, 'tis sweet to die
[ll. 474-81].

the canvas on which his powerful imagination fancifully embroiders all sorts of images. Some examples are very striking. Politianus thus describes the Marmarian Lions who draw Fever's chariot:

Marmaricique trahunt dominae juga curva leones,
Igneaqueis rabido murmure corda fremunt [ll. 105-6].

Chapman translates:

Marmarian Lions, fringed with flaming manes,
Drew this grim fury and her brood of banes,
Their hearts of glowing coals murmur'd and roar'd
To bear her crook'd yokes [ll. 392-95].

That fine metaphor "fringed with flaming manes" is entirely of Chapman's invention. "Ignea corda" has become: "their hearts of glowing coals." This last alteration is particularly interesting, for it has dozens of analogues in the *Funeral Song*. Chapman finds the Latin too tame, too abstract for him, and substitutes for it a more concrete word which is an image by itself. Thus

Faucibus in salsis tussis acerba sonat [l. 118]

is rendered:

And in her salt jaws painful coughs did bark [l. 415].

Similarly “Trepidaeque Insomnia mentis” (l. 103) is translated: “hare-eyed Unrest” (l. 388), with reference to “the property of the Hare that never shuts her eyes sleeping”; and the hexameter:

Continuo ardentes stimulis citat illa leones [l. 139]

reads in English:

Who stung with goads her roaring lions' thighs.

Sometimes, it is true, Chapman in his fondness for striking poetical utterances lapses into sheer brutality of expression, reaching effects of the worst imaginable taste:

Atque animi interpres *liventi* lingua
veneno The mind's interpreter, her scorched tongue.

Manat

Flow'd with *blue* poison; from her
yawning mouth

*Sputa cadunt rictu croceo contracta
dolore [ll. 111 ff.].*

Rheums fell like spouts fill'd from
the stormy South [ll. 405 ff.].

Here is an even more typical example:

Jam virgo effertur *nigro* composta
feretro [l. 251].

Now the gloomy hearse
Puts out the Sun [ll. 592-93].

But the images, mythological or otherwise, which the text has suggested to Chapman, are not infrequently felicitous, as this one for instance:

Interea humentem noctis variantia pallam	And now Heaven's Smith kindled his forge and blew,
Hesperus in rutilo sparserat astra polo [ll. 141-42].	And through the round Pole thick the sparkles flew ¹ [ll. 450-51].

One or two examples will illustrate the extraordinary way in which Chapman's imagination sometimes set to work on one word of his original. Politianus, in his description of Fever, has these two perfectly intelligible lines:

Vertice Diva feras ardenti attollit echidnas,
Quae saniem stygio semper ab ore vomunt [ll. 107-8].

Chapman apparently glanced at these lines the first time and translated rightly:

A wreath of adders bound her trenched brows [l. 390].

Then he read them a second time, but his active mind was already on a new track, for they seemed altogether new to him, and, forgetting all about his first version, he wrote a second, entirely different:

Then from Hell's burning whirlpit up she haul'd
The horrid monster, fierce Echidna call'd;
That from her Stygian jaws doth vomit ever
Quittance and venom, yet is empty never [ll. 398-401].

The reader will have noticed that Chapman, having mistaken *vertex* meaning "head" for *vertex* meaning "whirlpool," "whirlpit," made a *contresens*, gave to *attollit* the meaning of "hauled," which it evidently cannot have, and read into the text an allusion to Echidna, the mother of Cerberus,² whereas Politianus had only meant the vipers which crowned the head of Fever, that younger sister of the Furies.

Nor is this the only case which proves how hurried and unmethodical Chapman was in his reading, and how ready he was to start on a

¹ Chapman appended an explanatory gloss, as he often did when his verse was somewhat abstruse: "The starry evening described by Vulcan's setting to work at that time, the night being ever chiefestly consecrated to the works of the gods; and out of this deity's fires the stars are supposed to fly as sparkles of them."

² Chapman probably remembered the passage in Ovid (*Met.* iv. 501) in which she is mentioned.

new imaginative track, on the very slightest provocation. Exactly the same thing happened a few lines farther down. Proceeding with his description of Fever, Politianus had written:

Dextera fumiferam praefulgens lampada quassat,
Sithoniasque gerit frigida laeva nives [ll. 121-22].

Chapman probably glanced at the distich before reading it carefully; his eye caught the two words "fumiferam lampada," which his lively imagination immediately identified with the hectic red hand of the Monster, and he wrote:

Her sluttish hand
She held out reeking like a new-quenched brand [ll. 416-17].

He then read his text a little less cursorily and translated it with more accuracy:

In her left hand a quenchless fire did glow,
And in her right palm freezed Sithonian snow [ll. 420-21],

allowing his first tentative version to remain as it was, although it made the whole passage read as if Fever had three hands.

Still, all these additions do not account for the 100 extra lines of Chapman's rendering. In a number of cases he tacked on to his text images devised entirely by himself: these are mostly remarkable for their heterogeneousness. He has for instance an elaborate comparison of the "Kingdom's plight" after the Prince's death with "the state of Sir Th. Gates's ship and men" when "the tempest cast them on the Bermudas."¹

Such imagery is, however, exceptional: he more often introduces a shorter simile drawn from mythology, as:

Now weeps his Princely Brother; now, alas,
His Cynthian Sister, our sole earthly Grace,
Like Hebe's fount still overflows her bounds [ll. 573-75];

or:

And see how the Promethean liver grows
As vulture Grief devours it [ll. 579-80].

¹ Sir Thomas Gates had been at the head of an important expedition to colonize Virginia. He sailed at the end of May, 1609, with nine ships. Only seven arrived. The flagship "Sea-Venture" was separated from the rest of the fleet by a terrific hurricane, and stranded on the rocks of Bermuda. This disaster aroused keen interest at the time, and was the subject of several tracts.

Once he even devises a new theme, or rather introduces a worn-out *motif*, by making Venus one of the Prince's mourners, and depicting her

As much confused as when the Calidon Boar
The thigh of her divine Adonis tore [ll. 628-29].

The catalogue of these additions will be about complete when we have mentioned a few allusions to the visitors at the Prince's death-bed: the archbishop of Canterbury and Sir Edward Phillips, Master of the Rolls; and when we have quoted these beautiful lines of moral satire, so characteristic of Chapman's most original manner:

This death all men to the marrow wears,
All that are men; the rest, those drudging beasts
That only bear of men the coats and crests,
And for their slave, sick, that can earn them pence,
More mourn, O Monsters, than for such a Prince;
Whose souls do ebb and flow still with their gain,
Whom nothing moves but pelf and their own pain;
Let such, great Heaven, be only born to bear
All that can follow this mere massacre [ll. 508-16].

From all that precedes, we can conclude that Chapman freely adapted and enlarged his original, and that his translation is never very literal. In other words, his imitation is no slavery, his riotous imagination remains unshackled, and he never denies admission to the metaphors, similes, or satirical outbursts which his subject-matter or his own invention suggests to him.

But enrichment does not necessarily mean improvement. On the contrary, we miss in the Chapman poem the very quality which raises the Latin elegy to a high artistic level—unity. No doubt Politianus' elegy is, like all his poetry, a mosaic of many classical reminiscences, but the Italian succeeded in fusing them together and turning out a graceful, well-proportioned poem of singular beauty, whereas the Englishman does not even seem to have felt the necessity of harmonizing the historical reality of his subject with the fantastic mythology which he adopted for its poetical setting. A few examples will make this plain. The inspiration and allegorical imagery of the Politianesque threne are entirely pagan, with the

exception of an allusion to the Christian burial of Albiera (ll. 275-80). However, the taste of the poet is so exquisite and his workmanship so perfect that nobody notices this, or, at least, nobody who does can think for a moment that it detracts from the artistic value of the whole. The same thing cannot be said of Chapman's poem. One can hardly fail, for instance, to resent the mythological paraphernalia at the end:

Behold in Heaven Love with his broken bow,
His quiver downwards turn'd, his brands put out,
Hanging his wings with sighs all black about [ll. 623-25],

so little congruous to the Christian prayer at the beginning:

Ever, ever be
Admired and fear'd that triple Majesty [ll. 7-8].

But this is not the only capital sin of the Chapman elegy; it lacks to a degree the emotional unity which is the greatest charm of the Latin poem. The last words of Albiera to Gismondo (ll. 191-220) are a masterpiece of sincere and tender pathos. The Prince's farewell to his royal father is dry and stilted, and passes altogether unnoticed in the poem. It is noteworthy that Chapman, conscious of his lack of lyrical ability, cut down Albiera's dying speech to one-third of its original length, and did not even try to be pathetic. Whatever unity his elegy may have springs less from the disinterested feelings raised in him by the death of a young prince full of promise, than from the moral satire which is to be found on every page. No doubt the poet grieves, but we have somehow the feeling that he grieves because he had looked up to Prince Henry as to a bountiful literary patron, whose disappearance might mean the baffling of all his hopes of preferment at court. Three passages seem to us pretty conclusive in this regard. The first, which is in the *Dedication*, strikes a note of genuine, although selfish, grief:

The most unvaluable and dismayful loss of my most dear and heroic Patron, Prince Henry, hath so stricken all my spirits to the earth, that I will never more dare to look up to any greatness; but resolving the little rest of my poor life to obscurity and the shadow of his death, prepare ever hereafter for the light of Heaven.

But the second and third passages, taken from the sonnet and epigram appended at the end, cannot be misinterpreted:

Not thy thrice-sacred will,
Sign'd with thy death, moves any to fulfil
Thy just bequests to me. Thou dead, then I
Live dead, for giving thee eternity.

Ad Famam.

To all times future this time's mark extend:
Homer no patron found, nor Chapman friend.

The Prince of Wales had been buried hardly three weeks when another courtly event—a merry one this time—stimulated the Muse of all the poets more or less closely connected with the royal family: Frederic, Count Palatine and Elector, who had for some time “so addressed himself and applied to the Lady Elisabeth [the late prince's sister], that he seemed to take delight in nothing but her company and conversation,”¹ was “affianced and contracted” to her “on S. John's day, the twenty-seventh of December 1612.” The marriage took place on the following Shrove Sunday, February 14, 1612/13, and was the occasion of extraordinary public rejoicings. Indeed the general mirth seems to have been as measureless as the grief of the nation had been deep and sincere throughout the gloomy months of November and December, 1612. A folio volume could scarcely contain all the epithalamia and tracts of various sorts published on this occasion: John Taylor, the “water-poet,” Thomas Heywood, George Wither, and John Donne all contributed “triumphal encomiasticke verses.” Three of the best poets of the time, Campion, our own Chapman, and Francis Beaumont, wrote every one his masque. These were respectively performed on February 14, 15, and 20 in the banqueting-house at Whitehall. Chapman's masque does not concern us directly, but it was followed by a *Hymn to Hymen*,² and this hymn—a short one, for it has only 84 lines—is the next poem which

¹ Letter of Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, November 3, 1612, quoted by Nichols in his *Progresses of King James I*, II, 467.

² Chapman's *Poems*, ed. cit., p. 176.

we intend to examine carefully as evincing once more Chapman's familiarity with Italian neo-Latinist poetry.

It is a new name we have to add to the long list of authors whom our poet is known to have laid under contribution: that of "Il preclaro poeta Messer Giovan Pontano, de scientia e virtù famosissimo," Jovianus Pontanus, as he named himself in Latin. Chapman's hymn to Elisabeth is nothing more than a "contamination" of two poems of Pontanus, the third and fourth pieces in the third book of the *De Amore Conjugali*.¹ Was Chapman again in a hurry, or was he simply conscious of his limitations as a writer of occasional poetry, and distrustful of his own powers of invention? Whatever be the answer to these questions, he again resorted to foreign help; and we must own—as in the cases in which he imitated Petrarch and Politianus—that his choice could hardly have gone to a better and more inspiring model.

The *De Amore Conjugali* is full of the most charming poetry that fifteenth-century Italy produced. It is chiefly remarkable for expressing with renewed sincerity, in the simplest, easiest, and most graceful style, the very same human feelings which centuries of elegiac poetry seemed to have worn threadbare: as, for instance, love, the grief of separation, the happiness of being home again after a war, exultation at the birth of a son. All these feelings, intimately associated with the delightful rustic scenery of which Pontanus was such a sensuous lover, harmoniously combine a certain idyllic charm with the most vigorous freshness and reality. This half-personal, half-bucolic element is perhaps nowhere more noticeable than in the two nuptial hymns in which Pontanus celebrated the marriage of his daughters, Aurelia and Eugenia (1483). These two epithalamia, which Chapman, as we have said, condensed into one, have a most definite plan of action, as if they were small dramas, or dramatic idylls, as Browning would have said. It is to no other abode than to the poet's villa of Antignano, on St. Elmo Hill, not far from Naples, that the god Hymen is summoned at the very beginning of both, and it is again on a rustic note that the *Epithalamium in nuptiis Aureliae filiae* closes.

¹ Chapman knew perhaps the widely diffused edition published at Bâle in 1556: *Joannis Joviani Pontani Opera in quatuor tomos digesta*.

Pontanus made his local coloring even more striking by introducing *in persona propria* several ideal characters, intimately connected with Antignano, all of whom bear an important part in the celebration of the nuptial ceremony. The most pathetic of them all is Pontanus' own deceased wife, Adriana Sassone, whom the poet had rechristened Ariadna, and endowed with the supernatural qualities of a nymph, without allowing her to forego the purely human sweetness of the flesh-and-blood woman she had been. Nothing could be of a more delicate feeling than to raise her up from the realm of the Departed and invite her to give her blessing to the brides dearest to her motherly heart. Hardly less felicitous is the appearance of that other favorite nymph of Pontanus, Antiniana, in whom he likes to personify his own dear villa. She it is whose voice urges Hymen to lavish all his treasures of joy and happiness upon Aurelia; she it is who gives her last advice to Eugenia on the bridal eve. Other personages in the latter epithalamium are a choir of country girls, *pueriae*, who sing their sweetest song to entice Hymen to come, and a peasant, *agricola*, who exalts the ineffable joys of married life, thus persuading Eugenia to leave her father's house and follow her husband with a confident heart.

Nor are these the only intimations of country life in the two hymns: the poet's imagination was so richly fed with country sights that all his imagery is derived from nature. How charming that imagery is, Chapman probably felt, for all that he borrowed from the former epithalamium is two of its most splendid similes. And here we recognize the Chapman we know, the Chapman of the tragedies and of the *Iliad*, the lover of full-blooded epic comparisons. These are the two passages in Pontanus, along with Chapman's English version:

Ut flos, aestivo sitiens cum terra calore,	And as a flower, half scorch'd with day's long heat,
Nocturno refici lassus ab himbre cupit,	Thirsts for refreshing with night's cooling sweat,
Non illum Zephyrique valent aurae- que recentes	The wings of Zephyr fanning still her face
Mulcere aut densa nexilis umbra coma,	No cheer can add to her heart thirsty grace,

Sola illi est in rore salus, spes omnis
in himbri,
Languet honos, cecidit languida
sole coma;
Sic tacitos in corde fovens nova
nupta calores,
Optato refici coniugis ore petit,
Non illam patris amplexus, non
oscula matris
Aut iuvat artifici purpura picta
manu;
Suspirat tantum amplexus, tantum
ora mariti,
Moeret, abestque illi qui fuit ante
decor [ll. 69 ff.].¹

Yet wears she 'gainst those fires
that make her fade,
Her thick hairs proof, all hid in mid-
night's shade;
Her health is all in dews, hope all in
showers,
Whose want bewail'd, she pines in all
her powers:
So love-scorch'd virgins nourish
quenchless fires;
The father's cares, the mother's kind
desires,
Their gold and garments of the new-
est guise
Can nothing comfort their scorch'd
fantasies,
But, taken ravish'd up in Hymen's
arms,
His circle holds for all their anguish
charms [ll. 9 ff.].

Ut flos in verno laetatus sole nitescit
Fulgidus, et gaudet purpura
honore suo,
Mane tepor; sub solem aurae, ros
noctis in umbra
Mulcet, et ipse suas iactat honestus
opes;
In molli sic virgo toro complexa
maritum
Nuda nitet, caro ludit amata
sinu,
Mane sopor, sub sole viri suspiria
mulcent,
Nocte iterata venus, saepe recep-
tus hymen,
Dulcis Hymen, Hymenaeus, Hymen
[ll. 85 ff.].

Then, as a glad graft in the spring
sun shines,
That all the helps of earth and
heaven combines
In her sweet growth, puts in the
morning on
Her cheerful airs, the sun's rich fires
at noon,
At even the sweet dews, and at night
with stars
In all their virtuous influences shares;
So in the bridegroom's sweet em-
brace, the bride
All varied joys tastes in their naked
pride,
To which the richest weeds are weeds
to flowers.
Come Hymen, then [ll. 23 ff.].

¹ We quote from the excellent edition of Benedetto Soldati: *Ioannis Ioviani Pontani Carmina* (Florence, 1902), Vol. II.

In the second epithalamium, Chapman was also tempted by an image hardly less beautiful than those which we have just quoted from the first:¹

Ut tener aprico crescens hyacinthus in horto	And as the tender hyacinth, that grows
Ipse manu colitur, ipse regatur aqua,	Where Phoebus most his golden beams bestows,
Illum aurae tepidique fovent sub sole calores	Is propt with care, is water'd every hour,
Guttaque, nocturno quae vaga rore cadit;	The sweet winds adding their increas- ing power,
At postquam culto nituit spectatus agello,	The scatter'd drops of night's refresh- ing dew
Ipse tener domini carpitur ungue sui;	Hasting the full grace of his glorious hue,
Sic tenera in molli crescit quae nata cubili	Which once disclosing must be gather'd straight,
Ipsa sinu matris, ipsa foveatur ope; Hanc et munditiae thalami comp-	Or hue and odour both will lose their height:
tusque decentes, Hanc iuvat artifici purpura texta manu;	So, of a virgin high and richly kept The grace and sweetness full grown must be reap'd,
Sed postquam incaluitque toro cupiit- que hymenaeos, Hanc vir ab iniecta vendicat ipse manu,	Or forth her spirits fly in empty air, The sooner fading, the more sweet and fair [ll. 57 ff.].
Asserit et sibi iure suam [ll. 115 ff.].	

As the reader may have noticed, Chapman slightly altered the end of his last simile: whereas Pontanus simply meant to say: "A maid is taken by her husband as a flower is plucked in the fields,"

¹ Pontanus is, however, not entitled to unalloyed praise, as he took his idea from the two following passages of Catullus:

Talis in vario solet
Divitis dominii hortulo
Stare flos hyacinthinus . . . [lxii, 87 ff.].

Ut flos in septis secretus nascitur hortis,
Ignatus pecori, nullo contusus aratro,
Quem mulcent aurae, firmat sol, educat imber,
Multi illum pueri, multae optavere puellae:
Idem cum tenui carpus defloruit ungui,
Nulli illum pueri, nullae optavere puellae:
Sic virgo, dum intacta manet, dum cara suis; sed
Cum castum amisit polluto corpore florem,
Nec pueri iucunda manet, nec cara puellis [lxii, 39 ff.].

The latter passage was a favorite one with the French Renaissance poets. It was paraphrased with much skill by Jacques Gohorry (*Becq de Fouquières*, p. 314) and Du Bellay (*Olive*, xcvi).

Chapman went one step farther and developed the well-known erotic theme, so often treated by Elizabethan sonneteers:

Fair flowers that are not gathered in their prime
Rot and consume themselves in little time.

Chapman was here led astray by the prevalent taste, for this favorite argument of "unthrifty loveliness," so well adapted to a love-sonnet in which a suitor tries and persuades his mistress to surrender, is quite out of place in an epithalamium addressed to a consenting bride.

The invocation to Hymen, which nearly fills all the latter part of Chapman's hymn, is similarly taken from Pontanus' *Epithalamium in nuptiis Eugeniae filiae*, although the imitation is of a less obvious and more fragmentary character than usual:

Quid cessas, Hymenae? Tibi sua
 basis quaeque,
Amplexusque suos quaeque puella
 parat;
En tibi tractandas damus has sine
 labe papillas,
Mollis Hymen, Hymenae, Hymen,
 Hymenae, venito;
Illa, vides, ut blanda oculis utque
 innuit ore,
Illa, vides, quos docta modos, quae
 carmina cantet,
Haec choreis tete in mediis suspirat,
Haec tibi lacteolas, atque haec,
 atque illa, papillas
Nudat, et: Has, inquit, nudo,
 Hymenae, tibi,
Has et delicias, haec oscula prima
 novosque
Amplexus servo gaudia et illa
 tibi.

Come Hymen, then.
Each virgin keeps
Her odorous kisses for thee.
Why stayest thou? see each virgin
 doth prepare
Embraces for thee, her white breasts
 lays bare
To tempt thy soft hand; lets such
 glances fly
As make stars shoot, to imitate her
 eye.
Sings, dances.
Sighs in her songs and dances, kisseth
 air.

Dicite io, domus omnis io, ager omnis
et aer

Dicat io, resonet longe Hymenaeus
io,

Faustus Hymen, formosus Hymen,
felix Hymenaeus

Laeta canant, felix et sine lite
torus:

Educit teneros foetus, fovet anxia
nidum

Mitis avis, fesso comparat ore
cibum;

Ne saevi, generose; tua est sine lite
puella,

Illa tibi placido est tota fovenda
sinu;

Sit pax, sed sine lite tamen sint
murmura;

Ludite; sed medio in lusu pax
saeviat, ut pax

Rixa sit, ut rixae pax eat ipsa
comes.

Iam ludunt, geminata sonant iam
murmura; postes

Claudite; adesto tuis, sancte
Hymenaei, focus [ll. 11 ff.]

The whole court Iō sings; Iō, the air;
Iō, the floods and fields: Iō, most
fair,

Most sweet, most happy Hymen,
come.

Birds bill, build and breed
To teach thee thy kind.

Gentle, O gentle Hymen, be not
then

Cruel, that kindest art to maids and
men;

These two one twin are, and their
mutual bliss

Not in thy beams, but in thy bosom
is.

Let there be peace, yet murmur, and
that noise

Beget of peace the nuptial battle's
joys.

Hark, hark, O now the sweet twin
murmur sounds;

Hymen is come and all his heat
abounds;

Shut all doors; none but Hymen's
lights advance [ll. 32 ff.]

Should now a total estimate of Chapman's indebtedness to Pontanus be wanted, this is what it would be. The first 31 lines of the hymn—with the exception of the opening 8, which are chiefly original—are a free translation of the epithalamium of Aurelia. The last 53 lines are borrowed from the epithalamium of Eugenia, with an original line here and there: among these we find the last two lines of the poem, which are a repetition of the burden with which the poem opens:

Sing, sing a rapture to all nuptial ears,
Bright Hymen's torch has drunk up Parcae's tears;

and another line which is only the elaboration of a well-known Latin proverb:

Thrice given are free and timely granted suits.

Altogether, this hymn is an unmistakable failure. It has three fine nature-similes, but, for one thing, they are drawn from Pontanus, and, for another, they lose a great deal of their native charm by being torn away from their idyllic, familiar context, and transplanted among the dry, uncongenial surroundings of Chapman's hymn. The burden of erudition lay heavy upon the "Translator of Homer" and he had none of the gracefulness and ease which were characteristic of Pontanus' verse. It is only fortunate that he did not keep the nymphs and country lasses of the Italian poet, for the poor creatures would certainly have lost their Neapolitan sprightliness together with their refined Arcadian manners.

In fact, Chapman's Muse was neither bucolic nor elegiac. The native bent of his genius evidently did not prepare him to interpret the *polizianesca soavità* and the *pontanesca tenerezza* to Jacobite England. There was no consonance between his own poetical temperament and that of the quattrocentist songsters. The curious thing is that, of all Renaissance humanists, he should have chosen for his models precisely those whose attitude toward classical mythology, nature, and life was the most antagonistic to his own.¹

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[The proof of this article was not sent to Lieutenant Schoell, who is a wounded prisoner in Germany.—EDITORS.]

¹ Chapman knew also the works of another Italian humanist, a friend and disciple of Pontanus, the Ferrarese Giglio Gregorio Giraldi, alias Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus (1479–1552). Gyraldus is the author of several compilations, mythological and literary, one of which, the *De deis gentium*, was widely read in England and France in the sixteenth century: Marlowe and Peele knew it, and its author was held in high estimation by Montaigne, who names him as one of the two "tres excellents personnages en sc̄avoir" qui "sont morts en estat de n'avoir pas leur saoul à manger." Chapman drew part of his mythological lore from the *De deis gentium*, as is proved by a gloss to the *Shadow of Night* (*Poems*, p. 17, gloss 8). The gloss runs thus: "This is expounded as followeth by Gyraldus Lilius [in the fourth Syntagma of the *De deis gentium*]. The application [i.e., the simile] most fitly made by this author" [i.e., Chapman]. It would be beyond the scope of this article to give further evidence of Chapman's acquaintance with Gyraldus, as it is not our purpose to find out what particular compilations Chapman used to consult, but rather what kind of neo-Latin verse he read, liked, and imitated.

AN ETYMON FOR ENGLISH "GUN"

Professor Ernest Weekley recently referred to *gun* as "an exasperating word,"¹ thus reflecting the general dissatisfaction with the etymons hitherto proposed. The word is probably a soldier's technical term which made its way into literary use long after it had begun to be current at siege and in battle.

O. Fr. *engin* < INGENIUM, which continued in Eng. as *gynne*, now *gin*, had other forms: *engeng* (*Roman de Thèbes*), which is the regular form outside of the *ɛ+i>i* territory; also *engien*, which appears to answer to a pronunciation *INGĚNUM, cf. *giens* < GENUS. Corresponding closely in meaning with these, but more restricted in territory, we find further *engan*, with a verb *enganer* which Meyer-Lübke (4416) refers to *INGANNARE, this of unknown origin. The territory where *engan* was known and used included the west and northwest of France, extending from Poitou through Normandy northeast to Arras and Hainault.² To illustrate the intermingling of *engin* and *engan* one might cite *Horn*, ed. Michel, 3324: *Qui fu plains d'engins et d'enganz.*

In English it is not apparent which form, whether *gunne* or *gonne*, is the older: probably they were equivalent spellings. The two passages in Chaucer have *gonne* (both in rhyme), and Roger Ascham would have his Courtlie Ientlemen "to shote faire in bow, or surelie in gon." It was with these and other facts in mind that I ran across the following entry in Gachet's *Glossaire roman*, s.v. "enganer": "Le hainuyer a gardé *engonner*; le picard et le bas-normand, *enganer*. . . . A Mons on dit encore *un engon*." If I mistake not, here is the needed intermediary between *engin*—*engan* and Eng. *gun*, and if the statement of a modern cyclopedia—that Edward III in 1327 employed some Hainaulters who used cannon against the Scotch—can be verified, we have perhaps hit upon, if not the very soldiers,

¹ *Transactions of the English Philological Society*, XXXIII, 327.

² From the literary texts may be cited: *Roman de Thèbes* 7961 (in rhyme); Philippe de Thaon, *Best.*, 529, Denis Piramus; Garnier de Pont-Ste-Maxence; Gautier d'Arras, *Herak.*, 6587; Jean Bodel; Jean de Condé, and others.

at least the sort of agents by which the word, in its dialectic form, was brought into England. But I must leave the justification of the local *engon* for *engan*,¹ as well as the filling in of this general outline, to a second series of "French Etymologies" now in preparation.²

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¹ One might compare *Jaon*, like Eng. *John*, for *Jehan*, and other forms, noted by Herzog, *Neufranzösische Dialekttexte*, § 124.

² Cf. *Modern Philology*, X, 439 ff.

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THE AUTHORSHIP OF TWO ITALIAN GENTLEMEN

The authorship of the early Elizabethan comedy *Fidele and Fortunio*, the *Two Italian Gentlemen*, long ascribed to Anthony Munday, has recently been called in question and an attempt has been made to assign the play to George Chapman. It is not, perhaps, a matter of supreme importance which of these authors is responsible for this play. It is not an original work¹ and has little intrinsic value. As the latest editor of Chapman, however, I feel bound to give my reasons for the exclusion of this play from the recently published edition of his comedies, and to explain why it will not appear in the supplementary volume of *Chapman's Plays and Poems*, where, if there were any sufficient reason for attaching it to his name, the student of Chapman might reasonably expect to find it. I wish therefore to make a somewhat more detailed examination than has yet appeared of the history of this play and of the reasons for ascribing it to Munday or Chapman.

The *Stationers' Register* for November 12, 1584, contains the following entry:

A booke entituled fedele et fortuna. The deceiptes in love Discoursed in a Commedia of ii Italian gent. and translated into English.

Apart from a reference to one of the characters, Crackstone, and his "cannibal words" by Nash ("Have with you to Saffron Walden," *Works*, III, 102) there is, so far as I know, no contemporary allusion

¹ The play is an adaptation of Luigi Pasqualigo's *Il Fedele*, 1576. A Latin version of this play by Abraham Fraunce, dating ca. 1582-83, has been edited by Professor Moore Smith in the *Materialien zur Kunde*. Fraunce's work follows the original much more closely than the English play does. See *Modern Language Review*, III, 178.

to this play, and apart from certain inaccurate references in Langbaine and the old play lists, it was apparently lost to sight till rediscovered by Collier, who gave a short account of it in his *History of English Dramatic Poetry* (ed. 1831, p. 241). Halliwell printed some extracts in his *Literature of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, and recently, a copy of the original Q having turned up in the Duke of Devonshire's library, it has been reprinted by the Malone Society (1909).

Collier in a note (p. 241) stated that "not more than two copies of this piece are known to exist, one without the title-page, the other wanting also the dedication." The Devonshire copy, apparently one of those known to Collier, lacks both title-page and dedication, and no other copy is at present known to exist. It has been suggested therefore (*Malone Society Collections*, I, 3, pp. 219 ff.) that Collier's copy containing the dedication signed A.M. may never have existed and that the dedication may be the composition of Collier himself. After my discovery of Collier's forgery of the dedication to *All Fools* no one can be more likely than myself to suspect an unsupported statement of Collier's, but in this case there seems to be another witness to the existence of the copy containing the Dedication. Hazlitt (*Handbook to English Literature*, p. 406) has the following statement:

Only two copies are known, neither of which has the title-page. . . . Dedicated to John Heardston, Esq., by A.M.; on the reverse of this dedication is a Prologue spoken before the Queen, consisting of two six-line stanzas. The dedication is printed in Collier's *H.E.D.P.*; it is only in one of the two known copies.

An attempt has been made by Mr. Greg, the editor of the *Malone Society Collection* (I, 3, p. 220), to discredit this corroboration on the ground that Hazlitt mentions a Prologue to the Queen which Collier does not, although such a prologue would naturally have caught his attention. He then goes on to suggest that Collier's citation (*H.E.D.P.*, p. 243) of two six-line stanzas is responsible for Hazlitt's statement, and concludes: "It would be unsafe to regard Hazlitt's note as anything but a confused and inaccurate summary of Collier's description." This conclusion seems to me, I confess, quite too severe. Since Collier does not mention a Prologue before the Queen—he

states in fact that we do not know whether the play was ever acted—Hazlitt cannot by any process of reasoning however confused have got the idea of such a prologue from Collier. The stanzas quoted by Collier¹ are a love-song and cannot possibly be taken as a prologue of any sort and, a point which Mr. Greg fails to note, Hazlitt makes the explicit statement that they occur on "the reverse of the Dedication," whereas Collier's citation is taken from the body of the play (B, iii, *verso*). I think one of two things is clear: either Hazlitt saw a copy of Q containing both Dedication and Prologue, or he deliberately invented the latter. In the first case we have a corroboration of Collier's statement as to the Dedication; in the latter a false statement as discreditable to Hazlitt as the suggested forgery of the Dedication would be to Collier. I cannot help feeling that the first of these alternatives is the more credible.

Further, Mr. Greg attempts to challenge the authenticity of the Dedication² printed by Collier on stylistic grounds:

There are two passages [he says] which seem slightly suspicious; in connection with the phrase "impeach me of presumption" it should be observed that while "to impeach of an act" is a common construction, there seems no authority for "to impeach of a quality." Again the phrase "the delicate conveyance" seems to mean the delicate manner in which the idea is communicated, but the earliest instance of conveyance in the sense of communication cited by the N.E.D. is dated 1662, though it seems indeed to have been used by Nash as early as 1594 (*Unfortunate Traveller*, ep. ded.).

In regard to the first of these I may say that while I cannot find an exact parallel to the phrase of the dedication, the N.E.D.

¹ If love be like the flower that in the night,
When darkness drowns the glory of the skies,
Smells sweet and glitters in the gazer's sight;
But when the gladsome sun begins to rise,
And he that views it would the same embrace,
It withereth and loseth all his grace,

Why do I love, and like the cursed tree,
Whose buds appear, but fruit will not be seen?
Why do I languish for the flower I see,
Whose root is rot when all the leaves are green?
In such a case, it is a point of skill
To follow chance, and love against my will.

² I reprint here the significant portions of the dedication:

"To the worshipfull and very courteous Gentleman, Maister John Heardson, Esquier, A.M.
commendeth this pleasant and fine conceited Comoedie."

"Woorshipful sir, my acquaintaunce with you is very little, which may impeach me
of presumption in this mine attempt: but the good report of your affable nature to every
one, giveth me hope to be entertained amongst them. I commende to your frendly viewe
this prettie conceit, as well for the invention, as the delicate conveiance thereof."

(s.v. "impeach," 4) has "impeach me with error" under the date of 1590, and "impeach" as a substantive occurs in a very similar phrase,¹ "no impeach of valor," in 3 K.H. VI, i. 4. 60. As to "conveyance," Nash's phrase "some reasonable conveyance of history" seems to me a very close parallel to the use of this word in the dedication. In both "conveyance" means "treatment," "form of expression," as opposed to "invention" i.e., originality. The N.E.D. (s.v. "conveyance," 9) gives several examples of this use of the word. One of these from Robinson's translation of *Utopia* (1551) has the same collocation of words as the epistle, i.e., "witty invention and fine conveyance." These are, indeed, as Mr. Greg himself admits, "slender grounds for pronouncing the epistle a forgery." I think in fact that even on stylistic grounds a stronger proof than this can be cited to show that it is really the work of Anthony Munday and not a forgery by Collier. This is the use of the adjective "delicate" in reference to style, which appears to have been a favorite word of Munday's. The title-page of *Zelauto* (1580) speaks of that book as containing a "delicate disputation"; and that of the *Banquet of Dainty Conceits* (1584) has the phrase "delicate and choice inventions." Another piece of evidence testifying to Munday's authorship of the play, and therefore presumably of the dedication, may be found in a parallel which occurs between the entry, cited above, in S.R. of *Fidele and Fortunio*, which no doubt represents the lost title-page of this play, and the title-page of *Zelauto*; the first contains the words "deceiptes in love discoursed in a Commedia of ii Italiyan gent."; the second, "a disputation gallantly discoursed between two noble gentlemen of Italye."

After this attempt, hardly successful it seems to me, to disprove the hitherto accepted authorship, the editor goes on to introduce the new claimant. This he does on the basis of the interesting discovery made by Mr. Charles Crawford that two couplets of this play (ll. 661-62 and 655-56) are quoted under the heading "Woman" in *England's Parnassus* (1600) and are ascribed by the editor of that work to George Chapman. In his recent edition of *England's Parnassus*, where the lines in question appear on p. 231, Mr. Crawford

¹ Cf. also "appeach of ungentlenessse," and "appeach of treason" in *Faerie Queene*, III, x, 6, 8; and V, v, 37, 3.

repeats the statement over and over that this assignment proves Chapman's authorship (see pp. xix, xx, xxi, xxiv, 494-95 and 537). I yield to no man in my admiration of Mr. Crawford's tireless industry and wide reading in the field of Elizabethan literature, but I cannot but feel that he has been rash in accepting this ascription as proof positive of Chapman's authorship. The value of such an ascription depends wholly upon the character of the ascriber. What was Allot's character as a connoisseur of contemporary literature? I will let Mr. Crawford answer: "his range of reading is not a very wide one" (p. xxv), he had a "bad judgement and a treacherous memory." His method of work described by Mr. Crawford (pp. xxv-xxvi and 449) was absolutely certain to lead to errors, and, as a matter of fact, 130 of the 2,350 quotations in the work Mr. Crawford shows to be wrongly ascribed (pp. xxv and 542-44). Thus, for example, immediately after the lines from *Two Italian Gentlemen* which Allot ascribes to Chapman come three lines with the signature *Idem* (i.e., Chapman), which, as Crawford points out, occur in *Tottel's Miscellany*. Further, three passages from Chapman's known works (Nos. 1536, 1715, and 2098) are ascribed to Spenser. Mr. Crawford himself makes light of Allot's authority when it conflicts with his own opinions, as in the case of the anonymous play *Selimus* which Allot assigns to Greene and Crawford holds to be Marlowe's.

It is plain, I think, that an ascription by such an editor as Allot cannot be regarded as possessing any positive authority. It is useful only as furnishing a clue, a hypothesis of authorship, to be confirmed or disproved by further research. Mr. Crawford recognizes this, for he goes on to confirm Allot's ascription of this play to Chapman by arguments which deserve our consideration.

In the first place, he holds that Allot was on terms of intimacy with Chapman (p. 495), who told him that "*Two Italian Gentlemen* was his work" (p. xxx). For this intimacy Mr. Crawford adduces the following reasons: Two of Allot's quotations from Chapman's continuation of *Hero and Leander* show variant readings, "obviously designed by Chapman himself." The first of these (No. 258 in Crawford's *England's Parnassus*) does in fact appear to be a better reading than that of the printed text. The second (No. 1590) is

a palpable misprint, "audacious" for the authentic "and actions." Mr. Crawford in his note on this passage (p. 483) goes so far as to say that there is "sound sense in his reading which happens to repeat a sentiment that occurs frequently in Chapman." If he had carefully examined the passage (*H. and L.*, III, 60-64) from which this quotation is taken, he would have seen that in it Chapman is rebuking the rash audacity of Leander in enjoying Hero. Time, he says, and ceremony would have banished all offense. To read "audacious" in l. 63 is to declare that time makes legitimate every birth (i.e., deed) of audacious men, which is the exact opposite of what Chapman has just been saying. I am quite ready to admit that the first of this pair of quotations shows that Allot may have printed from a manuscript copy of *Hero and Leander* (not necessarily in Chapman's own possession) in which the true reading occurred, but the second proves less than nothing, being in fact a blunder due either to Allot himself or his printer.

Again, Mr. Crawford holds that the quotation (No. 2240) assigned to Marlowe, but appearing nowhere else than in this collection, must have come into Allot's hands through Chapman, who "had access to Marlowe's papers" after that poet's death (p. xxix). This seems to me a chain of hypotheses. In the first place it assumes that the passage is from an unknown poem by Marlowe,¹ in the second, that Chapman had access to Marlowe's papers, in the third, that Allot could have seen the poem from which this quotation is taken only through Chapman. Not one of these, I venture to say, is an established fact, though all are possible. One cannot establish an intimacy between Allot and Chapman on such grounds as these. Neither does the fact that Allot assigns four quotations (Nos. 777, 1842, 2054, and 2055) to Chapman which have not yet been traced to his published work prove, as Mr. Crawford seems to assume (pp. xxx and 495), that Allot enjoyed special privileges with Chapman. These quotations may all come from Chapman's works, but when we remember the practice of Elizabethan poets of allowing their works to circulate in manuscript before publication, this would only show

¹ I have not the time or space to discuss here the question of Marlowe's authorship of the interesting fragment in *England's Parnassus*. I can only say that the verse-form, a stanza rhyming *abababcc* does not appear in any of his known work, which seems to me a *prima facie* argument against it.

that Allot found these quotations in manuscript poems of Chapman's—by no means that Chapman showed them to him in manuscript (p. 495). There are five authors represented in *England's Parnassus* to whom more untraced quotations are assigned by Allot than the four he gives Chapman. Are we to hold that he lived on still greater terms of intimacy with these writers?

Further, on pages xxxix and 495 Mr. Crawford gives a slight summary of other arguments which he holds point to Chapman's authorship. In the first place, the play was composed about 1584, when Chapman was twenty-five years old. This of course is only an argument for the possibility of his having written it. As a matter of fact, it seems to me that the early date tells rather heavily against Chapman's authorship. Nothing is known of Chapman between his entrance to one of the universities in 1574 (*Athenae Oxonienses*, II, col. 575) and the publication of his *Shadow of Night* in 1594. I can hardly believe that Chapman could have composed this play in 1584. Collier seems uncertain whether this play was ever performed, but the elaborate stage directions (see those after ll. 75, 191, 270, 384, and 433 in the Malone Society reprint) show plainly that the Q was printed from a stage copy. We may therefore assume a production of this play and Nash's reference (see above p. 65) would seem to show that one of its characters, Crackstone,¹ had become well known. This implies a certain amount of success and it seems to me unlikely, to say the least, that Chapman, if he were the author, should have relapsed into non-production and obscurity for another ten years.

The internal evidence which Mr. Crawford brings forward as corroboration (p. xxxiv) is as follows: it agrees with known work of the poet in displaying a peculiar kind of humor and fondness for practical joking, its comic characters are inveterate punsters, they invent "cannibal words," and make a point of putting the cart before the horse, Crackstone in this respect being a worthy precursor of Poggio in *The Gentleman Usher*. Even if we were to grant all this, it does not seem to me very convincing. Mr. Greg, who accepts Allot's ascription of the play to Chapman, remarks that Mr. Crawford's

¹ Nash couples Crackstone with the well-known figure of Basilisco in *Soliman and Perseda*.

opinion as to the resemblance of the humor of the play to that of Chapman is "necessarily of too personal a character to add much to the weight of the external evidence" (*Mal. Soc. Col.*, I, 3, p. 222).

Chapman's known work bears everywhere the sign manual of his authorship, and it has not been a matter of great difficulty to reclaim his unsigned plays *Sir Giles Goosecap* and *Charlemagne* (published by Bullen as *The Distracted Emperor*) or to detect his share in the collaborated plays *Cabot* and *Eastward Ho!* But a careful study of the *Two Italian Gentlemen* has not revealed to me a single trace of Chapman's well-known style. The shambling, irregular meter and the stanzaic forms inserted in the dialogue (see for instance ll. 412-17) are quite unlike anything in Chapman. Puns and practical joking occur, of course, in all early Elizabethan comedy and prove nothing as to authorship. The one positive similarity that Mr. Crawford finds is between Crackstone and Poggio, and even here I must take issue with him. Crackstone is a translation of the stock figure of Italian comedy, the *Miles Gloriosus*, into English. Like his original he is a boaster and a coward; but the translator has equipped him with a "humour" of malapropisms and "cannibal words." He says "chaplen" for "champion" (l. 1073); "infancie" for "infamy" (l. 1349); "liberalitie" for "liberty" (l. 1655); he misuses proper names: "Juniper" for "Jupiter" (l. 836), "Sampier" for "Sampson" (l. 1397), "Pedantonie" for "Pedante" (l. 1524). He uses such words as "magnaniminstrelsie" (l. 129), "terrebinthinall" (l. 844), "perplexionablest" (l. 1453), and "conswapted" (l. 1579). Poggio is quite another type. Like his predecessor, Sir Giles Goosecap, he is a well-born but half-imbecile gentleman whose muddled thought cannot distinguish reality from imagination and expresses itself in muddled language. "He speaks muddles still" (*Gentleman Usher*, III, iii, 218). Thus Poggio beats a smith in his sleep, runs out "with his heels about his hose" (*G.U.*, I, i, 47-48), and gives an account of the wounding of Vincentio (V, ii, 71-75) which is a perfect masterpiece of bad reporting. I do not find anywhere in Poggio's speech the deliberate malapropisms and "cannibal words" of Crackstone, and vice versa I find only once or twice in Crackstone the trick of putting the cart before the horse in speech (l. 71, "with a fresh hed in my toy"); l. 1538 "fair fooles makes

words . . . fain")¹ which earns Poggio his nickname of "Cousin Hysteron Proteron." In *Modern Philology*, XIII, 215, M. Schoell has pointed out that both Poggio and Sir Giles derive from Le Sieur Gaulard of Estienne Tabourot's *Les apopthegmes du Sieur Gaulard*, a silly country gentleman who was continually doing and saying foolish things. M. Schoell's accumulation of parallels proves conclusively that Chapman drew upon this work for the character of Goosecap and in a less degree for that of Poggio.

Crackstone and Poggio, then, have a different ancestry, represent different "humours," and have only the superficial resemblance that both entertain the audience by a misuse—different in each case—of their mother-tongue. I do not think this goes to prove a common authorship.

Such then are the proofs that have been alleged for Chapman's authorship of *Two Italian Gentlemen*. I cannot believe that they have any validity, and it might seem that they were hardly worth refuting. But an assertion made as positively and repeatedly as Mr. Crawford has made that of Chapman's authorship has a way of getting itself repeated and tacitly accepted. I think, however, that no careful student of Chapman can ever believe that he wrote this play. In Mr. Crawford's own words (p. 495), "nobody would have thought of associating him with such a crude effort if the compiler of *England's Parnassus* had not assigned the play to him." And I think that henceforth no one will do so, unless he accepts Mr. Crawford's conclusion that in this case—though not elsewhere—Allot's ascription possesses final authority.

I hold no brief for Munday's authorship of this play. But in closing I would like to call attention to certain facts which seem to me to point very clearly to Munday as the author.

In the first place the dedication printed by Collier is signed with his initials, A. M. Under the circumstances I do not attach great weight to this dedication, but until it has been proved a forgery it establishes at least a presumption for Munday.

Secondly, the date 1584 suits Munday far better than it does Chapman. Munday had been in Italy in 1578-79, during which time

¹ Cf. a similar trick by Pedante (l. 1486). In all three cases the trick is used to make a comic rhyme. It is not a "humour" of the character.

he might have read or seen *Il Fedele*. In 1580 he was back in London, working and apparently acting. He found a patron in the Italianate Earl of Oxford to whom he dedicated several works. He signs himself repeatedly Oxford's "servant," and this may mean that he was a member of Oxford's company of actors. No doubt a version for them of a new and popular Italian comedy would have pleased the Earl. It is certain, at least, that the date of this play before 1584 comes at a time when Munday was in the very heyday of his productivity, writing poems, ballads, pamphlets, romances, and perhaps one other play.¹

Thirdly, there is the interesting fact that a passage of this play (ll. 224-40) containing three six-line stanzas appears with a few trifling variations in *England's Helicon* over the signature Shepherd Tony. Mr. Crawford, it is true, altogether rejects (p. 518) the usual identification of this author with Anthony Munday. I have not time to debate this matter at length, but would call attention to two facts: first, that this stanza with the rhyme-scheme ababcc is not uncommon in Munday's work. I note instances in *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall* (*Webster's Works*, IV, 250), in the two Robin Hood plays (see Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, VIII, 158, 159, 198), in *John à Kent* (I, iii), and in his *Sundry Examples* (1580). Moreover in 1583 Munday published a volume now lost called *The Sweet Sobs and Amourous Complaints of Shepherds and Nymphs*. This seems to have attracted considerable attention. Webster in his *Discourse of English Poetry*, 1586, praises Munday's work, especially upon the subject of nymphs and shepherds. This would seem a good reason for the title of "Shepherd Tony," a signature attached to seven poems in *England's Helicon*. Lastly, and this seems to me a clinching argument, another of the poems ascribed in *England's Helicon* to Shepherd Tony appears in Munday's romance *Primaleon* (1609). This work was translated from the French version of Chappuis, but the verse does not appear in the original (see Bullen's edition of *England's Helicon*, p. viii).

There are, moreover, a number of interesting resemblances between *Two Italian Gentlemen* and the plays in which Munday is

¹ Fleay holds that Munday wrote the play *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall* about 1584 for Oxford's company. This may be true, but if so the play has been carefully revised. Murray (*English Dramatic Companies*) admits the possibility of this ascription, but a later date (ca. 1600) is suggested in the Malone Society reprint, 1912.

known to have had a hand. No very close parallels can be expected, for a considerable period of time intervenes between this play and the earliest of the others (*John à Kent* is supposed to date about 1595) during which time a great development in the drama had taken place, including among other things the substitution of blank verse for the "jigging veins of rhyming mother wits." Moreover, *Two Italian Gentlemen* is not an original play, but an adaptation of an Italian comedy. I note, however, in *John à Kent* a comic misuse of words like that of Crackstone, "retoritie" for "authority," "accessary" for "necessary" (I, 3), etc.; such "cannibal words" as "ministrically," "prerogastride" (II, 2); mock Latin (I, 3) such as Crackstone uses (ll. 398-406), the word *Pediculus* (II, 2) applied to a schoolmaster as Crackstone uses it (l. 1459), and an occasional use of the six-line stanza already referred to. In the *Downfall of Robin Hood* (pp. 135, 139) we have a number of comic "malapropisms" not unlike some of Crackstone's, and a variety of meters which reminds one somewhat of the varying metrical form of *Two Italian Gentlemen*. Although by the time of the *Robin Hood* plays (1598) blank verse was established as the recognized form of dramatic verse, I find in these plays not only blank verse but Skeltonic verse, rhymed couplets, alternate rhymes, Munday's favorite six-line stanza, and a frequent use of four-foot verse. I doubt whether with our present knowledge of Munday's dramatic work it would be possible to establish on internal evidence a convincing argument for his authorship of any anonymous play; but the facts that I have mentioned seem to me to point directly to him.

External and internal evidence alike, then, make it probable that Munday was the translator of this work; and, as every student of our early drama knows, a fair degree of probability is, as a rule, all that we can expect to obtain in questions such as this. Certainly, if I am any judge of the facts, the claim set up for Chapman weighs as nothing in the balance of probabilities against the traditional assignment of the play to Antony Munday.

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IS THE LATE LANCASHIRE WITCHES A REVISION?

An article by Professor C. E. Andrews in *Modern Language Notes* of June, 1913,¹ brings up for renewed consideration the question of the authorship, and incidentally the date, of Heywood and Brome's play, *The Late Lancashire Witches*. In *A History of Witchcraft in England from 1558 to 1718*² Professor Wallace Notestein has taken issue with historians of the drama as to the history of this play. It is well known that it was put upon the stage in 1634 to take advantage of the excitement caused in London by the bringing to the city of certain women from Lancashire who had been tried for witchcraft in 1633, and that a considerable portion of the play is based upon the depositions of witnesses and defendants in the case. In chapter vii of his scholarly and extremely interesting book Notestein gives the history of the affair. He had, in the preceding chapter, given an account of another Lancashire witchcraft delusion taking place in 1612, as a result of which eleven persons had been condemned to death. Of this trial we possess a contemporary account, *The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancaster*, by Thomas Potts.³ The later disturbance was directly connected with the earlier, both occurring in the Forest of Pendle. Early in 1633 charges of witchcraft were brought against a group of women who were tried at the Lancaster assizes, the principal witness against them being an eleven-year-old boy, Edmund Robinson. Of the accused a large number were found guilty. The judges apparently suspected a miscarriage of justice, for they reported the case to the Privy Council. Dr. Bridgman, Bishop of Chester, was deputed to investigate the case, and as a result of his work four of the women were, in June, 1634, sent up to London for examination by the king's surgeons and a committee of midwives. The boy Edmund Robinson and his father were likewise summoned to London, and presently confessed that

¹ Reprinted in Andrews, "Richard Brome: A Study of His Life and Works," *Yale Studies in English*, XLVI (1913), 48-53.

² Prize Essay of the American Historical Association, 1909. Published by the Association, Washington, 1911.

³ Ed. by James Crossley in *Chetham Soc. Publ.*, VI (1845).

the witchcraft charge was an imposture pure and simple. Notestein goes on to say:

Before final judgment had been given on the Lancashire women Thomas Heywood and Richard Brome, well-known dramatists, had written a play on the subject which was at once published and "acted at the Globe on the Bankside by His Majesty's Actors." By some it has been supposed that this play was an older play founded on the Lancashire affair of 1612 and warmed over in 1634; but the main incidents and the characters of the play are so fully copied from the depositions of the young Robinson and from the charges preferred against Mary Spencer, Frances Dickonson, and Margaret Johnson that a layman would at once pronounce it a play written entirely to order from the affair of 1634.¹

For the theory that the present play is a reworking by Brome, or by Heywood and Brome, of an earlier play by Heywood, Fleay is responsible. His opinion may be summarized as follows. The story of Mrs. Generous, I, i; II, ii, v; III, ii; IV, ii, iv, v; V, ii, iii, iv, v (part), is Heywood's, "considerably accommodated by Brome," and "is founded on *The Witches of Lancaster* by T. Potts, 1613." Brome contributes the Seely story, I, ii; III, i, iii; IV, iii; V, i, v (part). The witch scenes, II, i, iiiia, iv; IV, i, are Heywood's, with alterations by Brome. In brief, then, this is an old play of Heywood's, from which a very considerable portion was excised and replaced by Brome's story of the troubles of the Seely family, while the rest was subjected to revision by Brome.

This opinion is echoed by Ward in his *English Dramatic Literature*² and in his chapter on Heywood in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, where he says:

The Late Lancashire Witches was printed in 1634 as the joint work of Thomas Heywood and Richard Brome. But the story of the play was based, in part, upon an account, published in 1613, of the doings of certain Lancashire women, of whom twelve had suffered death as witches in the previous year; and it is possible that Heywood was the author of a play much earlier than that put upon the stage in 1634.³

Schelling does not mention the theory of an older play, finds the source in "the notorious trials for witchcraft of 1633," adds that "the composition of the play must have followed so close on the events that its influence in forestalling the judgment of the courts which tried

¹ Pp. 158-59.

² Ed. of 1899, II, 575.

³ VI, 118.

these unfortunate creatures can scarcely be considered as negligible,"¹ and then misdates the play 1633. Andrews brings forward additional evidence for the revision theory, but takes from Brome a large portion of the play which has heretofore been credited to him. That Note-stein is right in his assumption that *The Late Lancashire Witches* was an entirely new play, the product of the joint authorship, of Heywood and Brome, written in 1634, it is the purpose of this paper to show.

Deferring for the present any discussion of authorship, let us consider the question of source. Is there any use of material older than 1633 which would give ground for assuming that we have a 1634 revision of an older play? The account of the play in the *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*² presents some sound reasoning by Fleay, but is marred by an unusual number of Fleavian errors, inconsistencies, and contradictions. Fleay, followed by Ward, asserts that the story of Mrs. Generous is founded upon Potts's account of the 1612 affair. So far from being accurate is this statement that there can be found but two points of similarity between the play and Potts's narrative. (a) In each case a woman of good birth and social standing is found guilty of witchcraft; otherwise Mrs. Generous has no points of resemblance to unfortunate Alice Nutter. (b) In IV, ii, after Mrs. Generous has confessed that she has made a contract with the devil, occur these lines:

Gen. Resolve me, how farre doth that contract stretch?

Mrs. What interest in this Soule, my selfe coo'd claime
I freely gave him, but his part that made it
I still reserve, not being mine to give.

Gen. O cunning Divell, foolish woman know
Where he can clayme but the least little part,
He will usurpe the whole; th'art a lost woman.³

In the examination of James Device, one of the accused in the trial of 1612, he deposed that there appeared to him a thing like a browne Dogge, who asked this Examinate to giue him his Soule, and he should be reuenged of any whom hee would: whereunto this Examinate answered, that his Soule was not his to giue, but was his Sauiour Iesus Christ's, but as much as was in him this Examinate to giue, he was contented he should haue it.⁴

¹ *Elizabethan Drama*, I, 363.

² I, 301-3.

³ *L. L. W.*, p. 227.

⁴ Crossley, *op. cit.*, sig. H3 verso.

Again in his confession:

that the said Spirit did appeare vnto him after sundrie times, in the likenesse of a Dogge, and at euery time most earnestly perswaded him to giue him his Soule absolutely: who answered as before, that he would giue him his owne part and no further. And hee saith, that at the last time that the said Spirit was with him, which was the Tuesday next before his apprehension; when as hee could not preuaile with him to haue his Soule absolutely granted vnto him, as aforesaid; the said Spirit departed from him, then giuing a most feareful crie and yell, etc.¹

The verbal likeness is not so close as to be striking, and the parallel loses most of its force when we remember that the belief voiced by James Device was common at the time, and may be found in various contemporary treatises on witchcraft.² For the delusion that the play is "founded on" Potts, Crossley, the editor of Potts's narrative, may be inadvertently responsible. In his notes he says: "Alice Nutter was doubtless the original of the story of which Heywood availed himself . . . which is frequently noticed by the writers of the 17th century—that the wife of a Lancashire gentleman had been detected in practising witchcraft and unlawful acts, and condemned and executed."³ Now note that Crossley does not state that Heywood used Potts, but only a story frequently referred to, one version of which may be found in Potts's account. The plain fact is, of course, that so much of the play as can be traced to any recognizable source is not based upon Potts's narrative at all, but upon the depositions, etc., quoted by Crossley in his introduction. The characters of the play who were taken from real life are the witches Moll Spencer, Mawd (Hargrave), Meg or Peg (Johnson), Gill (Dickison), and the boy, evidently the young rascal Edmund Robinson, who caused all the trouble. The incidents borrowed are those of the boy and the greyhounds (II, iii, iv), the boy's ride through the air with Goody Dickison (II, iv), the milk pail which obeys Moll's summons⁴

¹ Crossley, *op. cit.*, sig. K.

² E.g., Reginald Scot, *Discovery of Witchcraft*, Book III, chap. x.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 35–36.

⁴ This incident does not appear in the depositions quoted by Crossley. Its origin may be found in the report of the examination of Mary Spencer by Dr. Bridgman, as given in the *Calendar of State Papers* (Dom. Ser., 1634–35, June 15, 1634): "Cunliffe accused her [Mary Spencer] to call a collock, or peal [pail], which came running to her of its own accord. . . . When she was a young girl and went to the well for water, she used to tumble or trundle the collock, or peal, down the hill, and she would run along after it to overtake it, and did overhye it sometimes, and then might call it to come to her, but utterly denies that she could ever make it come to her by any witchcraft."

(II, vi), the witches' feast (IV, i), the boy's story of his fight with a devil (V, i), Peg's confession (V, v). In these incidents the authors, as has been noted by all critics, kept very close to the terms of the depositions.

There is, then, nothing in the source material which would suggest a date earlier than 1633. Fleay¹ brought forward as a bit of external evidence confirming the existence of an early play a reference in Field's *A Woman Is a Weathercock*, 1612, to Lawrence of Lancashire.² Now Lawrence, according to Fleay's own theory, is one of Brome's characters, appears only in those scenes of the play ascribed to Brome, and must therefore belong to the 1634 revision; how, then, can Field have been referring to a character who made his first entrance upon the stage twenty-two years after Field's play was written? As a matter of fact, the name seems to have been proverbially applied to a man of vigorous physique, "Lusty Lawrence" being the more common variant.³ It may be found in Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Captain* (IV, iii):

Lusty Lawrence,
See what a gentlewoman you have saluted;

and its origin is thus explained by Dyce: "This expression occurs again in *Woman's Prize*, I, iii, and is found in other early dramas. It is explained by the following passage of a rare tract: 'This late *Lusty Lawrence*, that Lancashire Lad, who had 17 bastards in one year, if we believe his Ballad, &c.' *A Brown Dozen of Drunkards*, &c, 1648, sig. C."⁴ Thus the use of the name by Field in 1612, instead of glancing at an old play of Heywood's, looks the other way: to the probability that Brome chose the name of a rather well-known local hero in order to give more point to the vulgar situation of which Parnell complains so bitterly.

The play was entered in the Stationer's Register October 28, 1634, and was brought to its present form in the summer of that

¹ *Biog. Chron.*, I, 185.

² Hazlitt, *Dodsley*, XI, 85.

³ Cf. *L.L.W.*, p. 231, and Hazlitt, *English Proverbs*.

⁴ Dyce's Beaumont and Fletcher, III, 295. Besides being used in the four plays mentioned—*L. L. W.*, *A Woman Is a Weathercock*, *The Captain*, *Woman's Prize*—the expression occurs in the fifth satire of Marston's *Pygmalion and Satires* (Bullen's ed., III, 289), and Bullen in a footnote refers to a ballad on the subject; this ballad, according to Hazlitt (*op. cit.*), was licensed in 1594. I have run across the phrase in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, but am unable to supply the exact reference.

year. In the prologue there is a reference to the arrival for examination in London of the women charged with witchcraft:

The Project unto many here well knowne;
Those Witches the fat Taylor brought to Towne.

From the *Calendar of State Papers*¹ we learn that they were brought to town some time between June 15, when the Bishop of Chester sent on the results of his examination of Margaret Johnson, Mary Spencer, and Frances Dickonson, and June 29, when the Privy Council passed an order for midwives to "inspect and search the bodies of those women lately brought up by the Sheriff of Co. Lancaster" (the fat jailer); from the same order we learn that the women were lodged at the Ship Tavern in Greenwich. There are two or three pieces of corroborative internal evidence. Fleay noted the allusion to Prynne's punishment. Whetstone says to Bantam, "if thou, Bantam, dost not heare of this with both thine eares, if thou hast them still, and not lost them by scribbling. . . ."² Prynne was sentenced on February 17, 1634, to lose his ears and be pilloried, and the sentence was carried into effect on May 7 and 10.

There are two references to a recent issue of farthing coins, which apparently was making some stir in London: "no longer agoe than last holiday evening he gam'd away eight double ring'd tokens on a rubbers at bowles" (I, ii),³ "from the last Farthings with the double rings, to the late Coy'ned peeces which they say are all counterfeit" (II, iv).⁴ Legal farthings of copper were first coined in 1613, and the lead farthing tokens up to that time issued by merchants and tradesmen were declared illegal. The authorities had great difficulty in getting the new coins into circulation and protecting them from counterfeiting. We find frequent references to the matter in the state papers during the remainder of the reign of James and that of Charles I.⁵ Finally to defeat the counterfeitors a new coinage was issued.

In 1634, at a time when Lord Maltravers had a share in the patent, the patentees were allowed to decry all the old farthings, and a new farthing of

¹ Dom. Ser., 1634-35.

² *Ibid.*, p. 182.

³ L.L.W., p. 198.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

⁵ Cf. Thomas Snelling, *A View of the Copper Coin and Coinage of England*, 1766; R. Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain*, 3d ed., 1840; H. Montagu, *The Copper, Tin and Bronze Coinage of England from Elizabeth to Victoria*, 2d ed., 1893.

better make was introduced, distinguishable by an inner beaded circle, the so-called double-rings.¹

So serious had the counterfeiting of the farthing tokens become, that the patentees were allowed to introduce a token slightly different in design. The general design continued in accordance with the terms of the original patent, but all the details were altered, and as a mark to distinguish the new issue, a second beaded circle was placed on the obverse and reverse, whence the farthings were known as "double rings."²

There is, finally, one other passage which seems to carry on its face evidence of having been written in the summer of 1634. This is in the speech of Generous in IV, ii, a scene surely from the hand of Heywood. Generous is speaking of his wife, whom he is beginning to suspect of some criminal practice, though the idea of witchcraft has not yet occurred to him.

The Gentile fashion sometimes we observe
To sunder beds; but most in these hot monthes
Iune, Iuly, August. . . .

The specific mention of present time seems to me to possess some corroborative value; at any rate, I set it down for what it may be worth. To sum up, common-sense would point to a date of composition in July or August, while the excitement over the near presence of the supposed witches would be at its height, and all the time indications that we have are in agreement with that inference.

In proof of the revision theory Andrews in his article presents three pieces of internal evidence: "the obvious interpolation of an episode, and an omission of one or two incidents that we are led to expect, and a mention in two places of names of witches or spirits inconsistent with the names in the rest of the play."

The episode which Andrews considers to be interpolated is that of the boy and the greyhounds on pp. 196-97, 199-201. The boy comes upon a brace of greyhounds, which he takes to have strayed from their owner, to whom he decides to restore them in hope of reward. On the way the dogs start a hare, but refuse to give chase.

¹ *British Numismatic Journal*, 1906, First ser., III, 190.

² *Ibid.*, p. 200. Illustrations of the "double rings" are given in Plate I, Nos. 29, 30, 31, opp. p. 191. The royal proclamation, authorizing the new issue, was dated February 23, 1634 (Patent Rolls, 11 Chas. I, Part V, No. 30).

The boy, angered by their apparent laziness, beats them, whereupon one of the dogs turns into Goody Dickison and the other into a boy. Mrs. Dickison changes the second boy into a horse, catches the first boy up in her arms, and they ride off on the horse. Andrews asserts that this episode has no connection with any of the threads of interest. On the contrary, ample preparation has been made for it. In the first scene of Act II (pp. 187-89) the witches are gathered to discuss what new deviltry they will play in order to throw their neighbors into confusion. They refer to the hunting party that is in progress, and Meg proposes to change herself into a hare to lead the dogs astray, while Gill says:

I and my puckling will a brace
Of Greyhounds be, fit for the race;
And linger where we may be tane
Up for the course in the by-lane.

The boy's experience is the obvious sequel of these plans; the dogs are Gill and her Puckling, and the hare is Meg. The boy next appears at the witches' feast, IV, i (pp. 220-21), whither he has been carried by Gill, and whence he escapes, to appear again in the final scene to give his evidence against the witches. The episode then, far from being interpolated, has a very definite connection with what precedes and what follows, and its dramatic purpose is plain—to show the witches in action. The part played by the boy Edmund Robinson in the actual Lancashire delusion was well known in London, he had been brought up to London for examination, and to omit him from the play would have been well-nigh impossible.

Andrews' second point, the omission of one or two incidents which we might expect, has some basis. It is true that the connection between the mortgage transaction (p. 178) and the incident of the receipt (p. 210) is not clear, and the business of the mortgage is dropped rather unceremoniously after the last reference to it (p. 182). It is to be noted, however, that the mortgage affair has served its dramatic purpose of bringing Generous and Arthur together, and thus furnishing a bond of connection between the plots. The reason for Arthur's appeal to Generous is the refusal of Arthur's uncle Seely to assist him with a loan, and the refusal, in turn, is occasioned by the confusion wrought by the witches in the Seely household. Such a

knitting-together of plots is considerably closer than is the case in several others of Heywood's plays, e.g., *Woman Killed with Kindness* and *English Traveller*. Moreover, the granting of the loan has characterized Generous, and Robin's presentation of the receipt proves to Generous that Robin has actually been in London, as he alleges. The failure to connect the two incidents more clearly and to refer again to the mortgage does not necessarily point to revision. It should be remembered that the play was composed, probably in some haste, to take advantage of a passing excitement, and any failure on the part of the authors to bring to a logical conclusion all the minor interests of the play may be laid more readily to haste of composition than to a supposed revision. This is particularly true since we have to deal with Thomas Heywood and Richard Brome, both of whom were somewhat rough-and-ready workmen, not distinguished for the careful finish of their plays.¹

For the other so-called revision Andrews points to the abrupt ending of II, iv (p. 199), where a betting scene terminates "without the interference of witchcraft which we are led to expect." The scene ends with a reference to a hare which has just been started. At the opening of the next scene the boy enters with the greyhounds, crying, "A Hare, a Hare, halloe, halloe!" and beats the dogs for not giving chase, whereupon the dogs are transformed into Gill and a boy. This, surely, is a display of the expected witchcraft, although the hunters are not present to witness the transformation. The betting scene, however, like the mortgage episode, has served its dramatic purpose. The main interest of the scene is not in the betting, but in the foolish behavior of Whetstone, and when he makes his exit we are interested more in his threatened revenge for the baiting to which he has been subjected than in the comparative speed of the brown dog and the pied. The failure to provide a logical termination for the betting episode may again, I think, be laid to hasty composition, especially since the following scene does provide a display of witchcraft which accounts for the hare mentioned at the end of scene iv.

¹ Ward holds haste of composition responsible to some degree for the bad structure of the play: "The process of composition was evidently too hurried to allow of more being attempted than a succession of scenes half realistic, half grotesque, etc." (*Engl. Dram. Lit.*, II, 578).

Andrews' third evidence of revision is the one suggested by Fleay, that in two instances there seems to be a confusion in the naming of the witches. Thus, at the end of Act IV, Mrs. Generous, calling a convocation of witches at the mill, says:

Call *Meg*, and *Doll*, *Tib*, *Nab*, and *Jug*,
Let none appeare without her *Pug*,

while Moll, Nab, Jug, and Peg are named in V, ii (p. 244). There is a tendency toward looseness in the names of the witches, anyway; thus Mrs. Johnson is called Meg or Peg indiscriminately (cf. p. 189, and V, v, where she is called Peg throughout). In IV, v, Mrs. Generous says: "Summon the Sisterhood together"; that is, she is giving directions for a general convocation. May not the sisterhood have comprised more than the four who are brought upon the stage, as it did in real life? Fleay thinks that before alteration V, ii, must have been Doll, Nab, Jug, and Tib. Why must we discard Moll and Peg, whom we know, because we have Nab and Jug whom we do not know? Fleay and Andrews want the names to be perfectly consistent; I think that they are loosely and carelessly used, and that the inconsistency is evidence only of haste of composition.

Having thus accounted for the evidence presented in behalf of the revision theory, let us consider the respective shares of Heywood and Brome. Andrews argues against collaboration in revision (and hence, inferentially, in actual composition) because "Heywood was writing for the Queen's Company in 1633 and the *Lancashire Witches* was brought out by the King's Men, the company for which Brome was writing in 1633 and 1634." Supposing for the moment that Heywood was writing for the Queen's Men at the time *The Late Lancashire Witches* was produced—has it been proved that a playwright in the employ of one company never did any work for another company? In fact, Andrews refutes his own argument when he states that Brome was connected in 1634 with both the King's Men and the Red Bull Company, and that while he was under contract to the King's Revels Company at Salisbury Court he had written a play or two for the Cockpit.¹ Such general argument, however, is in this case not necessary to meet Andrews' objection. *The Late Lancashire Witches* was written in 1634, not in 1633, and Fleay on the basis of our play

¹ *Richard Brome*, p. 14.

infers that at some time between the date of *Love's Mistress*, produced at court by the Queen's Men in 1633 and *The Late Lancashire Witches* Heywood transferred his services to the King's Men. Andrews cites the 1634 title-page of *Maidenhead Well Lost*, date of composition being probably 1633, but what would he say of the 1636 title-page of *Challenge for Beauty*, a play performed in 1635 by the King's Men, which, therefore, supports Fleay's theory?

Andrews accepts Fleay's assignment of the main plot—the Generous story—to Heywood. The first of his reasons, that the story is based upon the 1612 trial, is untenable. The second, that the general handling of the story, particularly in the treatment of the erring wife by her husband, is in Heywood's manner, is sufficient. The hunting scenes, also, may be compared with the first scene of *Woman Killed with Kindness*.

The attribution to Brome of the Seely story Andrews rejects because he can find no good reason for the assignment. Yet Andrews, when he accepts the Generous story as Heywood's because of its likeness to the Frankford story of *Woman Killed with Kindness*, has used precisely the kind of reasoning that Fleay did when he gave the Seely story to Brome because of its general resemblance to the inverted situation in *Antipodes*. Why the distinction?

That part of the story of the Seely household which concerns the servants Lawrence and Parnell is given by Andrews to Heywood because, as he says, "it is so involved with all the different interests that I have mentioned that I cannot see any possibility of a separate authorship for it." Truly, the best reason for assigning the Lawrence-Parnell story to the same hand that wrote the Seely story is that the former is an integral and essential part of the latter. But the hand is Brome's, not Heywood's. The mere fact that certain characters of the main plot, Heywood's, e.g., Bantam, Shakstone, Whetstone, are present at the Parnell-Lawrence wedding is very slender evidence upon which to assign the wedding scenes to Heywood. The union of the two plots through Moll Spencer, who gives Lawrence a bewitched cod-piece point while she is carrying on an intrigue with Robin, is not so ingeniously close that it must point to a single authorship for both plots; it is just the sort of connection that might readily be arranged by two collaborators. The argument

that Lawrence belongs to Heywood because of an allusion in Field's play of 1612 has already been disposed of. Finally Andrews refuses to accept Fleay's attribution of the Lawrence-Parnell scenes to Brome on the basis of the dialect, which Fleay compared with that in Brome's *Northern Lass*. Andrews asserts that the dialect of *The Late Lancashire Witches* differs from that of *Northern Lass*, and points out that Heywood also used a northern dialect in *Edward IV*, without, however, clinching his point by proving that the dialect usages of *The Late Lancashire Witches* and *Edward IV* are identical. To base any argument on dialect forms and spellings that have been subjected to the tender mercies of printers of playbook quartos seems a rather risky business. But since Andrews has introduced argument of this sort I have acted upon the suggestion made by him in a note, and have made comparison of the words listed by Eckhardt in his *Die Dialekt- und Ausländertypen des älteren Englischen Dramas*¹ with the following results:

Forms ² found in all three plays—	<i>E.IV</i> , <i>L.L.W.</i> , <i>N.L.</i>	4
" " " <i>E.IV</i> and <i>L.L.W.</i> , not in <i>N.L.</i>		6
" " " <i>E.IV</i> and <i>N.L.</i> , not in <i>L.L.W.</i>		6
" " " <i>L.L.W.</i> and <i>N.L.</i> , not in <i>E.IV</i>		18

Now such a table proves nothing, beyond the fact that both Heywood and Brome were acquainted with north country dialects and used them freely on occasion, but if any inference were to be drawn as to authorship it looks as though Andrews' remark that "Fleay's argument is useless" were something of a boomerang.³ As positive evidence of Brome's authorship of the Lawrence-Parnell scenes it may be noted that Parnell's "Whaw, whaw, whaw, whaw!" (p. 186) is also used by Randal in *A Jovial Crew*,⁴ and that the inelegant expression "piss and paddle in't" (p. 185) is found in the same play.⁵

Andrews would restrict Brome's part in the play to those scenes which are based directly on the depositions in the 1633 trial, some

¹ Bang, *Materialien*, XXVII, 81-83, 86-91.

² I have confined this list to words actually used in more than one of the three plays, including variant spellings such as *deafst*, *deft* = pretty, *sic*, *sick*, *sike* = such.

³ Cf. also Andrews' comment on Brome's use of dialect in *N.L.* and elsewhere: "The *Lancashire Witches* [contains] considerable fairly accurate Lancashire" (*Richard Brome*, p. 66, note). This certainly seems to imply that Brome wrote the scenes in which the Lancashire dialect is employed.

⁴ Brome, *Works*, III, 439.

⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 374.

"nine pages in all, out of a play of eighty-nine."¹ Most of this material Fleay assigns to Heywood. It seems to me impossible to ascribe the witch scenes to either author with any degree of confidence. But for the broad general division of the play into main plot and subplot, the first to Heywood, the second to Brome, I should agree with Fleay, dissenting from Fleay's opinion that the main plot shows "accommodation" by Brome. In short, I regard the play as a straight piece of collaboration by the two men, done in the summer of 1634.²

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¹ From this list are omitted two episodes that should be in it: Moll's calling of the pail (p. 202), and Peg's confession (pp. 258-59).

² As an example of Fleay's curious processes of reasoning it may be worth while to place side by side three of his statements regarding date and authorship. (1) "Heywood's part is founded on *The Witches of Lancashire* by T. Potts, 1613." (2) "The story of Mrs. Generous . . . is Heywood's, but considerably accommodated by Brome." I.e., the story of Mrs. Generous is the part founded on Potts. If so, it must have been written early and formed part of the early play. (3) "The turning Robin into a horse (and therefore the Mrs. Generous story) dates 1634." The parenthesis is Fleay's. How may this be reconciled with the previous statements? According to Fleay, moreover, Brome's part, consisting of the Seely story, must have been written to take the place of some other scenes in Heywood's early play, and dates, of course, 1634. This leaves only the witch scenes for the early play. But the witches are all 1633 people, and their deeds are based on the 1633 depositions. By the application of Fleay's own reasoning all of the early play disappears, and we have an altogether new one.

Since completing this article I have discovered that the views expressed in it are in agreement with those of Professor Ph. Aronstein of Berlin, in his article entitled "Thomas Heywood," in *Anglia*, June, 1913.

ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE INTERLUDES ATTRIBUTED TO JOHN HEYWOOD

The interludes which bear the name of John Heywood are interesting beyond any other group of the sixteenth century for their age, for their merit, but particularly for the great diversity of matter and treatment they show. The plays which will be discussed in this paper are *Love, Weather, Pardoner and Friar*, *The Four PP*, and *John the Husband, Tyb the Wife, and Sir John the Priest*, leaving out of consideration *Wit and Witless*, which is too undramatic to be of service. The reader of these plays will retain a vivid impression of the diversity I refer to, will have censured *Love* and *Weather* as dull and undramatic dialogues in the manner of the *débat*, and approved the other three as popular farces of uncommon freshness and vigor. This difference is the more striking because we are not accustomed to look for "styles," "periods," and "influences" in the rude work of the early sixteenth-century playwrights, but rather expect to find the product of each man marked by a definite and limited sameness.

It would be extraordinary if these differences should have passed unnoticed, as in fact they have not. It was even to be expected that eventually someone would challenge Heywood's right to certain of the plays. And this, too, has been done, in no uncertain terms, by Professor C. W. Wallace, who denies that Heywood wrote, or even could have written, the three popular plays of *The Pardoner*, *The Four PP*, and *John the Husband*.¹ His opinion is less significant as a piece of argument (for it is built upon the slimmest of evidence) than as an indication of justifiable skepticism. The question he raises has never been squarely faced, and it is worth while: Did John Heywood write both sets of interludes which are ascribed to him, and which are apparently so different in conception and handling?

The case against Heywood depends on two sources of evidence: the texts of the plays themselves² and the conditions under which they

¹ *Evolution of the English Drama up to Shakespeare* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1912), pp. 50 ff.

² All references to the texts of the plays in this article relate to the *Tudor Facsimile Texts*, ed. John S. Farmer.

were printed. For the sake of disposing of the smaller matter first, let us review now these questions of bibliography. Three of the five interludes were printed with Heywood's name on the title-page—*The Play of the Wether* and *A Play of loue*, both published by William Rastell in 1533, and *The Four PP*, published without date (but conjecturally in 1545)¹ by William Middleton. The other two were printed by William Rastell in 1533, without the author's name. These omissions, according to Professor Wallace, ought to be very significant; it is inconceivable, in his opinion, that the Rastells, relatives of Heywood, should print in 1533 two of his interludes with his name and two more without.

The argument is not strong. We may indeed wonder that the Rastells should have done as they did, but there is nothing incredible in it. We might even be satisfied merely with laying the blame upon the vagaries of sixteenth-century publishers, but there is a better reason observable from the texts themselves. The two plays which bear Heywood's name have title-pages and lists of characters; the two without have no title-pages, only head titles. Hence we are given a simple and reasonable explanation of why certain of Heywood's plays appeared without his name: in the form in which they were printed there was no room for it. To explain, of course, is not necessarily to prove; yet the burden of proof rests on the skeptics, who in this case have only raised a reasonable doubt. If other good arguments are established, then the bibliographical evidence lends helpful corroboration; but if, as I hope to prove, all other evidence against Heywood is weak, then nothing can be proved from the absence of a name or title-page.

The fact that one of the doubtful plays (*The Four PP*) was published with Heywood's name on the title-page is a serious stumbling-block to the skeptics, both because it is a piece of direct evidence against them, and because if that play is admitted into the Heywood canon there is then no reason why the others should be omitted. This dilemma has been solved by Mr. Wallace in somewhat too hasty a fashion: the piece was "attributed to Heywood by his publisher Middleton . . . and by everyone since." But we cannot dismiss evidence so summarily; and despite the known laxity of early

¹ Ward, *Eng. Dram. Lit.*, 1899, p. 244.

printers, we must accept the names they place on title-pages until strong evidence arises to the contrary. Since we cannot discredit Middleton in this instance, we must believe him, and thus admit a strong link between the two groups of plays we have to consider.

But the case against Heywood does not rest simply on bibliographical evidence, and we have yet to consider a problem of far greater importance—the singular difference between the *débat* plays and the popular farces. It will be well to bear in mind that to Mr. Wallace and such others as object to crediting Heywood with the popular plays, the Heywood canon resolves itself into the allegorical *Spider and the Fly*, the dialogue of *Wit and Willess*, the proverbs, and the plays of *Love and Weather*—all works of a definite cast. The argument against Heywood has been conveniently expressed by Mr. Wallace: “These three plays [*The Four PP*, *The Pardoner*, *John the Husband*] differ in dramatic conception, in characterization, and in acquaintance with men and events from the unquestioned literary product of . . . John Heywood. And unlike his, they have no didactic purpose.”¹

This is a very autocratic dictum, and one which, as I hope to prove, is based upon generalizations that will not hold. An obvious objection can be made at once: that the critic does not allow for the effect of influences or even for the natural development of the dramatist’s genius. According to the reasoning he tacitly avows, we should reject the theory that Shakespeare wrote both *Love’s Labor’s Lost* and *Twelfth Night* because they are so different in “dramatic conception and in characterization.” And yet as much time may have elapsed between the writing of *The Play of Love* and *The Four PP* as between Shakespeare’s plays. But let us leave these minor aspects for the time and devote ourselves to what is really the main problem—whether Heywood could have written all the plays attributed to him. We shall find, I think, that he could and did, with the possible exception of *John the Husband*.

The constant mistake has been to overemphasize the differences between the two groups of plays—the dulness of the one and the liveliness of the other. This has been the tendency even of men who have not had a case to prove. As a matter of fact the difference is by no means so great as it has been made out.

¹ *Evolution*, p. 52.

In the lowest order of the five plays, as regards dramatic interest, is the *Play of Love*; it is the closest to the old *débat* form. It is wearisome in its perpetual coil over nothing, its hairsplitting and strife between contrasted pairs of men; yet it has passages which would not shame the writer of *The Four PP*. The entrance of *No Lover nor Loved* with the burning squibs and the resulting trick played on *Lover Loved* make good, lively drama, which is no whit below the level of rough humor shown in *The Four PP* and *John the Husband*. Then the long monologue of *No Lover nor Loved* is quite as good in its coarse humor and lively satire as the narratives of the Pardoner and the Palmer in *The Four PP*. In these two respects the *Play of Love* belies its reputation for dulness and gives us a glimpse of powers that might easily become capable of producing *John the Husband*.

The Play of Wether is a distinct advance in dramatic interest. It may even be called more dramatic than any except *John the Husband*. In *The Four PP* there are only four characters, who do nothing but sit and talk; in *The Pardoner and the Friar*, until the very end, there are but two contrasted figures who backbite and preach tediously; *The Play of Love* is out of the question. But in *Weather* there are ten characters, who are constantly entering and going off, so that there is more actual motion on the stage than in all the other three plays put together. Furthermore, both the author's dramatic sense and his feeling for character are displayed in the choice of applicants to Jupiter for weather, particularly in bringing in at the end the boy, "the least that can playe" (who must have made a great hit, as he would even now), and in the skill with which the various types are sketched in and opposed to one another. The general course of the play is heightened by the quarreling of the two Millers—tedious now, but not then—and of the Lady and the Laundress, amusing enough still. The humor and truth to nature of these speeches are capital,¹ and the part of Little Dick is masterly; it is the boy to the life, set

¹ The entering speeches of the characters are particularly good, both because they come so patly in the dialogue, and because they are so well in character. For example, the Ranger enters:

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| <i>Ranger.</i> | God be here, now Cryst kepe thy company |
| <i>Merry report.</i> | In fayth ye be welcome euin very skantely. |
| <i>Ranger.</i> | Syr for your comyng what is the mater. |
| | I wolde fayne speke with the god Iupyter. |

forth with an economy of deft touches that would please the most rigid of classicists. Altogether, "in dramatic conception, in characterization, and in acquaintance with men and events," *Weather* is a play of marked craftsmanship and is not for a moment to be compared in these respects with *Love*.

Just as I have shown that these two plays, and particularly one of them, are by no means the dull dialogues¹ they have been called, so it is possible to show that two of the other three plays are not quite so much farther advanced in dramatic art as critics have usually said. *The Pardoner*, as I have noted, is for the most part a mixture of harangues and recriminations on the part of a Pardoner and a Friar, who are delivering their sermons in the same church and to the same congregation. It is dull reading—duller probably to the general taste than any save *Love*—although it is easy to see that much fun could be got out of the parts by good low comedians. A fine bit of farce comes in at the very end, when the Curate and Constable Pratt try to eject the obstreperous pair. *The Four PP* is long drawn out, although the character delineation is excellent and the satire keen. And there is not the least bit of action. *John the Husband* is easily the most dramatic of the five, the play in which

Merry report. That wyll not be but ye may do thys
 Tell me your mynde I am an officer of hys.
Ranger. Be ye so, mary I cry you marcy
 Your maistershipp may say I am homely
 But syns your mynde is to haue reportyd
 The cause wherefore I am now resortyd
 Pleasyth it your maistershipp, etc.

Or the Water Miller:

What y^e deuyll shold skyl though all y^e world were dum
 Syns in all our spekyng we nevere be hard, etc.

And the Wind Miller (I have introduced punctuation here):

How! is all the wether gone or I come?
 For the passyon of god help me to some!

Thus the Gentlewoman:

Now good god what a foly is this
 What sholde I do where so mych people is
 I know not how to passe in to god now.

And best of all the boy, who perceives Merry Report first:

This same is euen he by allycklyhod
 Syr I pray you be not you master god.

¹ If we are only to allow that Heywood wrote such debates as *Love*, *Wit and Folly*, and even *Weather*, how are we to understand Heywood's own epigram on himself? "Art thou Heywood with the mad merry wit?" he asks, and "Art thou Heywood that hath made many mad plaiers?" As fond as our Tudor forefathers were of *débats*, their ideas of humor were not so far different from ours that they would call *Love* or even *Weather* a "mad plaire," or describe its wit as mad and merry. Such epithets are exactly appropriate to the realistic interludes of *The Pardoner*, *The Four PP*, and *John the Husband*.

there is most going on and which comes nearest to real farce in our sense of the word. But the man who could have written *The Four PP* could also have written *John the Husband*; that Mr. Wallace himself maintains. And the same skill in character and situation which shows in *The Four PP* is evident to the most casual reader in many parts of *Weather*, and even in two places in *Love*. There is in reality nothing whatever against the theory of single authorship of these plays, from the point of view of "dramatic conception, characterization, and acquaintance with men and events," if we allow, as we logically must, for the natural processes of development. If we place *Love* as the earliest play and *John the Husband* as the latest, there is observable a development away from plays on words and finicky arguments toward real comic incident which is similar to Lyly's progress from *Campaspe* to *Mother Bomby*, and to Shakespeare's from *Love's Labor's Lost* to *Twelfth Night*. And the periods limited by the plays cited were about equal—i.e., ten years.

It may be objected that dividing the interludes into earlier and later "periods," while it may explain many differences, will not solve the problem of subject-matter, of why one group is concerned with disputes upon abstractions and the other with picturing the life of the times. As a matter of fact, a thoroughly plausible explanation of the phenomenon has been adduced.¹ *Weather* and *Love* are didactic, after the manner of the mediaeval *débats*; they are not concerned with religious satire or contemporary life. The other three, while possibly didactic and argumentative in parts, are much more satirical of church abuses after the manner of contemporary French farce, and are little comedies of realism. Analogues, if not sources, for *John the Husband* and *The Pardonner*² have actually been found. The sharp difference in the matter of the interludes may thus be explained by the appearance of a new and powerful influence. There were plenty

¹ Cf. K. Young, "Influences of the French Farce on the Plays of John Heywood," *Mod. Philol.*, June, 1904.

² For *The Pardonner*, the farce *d'un pardoneur, d'un triacleur, et d'une tavernière*; for *John the Husband*, the farce of *Pernel qui va au vin*. The resemblances between the French and the English are too pronounced to permit doubt of interrelation. I cannot accept Mr. Wallace's suggestion (*Evolution*, p. 51) that the French may "equally well, even more probably, have borrowed" from England. When we find two nations developing the same kind of literature, we may feel sure that the lending, if any existed, was done by the nation which possessed the literature first. France had had the farce since the time of *Maitre Patelin*.

of opportunities, in the hobnobbings of England and France during the second and third decades of the century, for the English to see French farces. It is worth noting that the Field of the Cloth of Gold took place in 1520, close to the time when the interludes are supposed to have been written.

We may safely conclude, then, that there is nothing in the natures of the plays themselves which invalidates the theory that one man wrote them; a conclusion which is strengthened by the fact that one of the doubtful plays is ascribed to Heywood by authority which we have no right to dispute. Yet while, on the strength of that authority, and on general questions of style, we must admit *The Four PP* to the Heywood canon, the problem of the other two plays is not so easily settled. To prove that there is no reason why they *may not* have been written by Heywood is not to prove that they *were*. Yet by a more careful examination of the two questionable plays, we can, I think, establish for one of them a greater likelihood of Heywood's authorship than of any other man's, and thus corroborate by one-half accepted tradition.

It will be well to glance briefly over the steps by which this tradition has attained growth—and a very hollow tradition it is. Bale,¹ our first and greatest authority, and Pits,² who follows Bale closely, give as Heywood's dramatic writings only *The Four PP*, *Love*, and *Weather*. To Anthony à Wood, in *Athenae Oxonienses*, seems to be due the honor of adding to the list *The Pardoner* and *John the Husband*, but where his authority came from I cannot discover.

¹ In his *Scriptorum Illustrum Majoris Brytannie . . . Catalogus . . .* Basiliæ (1557). This is the second, revised edition of his work, and hence is more authoritative than the earlier. This is what Bale says of Heywood (Posterior Pars, p. 110): "Ioannes Heyuode, ciuis Londinensis, musices ac rhythmicae artis in sua lingua studiosus, & sine doctrina ingeniosus, pro choreis post comedationes & epulas hilariter ducendis, spectaculis, ludis, aut personatis ludicris exhibendis, aliisque uanitatibus fouendis, multum laborabat, ediditque

<i>De aura comoediam</i>	Lib. 1.
<i>De amore tragoediam [sic]</i>	Lib. 1.
<i>De quadruplici P.</i>	Lib. 1.
<i>Centum epigrammata</i>	Lib. 1.
<i>Ducenta alia epigrammata</i>	Lib. 1.
<i>Epigrammata proverbialia</i>	Lib. 1.

Sed in promouenda veritate nihil egit, ueritatis fastiditor. Vixit ille anno Domini 1556."

² Ioannis Pitsei . . . Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis Tomus Primus . . . Parisiis . . . M.D.C.XIX. Pits adds to the bibliographical note *De aranea & musca versus Anglicos, Librum vnum*, and *Rithmos alias Anglicos, Librum vnum*.

Everyone since his day appears to have accepted his word without question. It is "generally accepted."

With this verdict as regards one of the plays I have no inclination to quarrel. I believe *The Pardoner and the Friar* offers strong internal evidence that it is by the same hand which wrote *The Four PP.* The point has frequently been urged before. Not only are the Pardoners in the two interludes strikingly similar, in their knavish parade of insincere piety and in their display of fraudulent relics, but the relics themselves are in two cases the same, the likeness extending even to the texts themselves.

The Pardoner (Sig. A 2 verso):

And another holy ralyke here may ye see
 The great too of the holy trynyte.
 And who so euer ones dothe it in his mouthe take
 He shall neuer be dysseasyd with the tothe ake, etc.

The Four PP (Sig. C 1 verso):

Nay syrs beholde here may ye se
 The great toe of the trinite
 Who to this toe any money voweth
 And ones may role it in his moueth
 All his Lyfe after I vndertake
 He shall be ryd of the toth ake.

The Pardoner (same page):

Here is another relyke eke a precyous one
 Of all Hallows the blessyd Jaw bone.

The Four PP (Sig. C 1):

Frendes here shall ye see euyn anone
 Of all Hallows the blessyd iaw bone
 Kys it hardely with god deuocion.

It is easy to see why these two relics should turn up in both places. They are the most grotesque and striking of the whole scandalous list in *The Pardoner*, and when the author was tempted to repeat the success of this burlesque in another interlude, he took over bodily the two choicest bits. It may be objected that someone else may have pillaged Heywood, or vice versa; but I believe that we must be careful how we make charges of plagiarism in a period when the dramatic writing of this class was confined to a limited circle at court,

in which each man knew his own and his fellow's work too well. Furthermore, we do not find one dramatist pillaging another as a practice; they went to the classics or to French farce when they lacked inspiration. The parallelisms in *The Four PP* and *The Pardoner* are much more likely to show Heywood borrowing from Heywood than from anyone else. A direct chain of evidence, then, connects *The Pardoner* with the didactic plays of *Love* and *Weather*: printer's authority binds *The Four PP* to them, and verbal similarities bind *The Pardoner* and *The Four PP*.

There remains, then, only *John the Husband* unaccounted for, and I confess that I cannot definitely associate it with Heywood. It may well be his—but may it not as well be another's? Until we know something more of the authors of *Tom Tiler* and *Thersites*, until we find undoubted specimens of the work of Cornish, Crane, and even the youthful Sir Thomas More, we cannot with much show of evidence say that the style is Heywood's. The fact of its publication in 1533 by William Rastell lends a faint support to Heywood's claim. Mr. Wallace has put in a strong plea for William Cornish, the master of the Chapel Royal, as the author of the three questioned plays, on the simple basis of Cornish's great activity in preparing the revels at court in the first fourteen years of Henry VIII. But Cornish was not the only man writing interludes before 1533, nor have we any evidence that his work was more like these interludes than the early plays of Heywood himself. Our entire information as to what Cornish was capable of writing, aside from songs and pageants, consists in the knowledge that in 1515 he produced a dramatic arrangement of Chaucer's *Troilus and Cressida* and shortly after an interlude in which the actors took the parts of Sun, Moon, Wind, Rain, and other natural phenomena. Surely there is nothing here which suggests either the substance or the manner of *The Four PP*. Nor was Heywood the "dramatic successor" of Cornish, as Mr. Wallace has called him.¹ Cornish died in 1523, and his successor in office and as director of the Chapel children when they played at court was William Crane. When the payee for plays by the Chapel is named, it is always he, never Heywood. So until we know more of Crane, we must be careful of what we say about the relations of Cornish and Heywood.

¹ *Evolution*, p. 53.

Various attempts have been made to deduce the chronology of the plays, without much success, because there is so little to get hold of. Swoboda started it in his dissertation on "John Heywood als Dramatiker,"¹ in which he placed *The Pardoner* first because of the reference in it to Leo X, who died in 1521,² and because of the general youthfulness of it; and *The Four PP* last, because it was printed last and seemed older. Brandl³ planned his chronology according to the religious satire in the plays; he too put *The Pardoner* early and *The Four PP* later. With this relationship I am in agreement, for it seems clear from all indications that *The Four PP* is younger than *The Pardoner*. It is more varied in character, not so bound to the device of antiphonal dialogue, fuller of matter, more carefully written. And the treatment of the repeated bogus relics in *The Four PP* is precisely what one would expect in a later writing; not that the list is longer, as Swoboda observes, which really proves nothing (as Pollard⁴ remarks), but that the treatment is more dramatic, more elaborated for the fun to be derived. In *The Pardoner* the relics are recited in a monologue; in *The Four PP* the recital of the Pardoner is broken in upon by the comments of his listeners, so as to bring out the full richness of humor of these brilliant absurdities. In *The Pardoner* there is plain statement in soliloquy; in *The Four PP* there are character reaction and interplay, excellently worked out. The first is the original, the second the developed form. It could not be otherwise.

While I agree with Swoboda in the relative position of the two plays, I cannot believe that they were so far apart as he would place them. The reference to Leo X may mean that *The Pardoner* was written before his death, but not necessarily. At any rate, it could be dated as late as 1521, which must bring it after the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Swoboda limits the date of *The Four PP* to 1535 at the latest, on the dubious assumption that the passage in *Thersites* (produced in 1537 and possibly in 1536) in which Thersites

¹ In *Wiener Beiträge*, III, 1888.

² Sig. A 3:

Worshypfull maysters, ye shall vnderstand
That pope Leo the x. hath graunted with his hand
And by his bulles, confyrmed vnder sede
To all maner people, bothe quycke and dede . . . etc.

³ "Quellen des weltlichen Dramas," *Quellen und Forschungen*, LXXX.

⁴ In Gayley, *Representative Eng. Comedies*.

boasts of going down to harrow hell, goes back to the Pardoner's tale of the rescue of Margery Coorson. The parallelism is too slight to build on; and I cannot believe that two plays which are so closely bound together by the characters of the Pardoners and so clearly, in those characters, actuated by the same inspiration should be composed so far apart. It is a question of psychological probability, based upon plain common-sense, to which purely theoretic arguments must yield.

For this reason I would place *The Four PP* after *The Pardoner*, but nearer it—say 1524–27. *The Play of Love* has every evidence of being the earliest of them all. It is the kind of thing a very young man would do; it is nearly always the young men who write the hairsplitting *débats* on love and find delight in playing with words. Lyly's *Euphues* came at the outset of his career; Ford published his idealistic dissertations on love and honor in his youth. *Love's Labor's Lost* and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* came before *Twelfth Night* and *As You Like It*, and *Venus and Adonis* before the *Sonnets*. *Weather* seems to me to be connected with *Love* by certain tricks of style—by plays on words, by extensive use of alliteration, by passages composed of lists of nouns, sometimes in burlesque alliteration¹—and by the didactic feeling which relates them both to the

¹ Some examples of such word play are the following:

Weather, Sig. A (4) (Rastell edition):

For all weathers I am so indifferent
Sunne lyght, mone light, ster light, twy light, torch light,
Cold, hete, moyst dry haile raine frost snow lightning thunder
Cloudy, misty, wyndy, fayre, fowle aboue head or vnder
Temperate or distemperate what euer it be. . . .

Cf. also the alliterative list of towns on Sig. A 4, *verso*:

At Louin, at London, and at Lumbardy,
At Baldocke, at Barfold, and at Barbary,
At Canterbury, at Couentry, and at Colchester
At Wansworth, at Welbecke, and at Westchester, etc.

Such compilations as these, and especially the second set, recall at once similar lists in *Love*, as for example the following (Sig. B 2):

The smohest the smyrkest the smallest
The trewest, the trymest, the tallest,
The wysest, the wylyest, the wyldest,
The meryest, the manerlyest, the myldest, etc.

More in the nature of plays on words are these lines, *Weather*, Sig. A 3:

<i>Jupyter.</i>	Why, what arte thou that approchyst so ny?
<i>Mery report.</i>	Forsythe and please your lordshyppe it is I.
<i>Jupyter.</i>	All that we knowe very well, but what is I?
<i>Mery report.</i>	What I? some say I am I perse I But what maner I so euer be I I assure your good lorshypp I am I.

And this (Sig. D 2):

The more ye byb the more ye babyll
The more ye babyll the more ye fabyll
The more ye Fabyll the more vnstabyll
The more vnstabyll the more vnabyll, etc.

(Continued on p. 102)

débats. That it is the younger is proved by the advance in dramatic skill which has already been pointed out.

As to the place of *John the Husband* I am in doubt. From the point of view of variety of incident it would seem to come as a culmination in growth, but I am not sure that we can rely on that argument. While there is more incident than in *The Four PP*, there is no whit better characterization, and growth in characterization is more significant than any fluctuation in amount of incident; for the latter may follow a fashion, while the former comes from the dramatist himself, grows with him, and is dependent on no influences but the dramatist's own development.¹ It is probable, moreover, that the two plays which show French influence most—*The Pardoner* and *John the Husband*—would not stand far apart. But after all, did Heywood write *John the Husband*?

My conclusion as to the order of the plays is this: *Love*, ca. 1518, when Heywood was near twenty; *Weather*; *The Pardoner*, ca. 1521; *The Four PP*, ca. 1525 or even earlier; and *John the Husband*, later or earlier according to the prejudice of the reader. This arrangement is in the greatest degree provisional and uncertain, although I regard it as satisfactory enough in our present state of ignorance; there are, for instance, complicating circumstances which are too vague to argue upon, yet too likely to leave out of consideration. In the first place, it is not reasonable to assume that after the entry of the French influence Heywood never returned in his plays to his earlier didactic manner, either from choice or to please someone, like the Princess Mary, to whom the satirical pieces might not be agreeable; hence there may be excuse for dating *Weather* later than I have. In the second place, *The Pardoner*, which seems a less skilful piece of drama than *The Four PP* or *John the Husband*, may owe its defects, not to

Compare these with the following representative extracts from *Love* (Sig. B (3) verso):

Anone there was I loue you and I loue you
 Louely we louers loue each other
 I loue you and I for loue loue you
 My louely louyng loued brother
 Loue me, loue the, loue we, loue he, loue she,
 Depper loue apparent in no twayne can be, etc.

There is much more of this primitive euphuism in *Love* than in *Weather*, as might be expected from its earlier composition and the nature of the subject.

¹ It is worth adding that *The Four PP* was much more popular and lasted longer on the common stage than did the other interludes. In the play of *Sir Thomas More*, written in Elizabeth's reign, the troupe which is going to present a play before the banquet offers for consideration a number of pieces, among which is *The Four PP*.

extreme youth, but to the author's attempting for the first time a new kind of drama. Finally, whatever the precise dates of the plays, which I regard as of slight account, I would put them all before the Protestant Reformation; for I cannot conceive a devout Catholic, such as Heywood proved himself to be, who might satirize the abuses in his church when it was strong and well, carrying on the satire so blithely and with so much unforced enjoyment while it was in bitter need. Perhaps the appearance of so many of Heywood's plays in 1533 meant that the Reformation had, temporarily at least, put an end to his writing.

While we are occupied with Heywood, it may be worth while to consider one more point, which likewise has never received adequate attention: how and by whom his plays were presented. It has been generally reported that they were written for the children of the Chapel Royal, but this is by no means certain. The assumption arose, so far as I can discover, from the facts that Heywood on one occasion (in 1538) played before the Princess Mary with a company of children,¹ and that in one of his plays a child is called for. But we must bear in mind, first, that the company directed by him in 1538 is not said in the record of payment to be the Chapel boys; and secondly, that in only one of the five plays is a child obviously demanded, and then it is only one boy. Little Dick in *Weather* is described as a boy "the least that can playe," but there is no evidence that the other characters were children, and Merry Report, at least, was an adult, as is shown by his attitude of teasing encouragement to Dick. It is usually said that the plays were written for children; yet except for this one character I have failed to find in any part of them evidence supporting such an assumption.

Of course the possibility still remains that they were given in part or in whole by children; yet the meager array of evidence we have hardly justifies that conclusion. We fall upon greater difficulties if we suppose that the Chapel boys were the actors. We are at once puzzled to account for the circumstance of their being directed by a man who was in no way connected with the Chapel. True, Heywood may have been a boy there at one time, but during the

¹ The occasion is frequently referred to in histories of the stage. See, for instance, Wallace, *Evolution*, p. 84.

period in which the plays were written he was official player of the virginals and was enrolled among the musicians. All this time, moreover, the Chapel boys were playing under their regular masters, Cornish and Crane.

Taking all this into consideration, it seems impossible to assign Heywood's plays definitely to the Chapel Royal. There were other means of presenting them: perhaps by the regular troupe of interlude players (John English and his three companions), perhaps by the gentlemen of the Chapel, who were accustomed frequently to play in the court. We may wonder who were the boys with whom Heywood entertained the princess in 1538, and for lack of better knowledge suppose that they were of the Chapel Royal. But there was another body of children at court with whom Heywood must have come into closer contact—they were the six singing boys who formed part of the minstrels, and whose existence has heretofore been overlooked.¹ Since Heywood was himself one of the minstrels, or musicians, his relations to these lads must have been closer than to the Chapel. To be sure, it is not known that they ever acted; yet they were ready at hand, and may very possibly have been drilled for the stage by Heywood. I submit the hypothesis for what it is worth.

The investigator who is trying to establish the Heywood canon and who has gathered together the known facts which will help him is astonished to find how blank is our ignorance in many directions and how much unsubstantiated theorizing has passed current for fact. Yet there is enough reliable evidence to vindicate the traditional canon in regard to all but one of the plays. There is nothing to prove that *John the Husband* is by Heywood; but there is nothing to prove that it is not. It is perfectly possible that the man who wrote *The Four PP* and *The Pardoner* could have written this play; and I for one shall be glad to go on calling it Heywood's until some really worthy claimant appears.

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¹ These singing boys, called Children of the Privy Chamber and put in the charge of one of the luters, are met with in the court accounts of Mary and Elizabeth, and are known to have existed as early as 1465. In that year certain men were directed to gather by impressment "quosdam Pueros, Membris Naturalibus Elegantes, in Arte Ministrellarum instructos" wherever they could be found. See Rymer's *Foedera*, XI, 375.

THE POLITICAL SATIRE OF THE NON-JUROR

The extraordinary vogue of Cibber's *The Non-Juror* may be explained in part by the excellence of the original, *le Tartuffe*, from which it was indirectly adapted. That excellence accounts for its long stage history: not only was it frequently revived,¹ but in the slightly altered form of *The Hypocrite* it continued before the public from 1768² to 1823,³ and when cut down to a three-act comedy was still on the boards in 1889.⁴ But its unprecedented original run must be explained on somewhat different grounds—by its political satire.

Cibber's own account of the inception of the play is characteristically indefinite. He says:

About this Time Jacobitism had lately exerted itself by the most unprovoked Rebellion that our Histories have handed down to us since the Norman Conquest: I therefore thought that to set the Authors and Principles of that desperate Folly in a fair Light, by allowing the mistaken Consciences of some their best Excuse, and by making the artful Pretenders to Conscience as ridiculous as they were ungratefully wicked, was a Subject fit for the honest Satire of Comedy, and what might, if it succeeded, do Honour to the Stage by shewing the valuable Use of it. And considering what Numbers at that time might come to it as prejudic'd Spectators, it may be allow'd that the Undertaking was not less hazardous than laudable.⁵

The rebellion to which Cibber with such loyal indignation refers is the short-lived and half-hearted rising in favor of the Old Pretender in 1715. Scarcely a month elapsed after the Earl of Mar unfurled the Pretender's flag at Braemar on September 6 before the cause collapsed irretrievably; on November 13 seven peers and 1,489 men were captured at Preston by the royal troops and at once scattered about the kingdom in jails. To be sure, the Pretender

¹ October 18, 1745, at Covent Garden for eight nights (*Genest, Some Account*, IV, 188); October 22, 1745, at Drury Lane for thirteen nights (*ibid.*, IV, 173); January 4, 1750, at Covent Garden (*ibid.*, IV, 304); February 6, 1753, immensely successful revival at Drury Lane (*ibid.*, IV, 359); October 22, 1754, very successful revival at Covent Garden (*ibid.*, IV, 414).

² *Ibid.*, V, 218.

³ *Ibid.*, IX, 188.

⁴ Cibber, *Apology*, ed. Lowe, 1889, II, 288.

⁵ Cibber, *op. cit.*, II, 185 f.

himself landed in Scotland on January 2 of 1716, but he found conditions so unpromising that on February 4 he embarked for France. By April not only were the Highlands of Scotland tranquil, but the Pretender was forced to leave French soil for the territory of the Pope at Avignon.

This bare recital of events raises a question: Why did Cibber bring out his play on December 6, 1717, instead of during the spring or at least the fall of the preceding year? The rising was crushed by April, 1716. By the historian of a later date the danger is seen to have been over about six months earlier. Why the delay? To answer we shall have to discover how the matter seemed to the public for whom the play was written. We shall have to see how popular opinion concerning the rebellion was reflected in the newspapers of the time.

The examination shows that politics in those days was a turbulent game. Popular tumults were frequent whenever any anniversary gave occasion for crowds to gather. On the anniversary of the Restoration in 1716 mobs "wearing in their Hats, Oak Branches for Badges of Sedition and Rebellion in a riotous and tumultuous Manner, went about Town to insult all his Majesty's loyal Subjects," annoying them among other ways by breaking their windows.¹ On August 6 "Two Soldiers [were] whipped almost to Death in Hyde-Park, and turned out of the Service, for wearing Oak-Boughs in their Hats the 29th of May."² Similar riots occurred on June 10, the birthday of the Pretender.

The next year the demonstrations were, if possible, even more brutal, or the newspapers more outspoken in their reporting.

Wednesday [May 29] being the Anniversary of the Restoration of King Charles the Second, the same Spirit of Faction seem'd to incite some of the High-Church Mob to wear Oak-Leaves, and the other Distinctions of Rebellion, for which some of 'em were sent to several Prisons, and some bound over, whilst others were severely treated by the loyal Party wherever they met them.³

Last Monday being suppos'd to be the Birth-Day of the Sovereign of the White-Rose a sort of shabby-genteel Gentlewoman (we suppose

¹ Read's *Weekly Journal*, June 2, 1716.

² Salmon's *Chronological Historian*, 1747.

³ Read's *Weekly Journal*, June 1, 1717.

her to be some Manteau-maker, or worse) walking along Cheapside, with a rebellious Badge of White-Roses in her Bosom, a Gentleman stepping out of his Coach, corrected her Impudence by soundly flauging her, and then sticking the Pretender's white Badge in her blind Cheeks, she was most strangely teaz'd and insulted by all loyal People till she got home. The same Day two Scotch Soldiers near Rothehith were assaulted by a parcel of Fellows, who presum'd to thrust their White-Roses into their Faces, which were soon died in Blood, by one of the Soldiers cutting almost off one of the Jacks Hands, which made the rest run away for Fear of worse Punishment. The same Day one Mollut a Soldier in the second Regiment of Foot Guards, walking in Tuttle Fields with his Wife was assaulted by 6 Villains, who spoke disrespectfully of the King, and said, That King James (meaning the Pretender) was the rightful King. Hereupon the Soldier engag'd them, and only by the Assistance of 2 other Persons took 2 of the Gang who are now in the Hold, which made the other Cowards of the White-Rose Society run away.¹

Now Cibber was no fool. He did not let slip such opportunities as these disturbances furnished for a Whig attack on the enemies of the government. But he did use anything but a subtle method of introducing the allusions. He merely gathered them together in the account of expenses which Sir John conveniently drops for his son to pick up and read to the audiences:

Laid out at several times for the Secret Service of His M—

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
<i>May the 28th, For six Baskets of Rue and Time,</i>	00	18	00
<i>The 29th, ditto, Two Cart-Loads of Oaken-Boughs,</i>	02	00	00
<i>June the 10th, For ten Bushels of White Roses,</i>	01	10	00
<i>Ditto,—Given to the Bell-ringers of several Parishes,</i>	10	15	00
<i>Ditto,—To Simon Chaunter, Parish-Clerk, for his Selecting proper Staves adapted to the Day,</i>	05	07	06
<i>Ditto,—For Lemons and Arrack sent into Newgate,</i>	09	05	00
<i>. . . . Allow'd to Patrick Mac-Rogue, of the Foot-Guards, for prevailing with his Comrade to desert,</i>	04	06	06
<i>Given as Smart-Money to Humphrey Stanch, Cobler, lately whipt for speaking his Mind of the Government,</i>	03	04	06 ²

It needs little imagination to hear the applause that greeted the successive items in the bill.

¹ *Ibid.*, June 15, 1717.

² *The Non-Juror*, 1753, pp. 33 f.

To return to the newspapers. These disturbances alarmed not alone the people. That the government considered its position insecure is clear from the prosecutions in which it engaged. There was great dissatisfaction at the acquittal of one Townley, the evidence against whom was in fact very damaging. Not only did Read's *Journal*, the Whig organ, give a particular account of the pleadings,¹ but the *Flying Post* printed the following letter:

I know it has been given out very Industriously, that the Evidence against Mr. Townley of Townley, and Mr. Tildlesly of the Lodge, who were try'd on Tuesday last [May 15] at the Marshalsea for High-Treason was not full, and upon that Account the Jury acquitted them, but I can assure you on the contrary, that the Evidence against them was very strong and particular, and so Satisfactory to the Judges, and by them so faithfully and well Summ'd up, that it was a very great Surprize to every one present, that those Gentlemen shou'd be acquitted. And the Judges were so dissatisfy'd with those Two Verdicts, and with some others given by that Jury, that on Thursday last the said Jury was discharg'd, and the Sheriff order'd to impanel a new one, to Try the rest of the Prisoners in the Marshalsea.²

Indeed, the event left so deep an impression on the public mind that Cibber's reference eighteen months later to the trial of a Sir Harry Foxhound³ was at once identified by two pamphleteers who retailed the gossip of the coffee-houses as a hit at Townley.⁴

¹ *Op. cit.*, May 19, 1716.

² *The Flying-Post: or, The Post-Master*, May 19, 1716.

³ *The Non-Juror*, p. 39. Dr. Wolf directs his servant: "O! and—here step yourself this Afternoon to Mr. Defeazance of Gray's-Inn, and give him this Thirty Pound Bill from Sir Harry Foxhound, beg him to sit up Night and Day till the Writings are finish'd: For his Trial certainly comes on this Week, he knows we can't always be sure of a Jury, and a Moment's delay may make the Commissioners lay hold of his Estate." In Dr. Wolf's list of expenses (*The Non-Juror*, p. 34) appears a similar reference: "Paid to Henry Conscience, Juryman, for his extraordinary Trouble in acquitting Sir Preston Rebel of his Indictment, 53l. 15s. 0od."

⁴ In *The Comedy call'd the Non-Juror. Shewing the particular Scenes wherein that Hypocrite is concern'd. With Remarks, and a Key, Explaining The Characters of that Excellent Play*, p. 24, we read: "Henry Conscience. The honest Foreman of the Jury, who gave in the Verdict upon Townley, when try'd at the Marshalsea, Not Guilty. Mr. Defeazance. Mr. Hornsby, a Gentleman of Grays-Inn, committed some time since to Newgate, for irregular Practices acted against the Government."

"Sir Harry Foxhound. Is one Townly of Townly in Lancashire, who with others meeting 'Squire Foster in Northumberland, under the Pretence of hunting the Fox, they there rose in Rebellion, but the Rebels being routed at Preston, the abovesaid Townly was brought up to the Marshalsea Prison in Southwark; but upon his Tryal there, had the too good Luck to be acquitted."

In Joseph Gay's [i.e., John Durant Breval] *A Compleat Key to the Non-Juror. Explaining The Characters in that Play, with Observations thereon*, 3d ed., p. 25, we read:

The eagerness of the Whigs to deal with all those implicated in the rebellion was shown in the baselessness of some of the prosecutions. Such were the indictments found against Sir William Windham and a Mr. Harvey of Combe on May 25, 1716.¹ Harvey had to be discharged on November 28, 1716,² and Sir William on February 12, 1717. According to a contemporary authority, Cibber made use of this popular interest in Mr. Harvey by depicting him as the gullible Orgon of his play,³ though the "Non-Juror" indignantly denied this identification.⁴ There can at any rate be little doubt that many in the audiences made that identification as one more point in the political satire of the play.

Equally famous was the trial of a French Jew, born at Bordeaux and never naturalized, whose cipher communications in a lawsuit got him into no end of trouble. He was arraigned at the Old Bailey for high treason on June 14, 1716. His acquittal on January 22, 1717, was a matter of great disappointment to the Whigs, a disappointment reflected in the following account:

On Tuesday last [January 22] came on the Tryal of Francia the Jew, which lasted from 10 in the Morning to 11 at Night, before the Lord Chief Baron Bury, Mr. Justice Tracy, and Mr. Justice Prat. . . . The Charge against him laid in the Indictment, was for compassing and imagining the

"*Mr. Defearance of Grays-Inn, Mr. H—d . . . Sir Harry Foxhound—Mr. Townley. Henry Conscience—The Foreman of his Jury.*"

That these pamphlets summed up the gossip among the political factions may be inferred from their late appearance, January 6, 1718, when the *pièce à clef* had already been presented seventeen times. It is possible that Gay's identification of Sir Harry was taken from *The Comedy call'd*, as it first appeared in his third edition, issued some time after January 8, when, according to the advertisement in *The Daily Courant*, the second edition appeared. The popularity of these identifications, among the others that were probably made in the various cliques of that day, is attested by the repeated editions, and by the angry protest of the "Non-Juror's" *The Theatre-Royal Turn'd into a Mountebank's Stage. In Some Remarks upon Mr. Cibber's Quack-Dramatical Performance, called the Non-Juror*, on January 11.

¹ "Yesterday [May 25] the Grand Jury of Middlesex found Bills of Indictment against Sir Will. Windham and Mr. Harvey of Comb" (*Read's Weekly Journal*, May 26, 1716).

² "Wednesday [November 28] being the last Day of the Term, Sir Will. Windham, and Mr. Harvey of Comb, appeared at the King's-Bench-Bar at Westminster, upon their Recognizances; the latter was discharg'd with his Bail, but the former was continued upon Recognizance, the Attorney-General declaring to the Court, That there appeared Matter of Misprision of Treason against him, and that he had receiv'd Orders to proceed against him on that Head" (*Read's Weekly Journal*, December 1, 1716).

³ Gay, p. 25: "Sir John Woodvil is generally attributed to Mr. H—y of C—be."

⁴ *Theatre-Royal Turn'd*, p. 33: "For what reason also he calls his *imaginary Key* a *compleat* one, might not be out of the Question, since Sir John Woodvil's Character, and Mr. H—y of C—b, are as different from each other as Light from Darkness."

Death of the King, and raising Rebellion and levying War against His Majesty, by writing Letters, and sending into France for Men, Money, and Arms, to aid the Pretender, and set him upon the Throne of these Realms. The Jury being call'd upon the Pannel, he challeng'd several peremptorily, and 12 being sworn and charg'd, the Court then proceeded to his Trial. . . . The Tryal being over, the Judges concur'd in their Opinion, that the Treason was fully and Plainly prov'd, but the Jury brought him in not guilty.¹

To this celebrated case Cibber was careful to introduce a transparent reference:

Doct. . . . So *Charles*, hast thou finish'd those Letters?

Charles. I have brought them, Sir.

Doct. 'Tis very well, let them be seal'd without a Direction, and give them to *Aaron Sham* the Jew, when he calls for them.²

This was easily identified by the pamphleteers,³ and as stoutly denied by the "Non-Juror."⁴

From these various identifications with some of the famous cases growing out of the Rising of 1715 it is clear that Cibber was directing part of the satire in his belated comedy at the Jacobite enemies of the Whig government, perturbation concerning whom was still felt in the first months of 1717. The return of quiet was further delayed by a new panic that stirred the nation in the same winter. To go back to beginnings, it should be remembered that some two months before his accession to the throne of England George, as Elector of Hanover, had acquired from Denmark the captured Swedish duchies of Bremen and Verden. On October 15, 1715, Charles XII of Sweden declared war on Hanover, but he did little for many months. On January 29, 1717, however, Count Gyllenborg, an adviser of Charles who had been sent as Swedish envoy to the Court of Saint James,

¹ Read's *Weekly Journal*, January 26, 1717.

² *The Non-Juror*, pp. 38 f.

³ "Aaron Sham. *Is Francia the Jew, try'd after a long Confinement in Newgate, at Justice-Hall in the Old-Baily, for holding a secret Correspondence, by Letters, with his Majesty's Enemies at home and abroad and his since withdrawn himself to France?*" (*Comedy call'd*, p. 24). "Aaron-Sham the Jew, Mr. Francia, try'd for High-Treason, and acquitted" (*Gay*, p. 25).

⁴ ". . . there are no . . . Grounds to imagine, that because the Doctor bids his Servant deliver such and such Letters to *Aoran Sham* the Jew, he must thereby mean Mr. *Francia*" (*Theatre-Royal Turn'd*, pp. 33 f.).

was arrested and his papers seized because he was thought to be carrying on treasonable designs against the government. At the same time Baron Görz, the Swedish minister in Holland, was arrested on his way to London. It was discovered that these two, with Sparre, the representative at Paris, were concerting with the Jacobites for a fresh insurrection to be supported by twelve thousand Swedish troops.¹

When these matters were made public in March, the Whig organ devoted five folio columns to the account, filling two additional columns with the action of Parliament.² As news in general was given in short paragraphs, we can understand the extraordinary excitement of these events. The fear of coalition made the Whigs more active than ever. Thanks to the Septennial Act of May 7, 1716, the prestige of the government abroad had risen to the point where it could enforce its wishes. On February 6, 1717, the Regent of France accordingly found it advisable to redeem a promise of the preceding summer by compelling the Pretender to leave Avignon, whereupon that prince removed beyond the Alps.

In the summer another trouble of long standing was settled. By the Treaty of Utrecht the fortifications of Dunkirk were to be razed and the harbor filled up. But in September, 1714, England learned that a fresh harbor was being made at Mardyck, connected by canal with the town of Dunkirk and capable of sheltering ships in greater number and of larger tonnage than the harbor of Dunkirk itself. Early in 1715 Louis XIV gave a voluntary pledge not to make any work of fortification on the new canal. On August 10, 1717, it was reported that "Letters from Mardyke say, that they Continue to work diligently on Demolishing the Works there."³ The same month Count Gyllenborg was sent home, the troops reduced, and a treaty of accommodation with Sweden was arranged.

¹ Cibber has a reference to this design: "*Doct.* No matter, let them [the French] go—we have made a good Exchange, our New Ally is yet better, as he is less suspected" (*The Non-Juror*, p. 37).

² "A full Discovery of the Design of raising a Rebellion in his Majesty's Dominions, to be supported by a Force from Sweden; as carried on by Count Gyllenborg the Swedish Ambassador here, Baron Gortz the Swedish Ambassador in Holland, and Baron Sparre, the Swedish Ambassador in France" (seven columns in Read's *Weekly Journal*, March 2, 1717).

³ Read's *Weekly Journal*, August 10, 1717.

To both of these reassuring events, the removal of the Pretender and the work of Mardyck, Cibber was careful to make reference,¹ but more essential to his plot was another act of the summer of 1717, the most direct evidence of the government's mastery of the situation and confidence in itself. The unimpeachably whiggish Read informed the public that—

Last Monday [July 15] his Majesty went about 6 a Clock in the Evening to the Parliament House, where being seated in his Royal Robes on the Throne, he was pleased to give the Royal Assent to the King's most gracious and free Pardon, after which his Majesty made the following most gracious Speech. . . . *My Lords and Gentlemen*, It is with great Pleasure that I see the Tranquillity of the Nation so well Establish'd as to admit of an Act of Grace, which I have long desired a fit Opportunity to Grant.²

On Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday the prisoners in messenger's hands, also those in Newgate and Marshalsea, were discharged on "pleading his Majesty's most gracious Pardon."³ On August 10 the public learned that "All the State Prisoners, who were brought hither in the late Rebellion, from Liverpool, Chester, and Preston, were discharged last Week."⁴ This confidence and tranquillity was not unaccompanied by loyal gloating over the new-found freedom from alarm. A contemporary account runs:

Upon the passing the Act of Grace, the Remainder of the *Preston* Prisoners were discharged, and particularly 200 from the Castle of *Chester*; but they had undergone such Hardships in Prison, that many of them reaped little Benefit by it, being so disabled, that they could not stand when they were dismissed to their respective Homes, where they had Leisure to lament the rash Undertaking; And, no doubt, their Sufferings will deter others from disturbing the Government for the future.⁵

The most conspicuous instance of the royal clemency was a son of that Duke of Atholl whose adherence to the crown had meant so

¹ "Doct. . . . the Court's extremely throng'd—never was there such a concourse of Warlike Exiles: though they talk, this sharp Season, of removing farther into *Italy*, for the benefit of milder Air" (*The Non-Juror*, p. 35). "Sir John. 'Tis true, but still I am amaz'd, that *France* so totally should have left us—*Mardyke*, they say, will certainly be demolish'd" (*ibid.*, p. 37).

² Read's *Weekly Journal*, July 20, 1717.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, August 10, 1717.

⁵ Salmon, *Chronological Historian*, July 15, 1717.

much to the government in the early days of the rebellion. This young man,

Lord Charles Murray, fought at Preston, where he distinguished himself by his conspicuous courage, and after the surrender of that town on 14 November was made prisoner, and on 28 November 1715, with five other officers (four of whom were shot on 2 December) was tried as a deserter, he having been a cornet in the Fifth Dragoons. Lord Charles was sentenced to death, but pleading that he had placed his commission in the hands of a relative before joining the rebellion, and great efforts being made by his family, he was reprieved, and, in August 1717, set at liberty.¹

Popular interest in the affair is shown by the frequent notice taken of it in the papers. On August 24, for instance, the public learned that—

The Lord Charles Murry, youngest Son to the Duke of Athol, who was sentence'd by a Court-Martial at Preston, and on Account of the Interest of his Noble Family, respited from Execution, but excepted by the Act of Grace, is to be sent to the Isle of Wight, to remain a Prisoner there during the King's Pleasure.²

On September 14 it was noted that—

A Pardon hath pass'd the Seals for the Lord Charles Murray, Youngest Son to the Duke of Athol, who was Sentence'd to be Shot to Death at Preston, for Deserting His Majesty's Service, and joyning the Rebels.³

The act of grace was indispensable to Cibber's plot. In the play he foils the schemes of the villain, Dr. Wolf, by the devotion of Charles to Maria and the rest of Sir John Woodvil's family. To be able to foil the villain, Charles had to be made a former pupil of Dr. Wolf and a Preston rebel, in order that he might be familiar with the hypocrite's part in the rebellion. After these signal services, the audience of course would demand that he be saved, yet this could be accomplished only by an act of royal clemency. Furthermore, Charles had to serve as Dr. Wolf's servant in Sir John's family, and consequently had to be made to escape detection at Preston and in that way keep out of prison. This circumstance, however, evidently did not keep the public from recognizing him as Lord Charles

¹ Sir Robert Douglas, *The Scots Peerage*, 1904.

² Read's *Weekly Journal*, August 24, 1717.

³ *Ibid.*, September 14, 1717.

Murray.¹ Considering the conspicuousness of the latter's pardon and the importance of Charles's pardon in the play, the identification was rather obvious. It is just possible that the lengthy description of the reconciliation between father and son in Act IV² was taken by many as a transcript of the actual reconciliation of the preceding September.

It will thus be seen that the successive agitations in the state—the riotous celebrations of anniversaries, the numerous trials of alleged traitors, the fresh panic of the Swedish coalition, the unsatisfactory relations with France concerning the Pretender and the harbor at Mardyck—that these perturbations would have deterred any manager, no matter how venturesome, from presenting on the stage before the fall of 1717 an attack on the Jacobites. There was too much uncertainty concerning Jacobite machinations, there was too little confidence in the impregnable position of the Whig government, to warrant such a bold satire of its enemies. It will be equally clear that from August on, such a satire not only would be possible but would be likely to meet with unbounded applause from the intrenched supporters of the government. Moreover, we have seen that the inception of Cibber's plot must be dated from the late summer or the fall of 1717.

But the satire of *The Non-juror* was ostensibly directed against the sect that gave the play its name. A consideration of this feature of the plot will make still clearer why the play was not written till the late summer or the fall of 1717.

The Nonjurors had of course long been obnoxious to the Whig element in England. That was inevitable from the circumstances of their origin. It will be recalled that on the accession of William and Mary an oath of allegiance was required of all the clergy of the Church of England. Four hundred of the number, among them the archbishop of Canterbury and several bishops, refused to take it because they regarded their oath to James II as still binding. From this refusal they were known as Nonjurors. They were in a few months deprived of their livings and sees, and the sees were filled by an act of Parliament. On the death of James in 1701 an act of

¹ "Charles is suppos'd to be a young Nobleman, Son to the Duke of A---l" (Gay p. 25).

² *The Non-Juror*, pp. 71 f.

Parliament (1702) required every beneficed clergyman to abjure the pretended Prince of Wales as lawful heir to the throne and to acknowledge William III and each of his successors according to the Act of Settlement as rightful and lawful king. In 1714 Parliament passed a law requiring everyone holding an office worth more than five pounds a year to swear that George I was rightful and lawful king, and that the person pretending to be the Prince of Wales had not any right or title whatsoever. The last two oaths probably brought few additions to the sect, but may have kept some of the original seceders out of the Established Church.

The tenets of the Nonjurors in particular aroused the wrath of the Whigs. One of their strongest beliefs was that, in its purely spiritual functions, the church was independent of the state. They could not regard the ejection of the nonjuring bishops by an act of Parliament as lawful in any sense. The body held that the ejected bishops, not the new ones put into their sees by civil power, were the true officers of the Church of England. In order that this true church might continue (for they were of opinion that there would be no church were there no officers to represent it), they decided in 1693 to consecrate new bishops to take the place of the nonjuring ones when the latter died. What seemed to them at the time the only practicable way of accomplishing this was to ordain suffragan bishops according to a statute of Henry VIII. George Hicks was accordingly dispatched to the Pretender at St. Germain to secure the necessary *congé d'élire*. When the bishops were chosen, the two who were consecrated as suffragans under Henry's act were given the sees of Thetford and Ipswich, because both were in the diocese of Norwich, over which Lloyd, one of the original Nonjurors, claimed jurisdiction. George Hicks, who was made incumbent of Thetford, died in 1715. Some of his papers were later made public, so that the whole affair, as we shall see, was once more the subject of discussion.

The cup of bitterness for the Nonjurors was filled by the Rising of 1715. Their very natural participation in that ill-starred undertaking raised them to a bad eminence from which it was impossible to descend. So conspicuous was the conduct of even the inconspicuous members that it was long remembered. Rev. William Newton, writing in 1730, declared:

The Controversy of the new Schism made a much greater Noise upon the late Tumults and Rebellion than it had ever done since the Filling of the depriv'd Sees by K. *William*; and the *Jacobite* Conventicles were more frequented in the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*; and Priests of that Way were sent down to gather the like Congregations in Country Towns: And many of the *high* Folk, especially the *Women*, seem'd to come to the parochial Churches in and about *London*, for the Sake of their *Pews*, and their *Cloaths*, rather than for Conformity to the *publick Worship*. For they wou'd not join in any Part of the Prayers for King *George*, and his Royal Family, but at the Mention of those Names, they wou'd rise up, or sit down, or, at least, express their Dissent in some visible Manner.¹

On July 13, 1716, two of the Nonjurors out of two dozen Jacobites that had been sentenced suffered the penalty for their mistaken loyalty. The contemporary account by the curious but even-tempered Calamy notes: "Parson Paul and Justice Hall were executed at Tyburn, and left most impudent papers behind them, which were published. . . .² The two speeches . . . revived a debate that had lain for some time asleep in the Church of England."³

Fuel was added to the rekindled blaze by Lawrence Howell, who brought more conspicuously before the public the peculiar tenets of the sect. The first announcement of his writings consisted merely of this sentence: "On Wednesday last [September 5, 1716] Mr. Howel, a Non-juring Clergy-man, was committed to Newgate, for

¹ William Newton, *Life of the Right Reverend Dr. White Kennett*, p. 161.

² The nature of these execrated beliefs is plainly set forth in these two excerpts: "You see, my Countrymen, by my Habit, that I die a Son, tho a very unworthy one, of the Church of England: but I would not have you think that I am a Member of the Schismatical Church, whose Bishops set themselves up in opposition to those Orthodox Fathers, who were unlawfully and invalidly depriv'd by the Prince of Orange. I declare that I renounce that Communion, and that I die a Dutiful and Faithful Member of the Nonjuring Church; which has kept it self free from Rebellion and Schism, and has preserv'd and maintain'd true Orthodox Principles, both as to Church and State. And I desire the Clergy, and all Members of the Revolution-Church, to consider what Bottom they stand upon, when their Succession is grounded upon an Unlawful and Invalid Deprivation of Catholick Bishops; the only Foundation of which Deprivation, is a pretended Act of Parliament" (*Remarks on the Speeches of William Paul Clerk, and John Hall of Otterburn, Esq., Executed at Tyburn for Rebellion, the 13th of July, 1716*, p. 8).

"I declare that I die a true and sincere Member of the Church of England; but not of the Revolution Schismatical Church, whose Bishops have so rebelliously abandon'd the King, and so shamefully given up the Rights of the Church, by submitting to the Unlawful, Invalid, Lay-Deprivations of the Prince of Orange. The Communion I die in is that of the True Catholick Nonjuring Church of England; and I pray God to prosper and increase it, and to grant, if it be his good pleasure, that it may rise again and flourish" (*ibid.*, p. 31).

³ Edmund Calamy, *An Historical Account of my Own Life*, II, 357 f.

being concerned in a treasonable Pamphlet, entitled, The present State of Schism in the Church of England consider'd."¹ The following Monday, September 10, *The Daily Courant*, totally contrary to its policy, gave the following domestic news:

Upon Information that a Treasonable Pamphlet newly printed was lodged in the House of Mr. Lawrence Howell, a Nonjuror, in Bull-head-Court in Jervin-Street, Search was made, and a large Impression of the said Pamphlet, part of them Sticht, the rest in Sheets, was seized. His papers were also secured, and he himself taken into Custody: And after he had been Examined by a Committee of Lords of the Council at the Cockpit, he was last Week committed to Newgate. The said Pamphlet is Intituled, *The Case of Schism in the Church of England truly stated*. It appears to have been intended to be dispersed or sold privately; those which were found sticht up, as well as the others, having no Title Page with the Name of any Author, Printer or Publisher.

Then followed over a column of quotations.

Among the said Mr. Howell's Papers were found, an Original Instrument, by which it appears that he was ordained and instituted into Priest's Orders in 1712 by the late Dr. Hickes: And also the Form of Absolution and Reception of Converts to Jacobitism. Both which Pieces are as follows.

They filled nearly two columns.²

On Friday the same paper opened with:

A Letter to the Writer of the Courant, Sept. 13. "The Whole of what I have seen of the Non-jurors late Writings, as it is manifestly in direct Opposition and Defiance to all Authority in this Nation, so 'tis very agreeable to the Principles and Doctrines, taught and published in the Two last Reigns by Dr. Hickes, Mr. Collier,"

and so on. Read's *Journal* the next day, September 15, filled three columns with the same matter, adding a final paragraph of coarse vituperation to show its more vehement Whig principles. On Monday, September 17, *The Daily Courant*, almost without fail a single sheet, printed on both sides, now used three sheets, making five pages. The reason for this expansion was thus given:

There being still such a Demand for the Courant of the 10th Instant, that 'tis necessary to reprint it; we shall at the same time subjoin to it, a Letter inserted in the Courant of Sept. 14; and also some Quaeries never published before.

¹ Read's *Weekly Journal*, September 8, 1716.

² Cibber alluded to such manuals in the first words Dr. Wolf utters in the play: "Charles. Step up into my Study, and bring down half a Dozen more of those Manual Devotions that I compos'd for the Use of our Friends in Prison" (*The Non-Juror*, p. 21).

The addition was entitled, "Quaerries concerning the Schism charged by the Non-jurors upon the present Church of England," and filled two columns and a half. Read's *Journal* of the following Saturday, September 22, copied these queries, with some errors, and added this piece of news:

On Tuesday last [September 18], Mr. Wilcox, one of His Majesty's Messengers, seiz'd at the House of one Alexander a Sawyer in *Labor-in-vain-Alley* near Fish-street, a very large Impression of Mr. Howell's *New Ecclesiastical Farce*, call'd, *The Case of Schism in the Church of England truly stated*; together with one Montgomery, a Non-juring Parson.

The popular excitement, tremendous as it was, was more than equalled by the theological ire. The very directness of Howell's statement of the Nonjurors' position¹ in his little pamphlet of thirty-six pages was a challenge to the upholders of the Establishment that at once drew replies in the public prints,² and more vehement attacks in a pamphlet warfare.³ Anger was extended to rage by an announce-

¹ "Intending Brevity in this Discourse, I shall say this in general, before I descend to particulars; That the odious Name of *Separatist* belongs to those, who departed from the Church's true Communion in the Year 1688, and since; and not to the *Chast Few*, who for the Preservation of a good Conscience quitted their then present Support, and Prospect of further Promotion. These are still as much Friends of the Church, and Enemies of Schism, as ever: But by the Church, they understand the *True Old Church of England*, with all her venerable Doctrines of Faith, Justice and moral Honesty, and all her strict Decrees against the *resisting, deposing, and forfeiting* Doctrines. . . . This pure Virgin-Church, which may be said once more to be driven into the Wilderness, and chiefly (O horrid!) by her unnatural Ranegado Sons, the Non-jurors say is the Church to which they adhere, and from which the Complyers have separated, by departing from her ancient Doctrine and Practice, notwithstanding they keep Possession of the loyal Churches, from which the Non-jurors were illegally ejected.

"This began a spiritual War, which on the Non-jurors side was purely Defensive; because they were driven from the Publick, and therefore were forc'd to set up separate Oratories or Chapels, in which they think and are satisfied, that the pure Church of *England*, with her pure Worship may be seen and heard like the Church at *Jerusalem*, in the first Persecution of Christianity in the *upper Rooms*. . . . The Authority of the Church of *England* and consequently the Church of *England* it self was with the depriv'd Bishops and Clergy, and remains still with their Successors, who alone have immutably adher'd to her true Constitutions and Principles" (*The Case of Schism in the Church of England truly stated*, pp. 1 ff.).

² "From the Mountains of Wales, Sept. 26, 1716. The Heads of an expostulatory Letter to the Gentleman who lately made Remarks on Mr. Howell's treasonable and schismatical Pamphlet" (Read's *Weekly Journal*, October 6, 1716). "Having given you in our last the Substance of the Nonjurors Charge of Schism upon the Church of England; we have thought fit to insert in this an Answer thereto, written by an eminent Clergyman of the Church of England" (*ibid.*, October 27, 1716, four columns, signed "John Knox")."

³ Thomas Bennet, *The Nonjurors Separation from the Public Assemblies of the Church of England, Examin'd And prov'd to be Schismatical upon their own Principles* (from advertisements in *Daily Courant* we learn that the first edition appeared October 4, second

ment in *The Daily Courant* for October 15, to which four full pages and a half-column on the fifth page were devoted:

Last Week was seized by one of His Majesty's Messengers, at Mr. William Redmayne's Printing House in Jervin-Street, one Copy (the rest of the Impression having before been conveighed out of the House,) of a Book Intituled, *The Constitution of the Catholick Church, and the Nature and Consequences of Schism, set forth in a Collection of Papers, written by the late R. Reverend George Hickes, D.D.*

Bishop White Kennett led off with a refutation¹ so valuable that *The Daily Courant* gave four pages and a half-column of excerpts from it.² Other pamphlets followed,³ of which by far the most famous was

edition October 6, 1716; J. Pierce published two answers to it); Anonymous, *The Establish'd Church of England Vindicated From the Imputation of Schism; In a Serious Address to all the Members of Her Communion; In which is Shewn From the constant Doctrines and Principles which the Church has always Taught, that the Nonjurors Separation is really Schismatical* (appeared October 13, 1716). A. A. Sykes: *An Answer to the Nonjurors Charge of Schism upon the Church of England. Written by a Clergyman of the Church of England* (appeared October 20); Anonymous, *The Layman's Vindication of the Church of England, As well against Mr. Howell's Charge of Schism, As against Dr. Bennett's Pretended Answer to it* (appeared October 22); Anonymous, *A Dissuasive Against Joining with the Conventicles of Nonjurors; in A Serious and Earnest Address to the Subjects of Great Britain* (appeared October 25).

¹ *A Second Letter to the Lord Bishop of Carlisle, Lord Almoner to His Majesty, Upon the Subject of Bishop Merks; By Occasion of seizing some Libels, particularly A Collection of Papers Written by the Late R. Reverend George Hickes, D.D.* (first edition, October 30; second edition, November 6).

² "The Reverend Dr. Kennett, Dean of Peterborough, having in a Pamphlet intituled *A Second Letter to the Lord Bishop of Carlisle, &c.*, made very instructive Remarks on Dr. Hickes's Collection of Papers which have been lately printed and dispersed clandestinely for promoting the Jacobite Schism; 'tis thought proper to give the Publick the following Extract of such of those Remarks as may be of most general Use." Thus reads the introduction to the excerpts.

³ *A Vindication of the Realm, and Church of England, From the Charge of Perjury, Rebellion, and Schism, Unjustly laid upon them by the Non-Jurors: And the Rebellion and Schism shewn to lie at their own Doors* (appeared November 2, 1716); *A Letter to a Non-Juring Clergyman, Concerning the Schism Charged upon the Church of England* (appeared November 14); *A Preservative Against the Principles and Practices of the Nonjurors Both in Church and State. Or, An Appeal to the Consciences and Common sense of the Christian Laity. By the Right Reverend Father in God Benjamin, Lord Bishop of Bangor* (first appeared November 20, 1716; second edition, November 23); *The Sin of Schism Most unjustly and groundlessly charged by the Nonjurors Upon the present Establish'd Church of England, and the Charge made good against themselves. In a Letter to a Nonjuring Clergyman* (appeared November 26, 1716); *A Vindication of the Church of England, against the Nonjurors Charge of Schism; By T. [homas] Dawson, D.D.* One of the Proctors in Convocation for the Diocese of Sarum, late fellow of St. John's College in Cambridge (first appeared December 5, 1716); *The Layman's Letter to the Bishop of Bangor: or, An Examination of His Lordship's Preservative against the Nonjurors; Of the Vindication of the Realm and the Church of England; Of the Nonjurors Separation from Publick Assemblies, examin'd by Dr. Bennet; And of all other late Discourses, occasion'd by the Charge of Perjury, Rebellion and Schism, imputed to the Body of the People* (appeared December 22, 1716; it is one of eighteen replies listed in the British Museum); *A Third Letter to the*

Hoadley's *Preservative*. First published on November 20, it entered the second edition on November 23, and so long continued popular that a fifth edition was issued in 1719. Part of its longevity is to be attributed to the Bangorian controversy, which it helped to precipitate, but the agitation against the Nonjurors was the immediate cause of its sales.

What aroused this hysterical interest in religious views was of course their political bearing. That was illustrated on August 28, when was arrested William Redmayne, the printer in Jervin Street later implicated in issuing Dr. Hicks's papers. "On his Examination, the Oaths being tender'd him, he refus'd to take them. The three Persons who Bail'd him, after they had been acquainted that he was a Nonjuror, having likewise had the Oaths tender'd to them, refused to take them."¹ In fact, the theological tempest described above was the occasion for keener hostility to all Jacobites. On "Sunday Night [September 23] the Body of Tho. Bean, one of the five Persons Executed [Friday, September 21] for the Riot in Salisbury-Court, was buried at St. Brides Church with much Ceremony, follow'd by Mourners, and Men and Women, the latter drest in white Sarcenet Hoods, and the Men wearing white Favors; a numerous Crowd of Rabble gathered together on that Occasion."² A fortnight later it was reported that "Nathaniel Spinks, the Non-juring Clergyman, had about him, when taken, a great Number of Receipts for Money paid to several of the Jacobite Party."³ This precursor of Cibber's Dr. Wolf was held to be typical of the whole sect, hostility to whom became a criterion of loyalty. Read led the crusade,⁴ becoming

Lord Bishop of Carlisle, Lord Almoner to His Majesty, Upon the Subject of Bishop Merks; Wherein The Nomination, Election, Investiture, and Deprivation of English Prelates, are shew'd to have been Originally constituted and govern'd by the Sovereign Power of Kings and their Parliaments: Against the Pretensions of our New Fanaticks, who have withdrawn themselves from the establish'd Church into a separate Communion, under the Name of some Deprived Bishops and their supposed Successors (preface dated "January 25, 1716-17").

¹ Read's *Weekly Journal*, September 1, 1716.

² *Ibid.*, September 29, 1716.

³ *Ibid.*, October 13, 1716.

⁴ "A Curate living not far from Shoreditch, having the Insolence to disturb the Peace of His Majesty's good Subjects, by keeping a Nonjuring Meeting-House in Spittle-Fields, 'tis hoped that all Persons loyally affected to King GEORGE, will timely suppress the Diabolical Society, as they have done the like seditious Assemblies of blind, deluded Fools, in the Savoy, Scroop's-Court in Holbourn, and in Aldersgate-Street" (*ibid.*, October 27, 1716).

jubilant¹ and abusive² until "On his Majesty's safe Arrival at St. James's Palace [on January 19, 1716, when] in all Parts of the Town there were Bonefires, Illuminations, and other publick Demonstrations of Joy,"³ he found occasion for printing:

The last Will and Testament of the late Earl of Mar, General Foster, and other Rebels and Emissaries of the Church of Rome, who were executed at Charing-Cross [in effigy, where a noble Bonefire was prepar'd] on Saturday the 19th of January, 1716. In the Name of the Church of Rome, alias High-Church, alias the Nonjuring-Church, or truly any Church, but the Church of England as by Law establish'd, . . . we think it as proper, . . . to bequeath to our Friends what Nature hath given us, in the following Manner. Imprimis, Our Heads, as being without Brains, we give to the insipid dull Asses the Non-juring Clergy, who would poyson the Mob with false Doctrine, with a design to bring in Popery, Slavery, and Arbitrary Power.⁴

But there was no necessity for Whig efforts to keep the spirit of hostility alive. The trial of Howell on March 2, 1717, added a fresh explosion that reverberated far and wide. The following news account shows the party spirit at work:

Last Saturday Sentence was pronounc'd against the following Criminals at Justice-Hall in the Old Baily. Laur. Howel a Nonjuring Clergyman, for publishing a false, Scandalous and Seditious Libel, Entitled, *The Case of Schism of the Church of England truly stated*. It was prov'd that the Prisoner

¹ "Last Sunday a Jacobite Assembly was held at a House in Spittle-Yard, Spittle-Fields, said to be the Dwelling of Mr. Mynors, a Nonjuring Clergyman, and late Curate of Shoreditch, which occasion'd a great Tumult; but the Tide seems so far turn'd, that the Mob, contrary to their former Proceedings, were for venting their Spleen against this Gentleman, and those deluded Wretches who compose his Congregation. The other Jacobite Assemblies in Town, appear quite dispirited, and out of Countenance" (*ibid.*, November 3, 1716).

² "PHILIP HURST, an Apprentice to a Book-binder in the City, and a CHURCH-WARDEN to one of the late Nonjuring Meetings, was sent to the Compter for defrauding his Master: He is a Son to the same Hurst of Oxford, so often mention'd in the fam'd Depositions of that University, to have had his Windows broke on his Royal Highness the Prince's Birth-Day. The Character of whose Son take as follows:

"This Impudent, Audacious and Rebellious Assembly of Nonjurors, consisting of nothing but a Parcel of Rattle-brain'd Rakish young Fellows, Sharpers, Gamesters Highway-men, House-breakers, Thieves, Pick-Pockets, Broken Tradesmen, Butchers, Link-Boys, Fools, and Mad-men, Bawds, Whores, Shop-lifters, Drunkards, Scolds, Fish-women, Basket-women, Sinder-wenchies, and Fiery Cookmaids, have thought fit to Chuse Philip Hurst for their Church-warden; he being an Apprentice of about 20 Years of Age, and a Person very well Qualified for such an Office in their Church: He'll Drink, Swear, and Play at Cards on Sundays, but that's nothing but what they'll all do, like their Brethren in Iniquity the Papists . . ." (with verse for nearly a column, *ibid.*, December 22, 1716).

³ *Op. cit.*, January 26, 1717.

⁴ *Ibid.*

was seiz'd in August last by 2 of His Majesty's Messengers, with about 1000 of the said Libels in his Custody, together with several Manuscripts, among which were the Prisoners Letters of Ordination by the late Dr. Hicks, which were mark'd by the Kings Messengers. One of Redmayne the Printers Servants prov'd, that the Prisoner us'd frequently to come to His Master's whilst the said Libel was in the Press, and saw, and corrected the Proofs, He was Fin'd 500*l.* and 3 Years Imprisonment, and to remain in Custody while paid; to find four Securities of 500*l.* each, and himself bound in 1000*l.* for his good Behavior during Life, and to be twice Whipt. Upon which he ask'd if they would whip a Clergyman, and was answered by the Court, they paid no deference to his Cloth, because he was a Disgrace to it, and had no Right to wear it; and they did not look upon him as a clergyman, in that he had produc'd no Proof of his Ordination but from Dr. Hickes, under the Denomination of the Bishop of Thetford, which was Illegal and not according to the Constitution of this Kingdom, which knows no such Bishop. Whereupon he receiving his Sentence with an Air of Haughtiness, and behaving himself contemptuously to the Court, he was order'd to be Degraded, and stript of the Gown, he had no legal Right to wear, which was done in Court by the Executioner. But upon his humble Petition he has obtain'd a Remission of the whipping Part of this Sentence.¹

Even the Act of Grace in July did not allay the rancor against the Nonjurors. Two articles in Read's *Journal* amply prove this:

The Report which has been spread before and since the publick notice of the Act of Grace, that the Nonjuring Jacobite Conventicles are shut up, is altogether groundless, for they are as much (tho' more privately) frequented as ever: particularly that in Trinity Court near Aldersgate-Street, which has been repair'd and beautified. And that little Fragment of Divinity in Spittle-Fields likewise keeps up his Synagogue, into which none are admitted, but such as are well known to be of his own Stamp; and they are oblig'd to pass thro' a dark and long Passage, on the North side of this School of Iniquity.²

We are inform'd that Dr. Welton, noted for seditious Sermons, and for being turn'd out of his Benefice as a Popish Recusant Convict, because he would not take the Oaths, now keeps a Conventicle in a very public Place in Goodman's Fields, where he mocks God, as well as the Law, and prays for the royal Family in general Terms, without mentioning King GEORGE, their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales, and the rest of his Royal Issue, as by Law, all public Preachers ought to do. He and the chiefs of this abominable Conventicle admit none to see their May-game without

¹ *Op. cit.*, March 9, 1717. The prominence given the bishop of Thetford in this trial of March 2, 1717, explains Cibber's making Dr. Wolf a Bishop of Thetford in his play of December 6, 1717.

² *Ibid.*, August 3, 1717.

Tickets, which they think a necessary Precaution to prevent a Discovery of their seditious Practices; which ('tis hop'd) the Government will soon suppress.¹

Indeed, vindictiveness against the sect was so much an article in the Whig creed that it continued right up to the time of Gibber's play. The following is simply one more illustration:

Last Sunday, in the Morning Service, several Files of Soldiers, under the Command of a Serjeant from the Tower, Colonel Ellis, &c. Mr. Woster the High Constable of that Division, with several of his Civil Officers, stopt and secur'd all the Avenues of the Quondam Rector of White Chappel's Schismatical Assembly, or Nonjuring Meeting in Goodman's Fields, and sending for the Assistance of D'Oily Michel, Thomas Shoewel, and J. Hayns, Esqs; the next Justices of the Peace, tendred the Oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy, and Abjuration, appointed by Law, to each of them severally; the greatest part absolutely refus'd them, whose Names, Places of Habitation, and several Employments, were taken upon Oath, in order to be return'd at Hick's-Hall the next Sessions as Popish Recusants Convict. The whole took up about Six Hours Time, which was manag'd with a great deal of Ease, without Disorder; so different are the Times now, and the Management too, from what they were not many Years ago. Next Day Dr. Welton, with two other Persons, rid out of Town, Booted, and Spur'd, with Pistols and Lap-Dogs, but upon what design we leave it to time to discover. N.B. Dr. Welton's Picture Sells now for as much as the Pretender's, in the time of the late Rebellion, and is worthy Hanging up—Any where.²

The inspiration of Cibber's play was furnished by this rabid persecution, the main points in which are included in his satire. The refusal of the Nonjurors to pray for the royal family, which as we have just seen the case of Welton had brought afresh to public attention, the alliance with Catholics with which they were so often charged, their often noted machinations with the Jacobites—to these points he adverted time and again.³ The participation of the

¹ *Ibid.*, August 17, 1717.

² *Ibid.*, November 16, 1717.

³ "Hear. With all my Heart, Sir, provided you'll do the Duty of a Subject too, and not leave out the Prayer for the Royal Family."

"Doct. The good Colonel knows, I never do omit it."

"Col. Sometimes, Doctor; but I don't remember, I ever Once heard you name them."

"Doct. That's only to shorten the Service, lest in so large a Family, some few vain, idle Souls might think it Tedious" (*The Non-Juror*, p. 21).

"Sir John. . . . He is a true, stanch Member of the English Catholic Church."

"Mar. Methinks though, I would not have him a Roman Catholick, Sir, because you know of Double Taxes" (*ibid.*, p. 28).

(Continued on p. 124)

women, noted by Newton,¹ he introduced into a speech of Dr. Wolf.² *The Case of Schism* was too notorious a document not to be taken as the bible of the cause. Sir John hands it to his son as an authoritative exposition of the principles of the sect,³ and Dr. Wolf refers to it⁴ for elucidation of the relations with Catholicism.⁵

The main burden of the satire is of course carried on the shoulders of Dr. Wolf, the villain. This English Tartuffe not only retains the

"*Doct.* . . . Well! The Catholicks are the sincerest Friends!" (*ibid.*, p. 35).

"*Doct.* . . . Would it not make one Smile; that it should ever enter into the Brains of this Man (who can in other Points distinguish like a Man) that a Protestant Church can never be secure, till it has a Popish Prince to defend it" (*ibid.*, p. 38).

"*Mar.* Then you were bred a *Roman-Catholick*.

"*Charles.* No, Madam; but I own in Principles of very little difference, which I imbib'd chiefly from this Doctor" (*ibid.*, p. 42).

"*Lady W.* . . . You don't take him sure for a *Roman Catholick*.

"*Doct.* Um—not absolutely—But, poor Soul! he little thinks how near he is one. 'Tis true, name to him but *Rome*, or *Popery*, he startles, as at a Monster: But Gild its grossest Doctrines with the Stile of *English Catholick*, he swallows down the Poison, like a Cordial" (*ibid.*, pp. 84 f.).

"*Doct.* *Charles*, Step up into my Study, and bring down half a Dozen more of those Manual Devotions that I compos'd for the Use of our Friends in Prison" (*ibid.*, p. 21).

"*Sir John.* Then as to the State, he'll shortly be one of the most considerable Men in the Kingdom, and that too in an Office for Life; which, on whatsoever pretence of Misbehaviour, no Civil Government can deprive him of" (*ibid.*, p. 28).

"*Laid out at several times for the Secret Service of His M——*" (cf. *ante*, p. 107, for the list).

"*Sir John.* Well, Sir, what say our last Advices from *Avignon*?

"*Doct.* All goes right—The Council has approv'd our Scheme, and press mightily for Dispatch among our Friends in *England*" (*ibid.*, p. 35).

"*Doct.* . . . it being of the last Importance to us, that hope to change the Government to let it have no quiet" (*ibid.*, p. 37).

¹ Cf. William Newton, *The Life of the Right Reverend Dr. White Kennett*, p. 161.

² *The Non-Juror*, p. 37.

³ "Sir John. Difference! 'twould make you tremble, Sir, to know it! but since 'tis fit you should know it, look there—(*Gives him a Book*) read that, and be reform'd.

"Col. What's here? (*Reads*) *The Case of Schism*, &c. Thank you, Sir; I have seen enough of this in the *Daily Courant*, to be sorry it's in any Hands, but those of the common Hangman" (*The Non-Juror*, p. 11).

"*Doct.* . . . and really, if you examine well the Doctrines laid down, by my learned Predecessor, in his *Case of Schism*, you will find those Differences are not so terribly material, as some obstinate Schismaticks would paint them" (*ibid.*, p. 36).

* Yet the wily author allowed himself a loophole for escape in case he were attacked. He made it appear that Dr. Wolf was not typical of the sect. The Colonel declares: "But he does nothing like other People; he's a Contradiction ev'n to his own Character: Most of your Non-Jurors now are generally People of a free and open Disposition, mighty Pretenders to a Conscience of Honour indeed: But you seldom see them put on the least Shew of Religion" (*op. cit.*, p. 32). Later in this second act he points out that the sect as a whole is sober and law-abiding. Sir John exclaims: "And truly, my Lord, we seem to be wrong too in another Point, to which I have often imputed the ill Success of our Cause; and that is, the taking into our Party so many loose Persons of dissolute and abandon'd Morals; Fellows, whom in their daily private Course of Life, the Pillory and Gallows seem to groan for." To which Dr. Wolf replies: "'Tis true indeed, and I have often wish'd 'twere possible to do without them, but in a Multitude all Men won't be

villainy of the original in Molière but is made as far as possible the ideal representative of the Whig view of the Nonjuror. His alliance with Catholicism is brought forward in his own declarations¹ as well as in the revelations concerning his past.² His Jacobitish activities are hinted at from the first,³ are developed in the second act,⁴ and for them he is taken into custody at the end of the play. But the most direct connection with the Nonjuring sect is in his elevation in Act II⁵ to the see of Thetford. The discovery of Hicks's writings⁶ and the trial of Howell⁷ had created too great a furore not to be alluded to in some way. Cibber speaks of Howell as following Hicks in the see of Thetford,⁸ though Thomas Brett or Henry Gandy would more properly be so considered. In all likelihood Cibber knew nothing of them. In any case, they were too obscure in the turmoil to be serviceable in the satire. The playwright's object was to hold up the nonjuring clergy to scorn, so that historical accuracy was worse than useless. What was necessary was to enlist

all Saints; and then again they are really useful; nay, and in many things, that Sober Men will not stoop to—They serve, poor Curs, to bark at the Government in the open Streets, and keep up the wholesome Spirit of Clamour in the common People" (*ibid.*, p. 36). These are, to be sure, left-hand compliments, but in the epilogue he points out that the only real Nonjuror in the play is respectable:

But hopes again ey'n Rebels cannot say,
Tho' Vanquisht, they're Insulted in his Play:
Nay more—To set their Cause in fairest light,
H' has made a Man of Sense—A Jacobite!

¹ Cf. p. 123, n. 3, and p. 124, n. 4.

² "Col. . . . Here are Affidavits in my Hand, that prove him under his Disguise a lurking Emissary of *Rome*, that he is actually a Priest in *Popish Orders*, and has several times been seen, as such, to Officiate Publick Mass in the Church of *Nostre Dame* at *Antwerp*" (*op. cit.*, p. 92).

³ "Doct. . . . The Time's now yours, but mine may come.

"Col. What do you mean, Sir?

"Doct. Sir, I shall not explain my self. . . . But Power perhaps may change its Hands, and you e'er long, as little dare to speak your Mind as I do.

"Col. (Taking him by the Collar.) Hark you, Sirrah! Dare you menace the Government in my hearing?" (*ibid.*, p. 22).

"Col. So he pretends, and that he lost his Living in *Ireland* upon his refusing the Oaths to the Government" (*ibid.*, p. 23).

⁴ Cf. *ante*, p. 123, n. 3; also the following:

"Sir John. Where is he?

"Charles. In his own Chamber, Sir, just taking his leave of the Count and another Gentleman, that came this Morning Express from *Avignon*" (*ibid.*, pp. 30 f.).

"Sir John. O my good Lord, if our Court abroad but knew what Obligations they have to your indefatigable Endeavours" (*ibid.*, p. 37).

⁵ "Doct. Our last Express has brought me this—(*he shews a Writing.*) which (far unworthy, as I am) promotes me to the vacant See of *Thetford*" (*ibid.*, p. 35).

⁶ Cf. *ante*, p. 119.

⁷ Cf. *ante*, pp. 116 ff.

⁸ Cf. *ante*, p. 124, n. 4.

in favor of his play the long-continued and at times violent hostility against the Nonjurors. So successful was this purpose of general ridicule that the identification of his villain with any one man was difficult. Dr. Wolf was declared to be "either *Paul*, who was hang'd, *Welton*, who lost his living, or *Howell*, in *Newgate*."¹ But the "Non-Juror" was quite wrong in denying that "the Aspersions cast upon Dr. *Wolf*, whom at the same time the Poet makes *Suffragan Bishop of Thetford*, have any relation to Dr. *Welton*, Mr. *Howel*, or the late Mr. *Paul*."² From their prominence in the agitation about the Nonjurors as revealed by the preceding study of the newspapers of that time, it seems pretty certain that Cibber had all three in mind. His purpose was not to paint a faithful portrait but to pen an effective satire. That could best be accomplished by delineating by general and easily recognizable traits, by seizing on salient points in the popular excitement concerning the Nonjurors.³

A final element was in all probability contributed to the play by the Bangorian controversy. Benjamin Hoadley had followed his *Preservative* with a sermon preached before the king on March 31, 1717, in which he maintained that no one person more than another had authority to make laws for Christ's subjects. Principles so subversive of the established church were at once attacked. For the fierce logomachy that followed, the pugnacious bishop had a most vulnerable heel. He had received as a tutor for his sons and kind of secretary a former Jesuit, François de la Pilonnière. In the suspicious theological atmosphere of 1717 that was evidence enough of the bishop's disloyalty to the church. The reproaches became so violent that he was at length forced to issue a reply. It was published as by De la Pilonnière himself, but there was a long

¹ Gay, p. 25.

² *Theatre-Royal Turn'd*, p. 34.

³ Other identifications for Dr. Wolf have been made. One appears in a pamphlet, *A Clue To the Comedy of the Non-Juror. With Some Hints of Consequence Relating to that Play. In a Letter to N. Rowe, Esq; Poet Laureat to His Majesty*, issued early in 1718, which in a second edition was entitled, *The Plot Discover'd: or, a Clue*, etc. Treating the play as an allegory in a highly laudatory manner, it devoted some four pages (9-13) to an identification of Wolf with Bishop Hoadley. To attack this valiant supporter of Whig views in matters ecclesiastical was the farthest remove possible from Cibber's thoughts. The other identification appears in Dr. John Doran's gossip *London in Jacobite Times*, I, 296, where Wolf is identified with the turn-coat Robert Patten, author of *A History of the late Rebellion*. As Patten had been indispensable to the government in several of its convictions, Cibber would have been more than careful not to allude to him.

preface by Hoadley, dated August 20, 1717. The first edition appeared on August 27, a second coming out on September 3.

In this agitation one may see the germ of Cibber's adaptation of the French masterpiece. The relation of the French Jesuit to the fighting bishop was similar enough to that of Tartuffe and Orgon to suggest taking over the whole plot. The heated agitation against the Nonjurors, the by that time well-established harmlessness of the Jacobites, the security of the government from malice domestic and foreign levy—all made the design of a satire on the sect and the party not only safe but certain to gain a great following and to win favor from the party in power.

A consideration of the theatrical season will support this surmise. The vacation that summer extended from Friday, June 7, to Saturday September 20. From Monday, June 9, to be sure, until Friday, August 22, a company headed by Mills presented plays regularly, but with this group of players Cibber evidently had nothing to do. Coming back to the theater, then, about the middle of September, refreshed by rest, and in the midst of the gossip about Lord Charles Murray and the renewed case of De la Pilonnière, a most suggestive conjunction for his plot, and with the familiar background of agitation against Jacobites and especially Nonjurors, it would be easy enough for the plot of his new play to shape itself in his imagination. As soon as completed it would of course be put in rehearsal to take advantage of the heated state of the public mind. The production, with its long-continued popularity and its memorable results for Cibber personally, justified him in his previsions of success.

Viewed in this light, *The Nonjuror* does not appear to contain the bold attack which Professor Ward finds in it. To say "that Cibber's caricature was legitimately designed to expose a real public evil, which threatened to fester like a sore in the commonwealth,"¹ is to accept rather unwarily Cibber's own declarations of his purpose.²

¹ A. W. Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature*, III, 504, n. 4.

² "Of all Errors, those that are the Effect of *Superstition* make us naturally most obstinate; it is therefore no wonder, that the Blinded Proselytes of our Few Non-juring Clergy, are so hard to be recover'd by the clearest Evidences of Sense and Reason. But when a *Principle* is once made truly *Ridiculous*, it is not in the Power of Human Nature not to be *asham'd* of it. From which Reflection, I was first determined to attack those lurking Enemies of our Constitution from the Stage "(from the dedication to the king, *The Non-Juror*, p. iv). Cf. also the statement in his *Apology*, quoted *ante* p. 105.

The foregoing account of the points in his satire and of the vehement demonstrations recorded in the newspapers over the points included shows that instead of exposing a neglected situation he was merely making use of the topics most familiar to the public and therefore most certain of applause in the theater. The explanation of its deferred appearance till there was nothing further to fear from Jacobites and Nonjurors, and the evidences of the continued hostility to the Nonjurors up to the production of the play, show how little likely the sect was to remain unheeded, "to fester like a sore in the commonwealth." Cibber's own statement that the satire "discovered the Strength and Number of the *Misguided* to be much less, than may have been artfully insinuated,"¹ could not have been much of a surprise to him. An actor of some twenty-seven years' experience, a manager of the theater which had long been known as the Whig house, who for eight years had studied the tastes and prejudices of his public, as we see from his *Apology*, and who had through Sir Richard Steele and other connections ample opportunities to feel the public pulse, could be under little apprehension concerning the amount of hostility his play would meet with. But in any case that reception reveals how little venom there was left in the fangs of the disaffected, whether Nonjurors or others. Cibber was not leading a crusade against obscure evils in the state; he was attacking a hated but recognizedly powerless sect after the first surge of hostility had already given way to contempt.

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¹ *Op. cit.*, p. v.

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GRAF VON LOEBEN AND THE LEGEND OF LORELEI

I

The devotees of Apollo have to give a good account of themselves in Olympia before they can become *persona grata* on Olympus. They spend their lives, more or less, at the various games of poetry. Some, like Goethe, win in the majority of trials, and then we study all of their records regardless of their individual excellence. Some, like Immermann in *Oberhof*, win only once, but this is sufficient to insure immortality. Some play and joust, run and wrestle with constancy and grace; their records, just after starting and just before finishing, are interesting, but in the end they are always defeated. And when this is the case, posterity, lay and initiated, forgets their names and concerns itself in no wise with their records, unless it be for statistical purposes. It is to the latter class that Graf von Loeben¹ belongs. For twenty-five years he was a per-

¹ Ferdinand August Otto Heinrich Graf von Loeben, the scion of an old, aristocratic, Protestant family, was born at Dresden, August 18, 1786. He received his first instruction from private tutors. For three years from 1804 on, he unsuccessfully, because unwillingly, studied law at the University of Wittenberg. In 1807 he entered, to his profound delight, the University of Heidelberg, where, in association with Arnim, Brentano, and Görres, he satisfied his longing for literature and art. Beginning with 1808 he lived alternately at Wien, Dresden, and Berlin and with Fouqué at Nennhausen. He took an active part in the campaign of 1813–14, marched to Paris, and returned, after his company had been disbanded, to Dresden, where, in 1817, he married Johanna Victoria Gottliebe *geb.* von Bressler and established there his permanent abode. In 1822 he suffered a stroke of apoplexy from which he never recovered; even the magnetic treatment given him by Justinus Kerner proved of no avail. He died at Dresden, April 3, 1825. See *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, XIX, 40–45. The article is by Professor Muncker. Wilhelm Müller also wrote an article full of lavish praise of Loeben in *Neuer Nekrolog der Deutschen*, III, Jahrg. 1824, Ilmenau, 1827.

petual, loyal, chivalric contestant in the Olympic vale of poetry. His running was interesting, but he never won; he never wrote a single thing that everybody still reads for its own sake.

Aside from his connection with the Lorelei-matter, Graf von Loeben is, therefore, at present, a wholly obscure, indeed unknown, poet. The large *Konversations-Lexikons*¹ of Meyer and Brockhaus say nothing about him, unless it be in the discussion of some other poet with whom he associated. Of the twenty best-known histories of German literature, some of which treat nothing but the nineteenth century, only six contain his name, and these simply mention him either as a member of the Dresden group of pseudo-romanticists, or as one of those *Afterromantiker* who did yeoman service by way of bringing real romanticism into disrepute through their unsubstantial, imitative, and formless works. And this is true despite the fact that Loeben was an exceedingly prolific writer and a very popular and influential man in his day. Concerning his personality, Muncker says: "Die Tiefe und Wärme seines leicht erregbaren Gemüthes, seine Herzensreinheit, seine schwärmerische Hingabe an alles Schöne und Edle sowie sein zartes Tactgefühl erwarben ihm bei Freunden und Bekannten das Lob einer schönen Seele in des Wortes schönster Bedeutung."²

As to his poetic ability from the point of view of quantity, one can only marvel at the amount he produced in the time at his disposal; his creative works cover all types and sorts of literature.³

¹ Meyer (6th ed.) does not mention Loeben even in the articles on Fouqué and Malsburg, two of Loeben's best friends; Brockhaus (Jubilee ed.) mentions him as one of Eichendorff's friends in the article on Eichendorff, but neither has an independent note on Loeben. Nor is he mentioned in such compendious works on the nineteenth century as those by Gottschall, R. M. Meyer (*Grundriss* and *Geschichte*), and Fr. Kummer. Biese says (*Deutsche Literaturgeschichte*, II, 436) of him: "Auch ein so ausgesprochenes Talent, wie es Graf von Loeben war, entging nicht der Gefahr, die Romantik in ihre Karikatur zu verzerrten."

² Cf. *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, XIX, 42.

³ Partial lists of his works are given in: Goedeke, *Grundriss*, VI, 108–10 (2d ed.); *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, XIX, 40–45; the sole monograph on Loeben by Raimund Pissin, *Otto Heinrich Graf von Loeben, sein Leben und seine Werke*, Berlin, 1905, 326 pages. By piecing these lists together—for they vary—it seems that Loeben wrote, aside from the works mentioned above, the following: 1 conventional drama, 1 musical-romantic drama, 2 narrative poems, one of which is on Ferdusi, 3 collections of poems, between 30 and 40 novelettes, fairy tales and so on, and "einige tausend" aphorisms and detached thoughts. It is in Pissin's monograph that Loeben's position in the Heidelberg circle of 1807–8 is worked out, as follows: Loeben and Eichendorff constituted one branch, Arnim and Brentano the other, Görres stood loosely between the two, and the others sided now with one group, now with the other.

He is best known for his numerous poems and his *magnus opus*, *Guido*, a novel of 360 pages, written under the pen-name of "Isidorus Orientalis," and intended as a continuation of Novalis' *Ofterdingen*; he used Tieck's notes for this purpose. He wrote also a great number of letters, between 60 and 70 elaborate reviews, and some critical essays, the best of which seems to be his commentary to Madame de Staël's *De l'Allemagne*, while he translated from Anacreon, Dante, Guarini, Horace, Ovid, Petrarch, Vergil, and others, and left a number of fragments including the outline of a pretentious novel of which Heinrich von Veldeke, whom he looked upon as "der Heilige des Enthusiasmus," was to be the hero. And he was, incidentally, an omnivorous reader, for, as he naïvely said:

Viele Bücher muss ich kennen,
Denn die Menschen kenn' ich gern.¹

As to his originality, another confession is significant:

Ja, es gibt nur wenig Leute,
Deren Schüler ich nicht bin.²

No attempt, however, has as yet been made at even an eclectic edition of his numerous finished works, a few of which are still unpublished, many of which are now rare.³

As to his standing with his literary contemporaries, Eichendorff admitted⁴ that Loeben influenced him as a man and as a poet; it was he who induced Eichendorff to write some of his earlier works under the pen-name of "Florens." And Eichendorff in turn credited Goethe with the remark⁵ that "Loeben war der vorzüglichste Dichter

¹ The verses are from *Geständnisse*, No. 125 in Pissin's collection of Loeben's poems.

² *Geständnisse*, No. 125.

³ Aside from the reviews, letters, and individual poems reprinted here and there, the following works were accessible to the writer: (1) *Das weisse Ross, eine alideutsche Familiengeschichte*; (2) *Die Sonnenkinder, eine Erzählung*; (3) *Die Perle und die Maiblume, eine Novelle*; (4) *Cephalus und Procris, ein Drama*; (5) *Ferdusi*; (6) *Persiens Ritter, eine Erzählung*; (7) *Die Zaubernächte am Bosporus, ein romantisches Gedicht*; (8) *Prinz Floridio, ein Märchen*; (9) *Leda, eine Erzählung*; (10) *Weinmärchen*; (11) *Gesänge*.

⁴ Eichendorff's relation to Loeben can be studied in the edition of Eichendorff's works by Wilhelm Kosch, Regensburg. Vols. III, X-XIII have already appeared. For a poetization of Loeben, see *Ahnung und Gegenwart*, chap. xii, pp. 144 ff. For a historical account of Loeben, see *Erlebtes*, chap. x, pp. 425 ff. It is here that Eichendorff makes Goethe praise Loeben in the foregoing fashion.

⁵ There is no positive evidence that Goethe made any such remark. In his *Gespräche* (Biedermann, V, 279; VI, 198-99) there are two references to Loeben by Goethe; they are favorable but noncommittal as to his poetic ability.

jener Zeit." His influence on Platen¹ is not quite so certain; Loeben was Platen's senior by ten years, and they resembled each other in their ability to employ difficult verse and strophe forms, and Platen read Loeben in 1824. Kleist interested himself in Loeben sufficiently to publish one of his short stories in his *Abendblätter*, but only after he had so thoroughly revised it that Reinhold Steig says: "Ich würde als Herausgeber die Erzählung sogar unter Kleists *Parerga* aufnehmen."² His connection with, and influence upon, the Dresden group of romanticists, including Tieck, is a matter of record,³ and Fouqué looked upon him as a poet of uncommon ability.⁴

But let no one on this account believe that Loeben was a great poet and that the silence concerning him is therefore grimly unjust. Goethe, whether he made the foregoing remark or not, at least received⁵ Loeben kindly; but he received others in the same way who were not poets at all. Eichendorff said: "Loeben. Wunderbar poetische Natur in stiller Verklärung."⁶ But Eichendorff was then only nineteen years old, and he later took this back. Herder was moved to tears⁷ on reading Loeben's *Maria*, but Herder was easily moved, and he died soon after; he would in all probability have changed his mind too. Friedrich Schlegel, on the other hand, was not justified in calling⁸ the pastoral poems in *Arkadien* "Schafpoesie." Uhland praised⁹ these same poems; but he reminded Loeben in no uncertain terms that the chief characteristic of southern poetry was

¹ Cf. *Die Tagebücher des Grafen von Platen*, Stuttgart, 1900. Under date of August 14, 1824, Platen wrote: "Es enthält viele gute Bemerkungen, wiewohl diese Art Prosa nicht nach meinem Sinne ist." The reference is to Loeben's commentary to Madame de Staél's *De l'Allemagne*.

² Cf. Heinrich von Kleists *Berliner Kämpfe*, Berlin, 1901, pp. 490-96. The story in question is "Die furchtbare Einladung."

³ Cf. Herm. Anders Krüger, *Pseudoromantik. Friedrich Kind und der Dresdener Liederkreis*, Leipzig, 1904, pp. 144-48. Krüger also discusses Loeben in his *Der junge Eichendorff*, Leipzig, 1904, pp. 88 and 128.

⁴ Cf. Fouqué, Apel, Miltitz, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Romantik*, Leipzig, 1908. In a letter to his brother, Fouqué wrote (January 6, 1813): "Ein Dichter, meine ich, ist er allerdings, ein von Gott dazu bestimmter." Fouqué, however, realized Loeben's many weaknesses as a poet, though at Loeben's death he wrote a poem on him praising him as the master of verse technique.

⁵ Cf. Kosch's edition of Eichendorff, XIII, 65. Loeben says: "In Weimar war ich im vorigen Winter bei Goethe; er war mir freundlich." The "previous winter" was 1813.

⁶ Cf. Kosch's edition, XI, 220. The remark was made in 1807.

⁷ Cf. Pissin, p. 25. The incident occurred in 1803 and Herder died in 1804.

⁸ Cf. Kosch's edition, XI, 308. Loeben himself utterly condemned this work later. See Pissin, pp. 238-39, 267-68. Pissin gives the number of verse and strophe forms on p. 266.

⁹ Cf. Pissin, p. 267. Uhland made the remark in 1812—his own most fruitful year as a poet.

"Phantasie," while that of the northern poets was "Gemüth," and that the attempt to revive the spirit of Guarini, Cervantes, and their kind was not well taken.

That Loeben has been so totally neglected by historians and encyclopedists is simply a case of that disproportion that so frequently characterizes general treatises. Loeben is entitled to some space in large works on German literature; but he was, like many another who has been given space, a weak poet. And the sort of weakness with which he was endowed can be brought out by a discussion of two of his novelettes, *Das weisse Ross*,¹ and *Leda*, neither of which is by any means his best work, and neither of which seems to be his worst. But, to judge from what has been said of his prose works in general, both are quite typical.

The plot so far as the action² is concerned is as follows: Otto owes the victory he won at a tournament in Nürnberg largely to the beauty and agility of his great white horse Bellerophon. Siegenot von der Aue had seen him and his horse perform and determined to obtain Bellerophon, if possible, for, owing to a curse pronounced on his family by a remote ancestor, Siegenot must either win at the next tournament or become a monk, which he does not wish to do. Both he and Otto love Felicitas, the niece of Graf Berthald. Siegenot secures Bellerophon, is victorious at the tournament, though seriously wounded, and is nursed back to health by Otto and Felicitas. It is Otto, however, who wins Felicitas through his chivalric treatment of his rival. The two are married, while Siegenot rides away on the great white horse Bellerophon.

It is such creations that make us turn away from Loeben. Alas for German romanticism if this story were wholly typical of it! It contains the traditional conceits of the orthodox romanticists, but applied in such a sweet, lovely, pretty fashion! One woman is placed between two men, for in that way Loeben could best bring out his philosophy of friendship. The only change, it seems, that

¹ The story was published in 1817. The full title is *Das weisse Ross, eine altdeutsche Familiengeschichte in sechs und dreissig Bildern*. It is 160 pages long.

² An idea as to the lack of action in this story can be derived from the following statement by Otto (pp. 127-28), the brave hero: "Was man Schicksale zu nennen pflegt, habe ich wenige gehabt, aber erfahren habe ich dennoch viel und mehr als mancher durch seine glänzenden Schicksale erfahren mag: nämlich die Führungen der ewigen Liebe habe ich erfahren, die keinen verlässt, und alles herrlich hinausführt." And then Siegenot, the other hero, says that this is very true—whereupon they embrace each other.

he ever made in this arrangement was to place one man between two women. The sick-bed is poetized as the cradle of knowledge, for in it, or on it, we become introspective and learn life. Old chronicles, tournaments, jewelry, precious stones, Maryism, nature from every conceivable point of view, dreams and premonitions, visions and hallucinations, religion of the renunciatory type, the pain that clarifies, the friendship that weeps, Catholic painting and lute music, and love—human and divine—these are the main themes in this tale. Lyrics and episodic stories are interpolated, obsolete words and stylistic archaisms occur. In short, the novelette reads like an amalgamation of Novalis without his philosophy, Wackenroder without his suggestiveness, and Tieck without his constructive ability.

The story¹ entitled *Leda* is again typical of Loeben. Briefly stated, the plot is as follows: Leda, the daughter of a Roman duke, loves Cephalo, who is a gentleman but not a nobleman, and is loved by him. Her father, however, has forced her to become engaged to Alberto, a man of high degree, whom she does not love. The wedding is imminent, and Leda is sorely perplexed. Her father does not know why she is so indifferent to the approaching event and accordingly sends her to a distant and lonely castle in the hope that she may become interested, at least, in her own nuptials. While there she drowns herself in the swan lake. Alberto drops out of the story, and Cephalo becomes the intimate friend of the duke. Previous to this Alberto had ordered a certain painter to paint a picture of "Leda and the Swan." Danae, the daughter of an old, unscrupulous antiquarian, was seen by Cephalo while posing as a model for Leda. Enraged at this, she tells her father that she will not be appeased until married to Cephalo. But she loses her life through the falling of an old, dilapidated castle wherein she has been keeping an unconventional tryst, and Cephalo becomes the intimate friend of the painter.

Loeben's ideas and technique stand out in every line of this story. One woman is placed between two men, unexpected friendships are developed, the lute and the zither are played in the moonlight, love and longing abound, nature is made a confidant, *der Zauber der Kunst* is overdone, familiar stories—Leda and the Swan,

¹ The story was first published in *Urania: Taschenbuch für Damen auf das Jahr 1818*, pp. 305-37.

Actaeon and Danae—are interwoven, there are manifest reminiscences of *Emilia Galotti* and *Ofterdingen*, and the prose is uncommonly fluent. The only character in the entire narrative who has any virility is the antiquarian, and he is one of the meanest Loeben ever drew. Alberto has no will at all, Leda not much, Cephalo less than Leda, and Danae is without character. In short, the only valuable part of the story lies in its approach to a development of the psychology of love in art. But it is only an approach; and it does not make one feel inclined to read a vast deal more of the prose works of Graf von Loeben.

As to Loeben's lyrics,¹ they are irregular, inconsistent, and odd as to orthography,² melodious and flowing in form, poor in ideas, rich in feeling that frequently sounds forced, representative of nearly all the important Germanic, Romance, and Oriental verse and strophe forms, reminiscent of his reading³ in many instances, and romantic as a whole, especially in their constant portrayal of longing. Loeben was the poet of *Sehnsucht*. He tried always *das Nahe zu entfernen und das Ferne sich nahe zu bringen*. With a few conspicuous exceptions, his lyrics resemble those of Geibel somewhat in form and treatment. Poetry and individual poets receive grateful consideration, the seasons are overworked, love rarely fails and nature never, wine and the Rhine are not forgotten, and the South is poetized as the land of undying inspiration. Of their kind, and in their way, Loeben's poems are nearly perfect.⁴ There are no

¹ Aside from the poems in Pissin's collection in the *D.L.D. des 18. u. 19. Jahr.*, Ignaz Hub's *Deutschlands Balladen- und Romanzen-Dichter*, Karlsruhe, 1845, contains: (1) "Romanze von der weissen Rose," (2) "Der Tanz mit dem Tode," (3) "Der Bergknapp," (4) "Das Schwanenlied." "Loreley" is also reprinted here, with modifications for the worse. "Schau', Schiffer, schau' nicht hinauf," is certainly not an improvement on Loeben's "Lieb Knabe, sieh' nicht hinauf."

² The following are common forms: "Nez," "zwey," "versteken," "Sfären," "Saffo," "Stralenboten," "Abendrothen," "Uibermuth," and so on, though the regular forms, except in the case of "Saffo," also occur.

³ "Der Abend" reminds one strongly of Hölderlin's "Die Nacht," while "Tag und Nacht" goes back undoubtedly to Novalis' "Hymnen an die Nacht," W. Schlegel's sonnet c in the sonnet stood sponsor for "Das Sonett," and Goethe and Tieck also reoccur in changed dress. The poems on Correggio (73), Ruisdael (75), Goethe (137), Tieck (138-39), and Novalis (141) sound especially like W. Schlegel's poems on other poets and artists.

⁴ In his *Geschichte des Sonettes in der deutschen Dichtung*, Leipzig, 1884, Heinrich Welti (pp. 216-17) criticizes Loeben's sonnets most severely from the point of view of content; and as to their form he says: "Blos die Form, oder gar die blosse Form der Form ist beachtenswert." This is unquestionably a case of warping the truth in order to bring in a sort of pun.

expressions that repel, no verses that jar, no poems that wholly lack fancy, and there are occasional evidences of the inspiration that rebounds. It would be presumptuous to ask for a more amiable poem than "Frühlingstrost" (46), or for a neater one than "Der Nichterhörte" (121), or for a more gently roguish one than the triolett¹ entitled "Frage" (55).

But be his poems never so good, there is no reason why Loeben should be revived for the general reader. His prose works lack artistic measure and objective plausibility; his lyrics lack clarity and virility; his creations in general lack the story-telling property that holds attention and the human-interest touches that move the soul. His thirty-nine years were too empty of real experience;² his works are not filled with the matter that endures. And it is for this reason that they ceased to live after their author had died. His connection with this earth was always just at the snapping-point. His works constitute, in many instances, a poetic rearrangement of what he had just latterly read. And when he is original he is vacuous. To emphasize his works for their own sake would consequently be to set up false values. Loeben can be studied with profit only by those people who believe that great poets can be better understood and appreciated by a study of the literary than by a study of the economic background. To know Loeben³ throws light on some of his much greater contemporaries—Goethe, Eichendorff, Kleist, Novalis, Arnim, Brentano, Uhland, Görres, Tieck, and possibly Heine.

¹ The triolett is worth quoting as a type of Loeben's prettiness:

Galt es mir, das süsse Blicken
Aus dem hellen Augenpaar?
Unter'm Netz vom goldenen Haar
Galt es mir das süsse Blicken?
Einem sprach es von Gefahr,
Einen wollt' es licht umstricken;
Galt es mir, das süsse Blicken
Aus dem hellen Augenpaar.

² An idea as to Loeben's temperament can be derived from the following passage in a letter to Tieck: "Gott sei mit Ihnen und die heilige Muse! Oft drängt es mich, niederzuknien im Schein, den Albrecht Dürers und Novalis Glorie wirft, im alten frommen Dom, dann denk' ich Ihrer und ich lieg' an Ihrer Seele, ich fühle Sie in mir, wie man eine Gottheit fühlt in geweihter Stunde. 'Liebe denkt in sel'gen Tönen, denn Gedanken stehn zu fern.'" The quotation should read "süssen" instead of "sel'gen." See *Briefe an Tieck*, edited by Holtei, II, 266.

³ As a corrective to the monographs of Pissin on Loeben and H. A. Krüger on Eichendorff, one should read Wilhelm Kosch's article in *Euphorion* (1907, pp. 310–20). Kosch contends that Pissin and Krüger have vastly overestimated Loeben's influence on Eichendorff, and that Loeben in general was "eine bedeutungslose Tageserscheinung."

II

But it is not so much the purpose of this paper to evaluate Loeben's creations as to locate him in the development of the Lorelei-legend, and to prove, or disprove, Heine's indebtedness to him in the case of his own poem of like name. The facts are these:

In 1801 Clemens Brentano published at Bremen the first volume of his *Godwi* and in 1802 the second volume at the same place.¹ He had finished the novel early in 1799—he was then twenty-one years old. Wieland was instrumental in securing a publisher.² Near the close of the second volume, Violette sings the song beginning:

Zu Bacharach am Rheine
Wohnt eine Zauberin.

That this now well-known ballad of the Lorelei was invented by Brentano is proved, not so much by his own statement to that effect as by the fact that the erudite and diligent Grimm brothers, the friends of Brentano, did not include the Lorelei-legend in their collection of 579 *Deutsche Sagen*, 1816. The name of his heroine Brentano took from the famous echo-rock near St. Goar, with which locality he became thoroughly familiar during the years 1780–89. No romanticist knew the Rhine better or loved it more than Brentano. "Lore" means³ a small, squinting elf, and is connected with the verb "lauern." The oldest form of the word is found in the *Codex Annales Fuldenses*, which goes back to the year 858, and was first applied to the region around the modern Kempten near Bingen. "Lei" means a rock; "Loreley" means then "Elbfels." And what Brentano and his followers have done is to apply the name of a place to a person.

In *Urania: Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1821*, Graf von Loeben published his "Loreley: Eine Sage vom Rhein." The following

¹ The complete title is *Godwi, oder das steinerne Bild der Mutter. Ein verwilderter Roman von Maria*. The very rare first edition of this novel, in two volumes, is in the Columbia Library. Friedrich Wilmans was the publisher.

² Cf. Alfred Kerr, *Godwi. Ein Kapitel deutscher Romantik*, Berlin, 1898, p. 2.

³ Cf. Wilhelm Hertz, "Über den Namen Lorelei," *Sitzungsberichte der k.b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München*, Jahrgang 1886, pp. 217–51. For the etymologist, this is an invaluable study.

ballad introduces the saga in prose. Heine's ballad is set opposite for the sake of comparison.¹

Da wo der Mondschein blitzet
Um's höchste Felsgestein,
Das Zauberfräulein sitzet
Und schauet auf den Rhein.

Es schauet herüber, hinüber,
Es schauet hinab, hinauf,
Die Schifflein ziehn vorüber,
Lieb' Knabe, sieh nicht auf!

Sie singt dir hold zum Ohre,
Sie blickt dich thöricht an,
Sie ist die schöne Lore,
Sie hat dir's angethan.

Sie schaut wohl nach dem Rheine,
Als schaute sie nach dir,
Glaub's nicht, dass sie dich meine,
Sieh nicht, horch nicht nach ihr!

So blickt sie wohl nach allen
Mit ihrer Augen Glanz,
Lässt her die Locken wallen
Im wilden goldnen Tanz.

Doch wogt in ihrem Blicke
Nur blauer Wellen Spiel,
Drum scheu die Wassertücke,
Denn Flut bleibt falsch und kühl!

Ich weiss nicht, was soll es bedeuten
Dass ich so traurig bin;
Ein Märchen aus alten Zeiten,
Das kommt mir nicht aus dem Sinn.

Die Luft ist kühl und es dunkelt,
Und ruhig fliest der Rhein;
Der Gipfel des Berges funkelt
Im Abendsonnenschein.

Die schönste Jungfrau sitzet
Dort oben wunderbar,
Ihr goldenes Geschmeide blitzet,
Sie kämmt ihr goldenes Haar.

Sie kämmt es mit goldenem Kamme,
Und singt ein Lied dabei;
Das hat eine wundersame
Gewaltige Melodei.

Den Schiffer im kleinen Schiffe
Ergreift es mit wildem Weh;
Er schaut nicht die Felsenriffe,
Er schaut nur hinauf in die Höh'.

Ich glaube, die Wellen verschlingen
Am Ende Schiffer und Kahn;
Und das hat mit ihrem Singen
Die Lorelei gethan.

The following saga then relates how an old hunter sings this song to a young man in a boat on the Rhine, warning him against the allurements of the Lorelei on the rock above. The hunter's good intentions are fruitless, the young man is drowned.

In the autumn of 1823, Heine wrote, while at Lüneburg, his "Die Lorelei." It was first published² in the *Gesellschafter*, March

¹ The superficial similarity of these two poems can easily be exaggerated. The rhyme "sitzet-blitzet" is perfectly natural: the Lorelei had to be portrayed as "sitzen"; what is then easier than "blitzen"? In "Ritter Peter von Stauffenberg und die Meerfeye" (*Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, ed. of Eduard Grisebach, p. 277) we have this couplet:

Er sieht ein schönes Weib da sitzen,
Von Gold und Silber herrlich blitzen.

For more detailed illustrations, see below, p. 79.

² It is worth while to note the actual date of Heine's composition of his ballad, since so eminent an authority as Wilhelm Scherer (*Ges. d. deut. Lit.*, 8th ed., p. 662) says that

26, 1824. Commentators refer to the verse, "Ein Märchen aus alten Zeiten," as a bit of fiction, adding that it is not a tale of olden times, but one invented by Brentano about 1800. The statement is true but misleading, for we naturally infer that Heine derived his initial inspiration from Brentano's ballad. Concerning this matter there are three points of view: Some editors and historians point out Brentano's priority and list his successors without committing¹ themselves as to intervening influence. This has only bibliographical value and for our purpose may be omitted. Some trace Heine's ballad direct to Brentano, some direct to Loeben. Which of these two points of view has the more argument in its favor and can there be still a third?

In the first place, Heine never knew Brentano personally, and never mentions him in his letters previous to 1824, nor in his letters² that have thus far been published after 1824. *Godwi* was repudiated soon after its publication by Brentano himself, who said³ there was only one good thing about it, the title, for, after people had said "Godwi," they could just keep on talking and say, "Godwi, dumm." On its account, Caroline called him Demens Brentano, while Dorothea dubbed him "Angebrentano." The novel became a rare and

Heine wrote the poem in 1824. And Eduard Thorn (*Heinrich Heines Beziehungen zu Clemens Brentano*, p. 90, says that he published it in 1826. This is incorrect, as is also Thorn's statement, p. 88, that Brentano wrote his ballad in 1802. For the correct date of Heine's ballad, see *Sämtliche Werke*, Hamburg, 1865, XV, 200.

¹ An instance of this is seen in *Selections from Heine's Poems*, edited by H. S. White, D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, 1900, p. 182. Professor White does, to be sure, refer to Strodtmann for the details; but Strodtmann does not prove anything. And in *Heines Werke in fünfzehn Teilen*, edited by Hermann Friedemann, Helene Herrmann, Erwin Kalischer, Raimund Pissin, and Veit Valentin, we have the comment by Helene Herrmann, who follows Pissin: "Die Loreleysage, erfunden von Clemens Brentano; vielfach von Romantikern gestaltet. Zwischen Brentanos Romanze und Heines Situationsbild steht die Behandlung durch den Grafen Loeben, einen unbedeutenden romantischen Dichter."

² The best finished collection of Heine's letters is the one by Hans Daffls, Berlin, 1907, 2 vols. This collection will, however, soon be superseded by *Heinrich Heines Briefwechsel*, edited by Friedrich Hirth, München and Berlin, 1914. The first volume covers Heine's life up to 1831. In neither of these collections is either Brentano or Loeben mentioned. There are 643 pages in Hirth's first volume.

³ For a discussion of *Godwi*, see *Clemens Brentano: Ein Lebensbild*, by Johannes Baptist Diel and Wilhelm Kreiten, Freiburg i.B., 1877, two volumes in one, pp. 104-25. As to the obscurity of Brentano's work, one sentence (p. 116) is significant: "*Godwi* spukt heutzutage nur mehr in den Köpfen der liberalen Literaturgeschichtsschreiber, denen er einen willkommenen Vorwand an die Hand gibt, mit einigen stereotyp abgeschriebenen Phrasen den Stab über den phantastischen, verschwommenen, unsittlichen u.s.w., u.s.w. Dichter zu brechen."

unread book until Anselm Ruest brought out a new edition¹ with a critical and appreciative introduction in 1906. Diel and Kreiten say "es ging fast spurlos vorüber." It was not included in his *Gesammelte Schriften* (1852-55), though the ballad² was. Heine does not mention it in his *Romantische Schule*, which was, however, written ten years after he had finished his "Die Lorelei." And as to the contents of Brentano's ballad, there is precious little in it that resembles Heine's ballad, aside from the name of the heroine, and even here the similarity is far from striking.

And yet, despite all this, commentators continue to say that Heine drew the initial inspiration for his "Lorelei" from Brentano. They may be right, but no one of them has thus far produced any tenable argument, to say nothing of positive proof. The most recent supporter of Brentano's claim is Eduard Thorn³ (1913), who reasons as follows:

Heine knew Brentano's works in 1824, for in that year he borrowed *Wunderhorn* and *Trösteinsamkeit* from the library at Göttingen. These have, however, nothing to do with Brentano's ballad, and it is one year too late for Heine's ballad. All of Thorn's references to Heine's *Romantische Schule*, wherein *Godwi*, incidentally, is not mentioned, though other works are, collapse, for this was written ten years too late. And then, to quote Thorn: "Loeben's Gedicht lieferte das direkte Vorbild für Heine." He offers no proof except the statements of Strodtmann, Hessel, and Elster to this effect. And again: "Der Name Lorelay findet sich bei Loeben nicht als Eigenname, wenn er auch das Gedicht, 'Der Lurleifels' überschreibt."

¹ Clemens Brentano: *Godwi, oder das steinerne Bild der Mutter. Ein verwilderter Roman.* Herausgegeben und eingeleitet von Dr. Anselm Ruest, Berlin, 1906. Ruest edited the work because he thought it was worth reviving. In this edition, the ballad is on pages 507-10. Bartels (*Handbuch*, 2d ed., p. 400) lists a reprint in 1905, E. A. Regener, Berlin.

² II, 391-93.

³ For the various references, see Thorn's *Heinrich Heines Beziehungen zu Clemens Brentano*, pp. 88-90. His study is especially unsatisfactory in view of the fact that he says (p. 88) in this connection: "Wirklich Neues zu bringen ist uns nicht vergönnt, denn selbstverständlich haben die Forscher dieses dankbare und interessante Objekt schon in der eingehendsten Weise untersucht." And Thorn's attempt to show that Heine knew *Godwi* early in life by pointing out similarities between poems in it and poems by Heine is about as untenable as argument could be, in view of the great number of poets who may have influenced Heine in these instances; Thorn himself lists (p. 63) Bürger, Fouqué, Arnim, E. T. A. Hoffmann.

But the name Loreley does occur¹ twice on the same page on which the last strophe of the ballad is published in *Urania*, and here the ballad is not entitled "Der Lurleifels," but simply "Loreley." Now even granting that Loeben entitled his ballad one way in the MS and Brockhaus published it in another way in *Urania*, it is wholly improbable that Heine saw Loeben's MS previous to 1823.

And then, after contending that Brentano's *Rheinmärchen*,² which, though written before 1823, were not published until 1846, must have given Heine the hair-combing motif, Thorn says: "Also kann nur Brentano das Vorbild geliefert haben." This cannot be correct. What is, on the contrary, at least possible is that Heine influenced Brentano.³ The *Rheinmärchen* were finished, in first form, in 1816. And Guido Görres, to whom Brentano willed them, and who first published them, tells us how Brentano carried them around with him in his satchel and changed them and polished them as opportunity was offered and inspiration came. It is therefore reasonable to believe that Heine helped Brentano to metamorphose his Lorelei of the ballad, where she is wholly human, into the super-human Lorelei of the *Rheinmärchen* where she does, as a matter of fact, comb her hair with a golden comb.⁴

And now as to Loeben: Did Heine know and borrow from his ballad? Aside from the few who do not commit themselves, and

¹ In Pissin's collection of Loeben's poems (*D.L.D.*, No. 135) we have a peculiar note. After the ballad (*Anmerk.*, p. 161), which Pissin entitles "Der Lurleifels," we read: "N.d. Hs." This would argue that Loeben did so entitle his ballad and that Pissin had access to the original MS. But then Pissin says: "Auch, die gleichnamige Novelle einleitend, in der *Urania* auf 1821." But in *Urania* the novelette is entitled "Eine Sage vom Rhein," and the ballad is entitled "Loreley." Let him who can unravel this!

² For the entire story of the composition and publication of the *Rheinmärchen*, see *Die Märchen von Clemens Brentano*, edited by Guido Görres, 2 vols. in 1, Stuttgart, 1879 (2d ed.). This edition contains the preface to the original edition of 1846, pp. i-l.

³ Thorn, who drew on M. R. Hewelcke's *Die Loreleisage*, Paderborn, 1908, makes (p. 90) this suggestion. It is impossible for the writer to see how Thorn can be so positive in regard to Brentano's influence on Heine. And one's faith is shaken by this sentence on the same page: "Brentano veröffentlichte sein *Radlauf-Märchen* erst 1827, Heine 'Die Lorelei' schon 1826." Both of these dates are incorrect. Guido Görres, who must be considered a final authority on this matter, says that, though Brentano tried to publish his *Märchen* as early as 1816, none of them were published until 1846, except extracts from "Das Myrtenfräulein," and a version of "Gockel," neither of which bears directly on the Lorelei-matter.

⁴ Cf. Görres' second edition, I, 256: "Nachdem Murmelthier herzlich für diese Geschenke gedankt hatte, sagte Frau Else: 'Nun, mein Kind! kämme mir und Frau Lurley die Haare, wir wollen die deinigen dann auch kämmen'—dann gab sie ihr einen goldenen Kamm, und Murmelthier kämmte Beiden die Haare und flocht sie so schön, dass die Wasserfrauen sehr zufrieden mit ihr waren."

those who trace Heine's poem direct to Brentano, and Oscar F. Walzel to be referred to later, all commentators, so far as I have looked into the matter, say that he did. Adolf Strodtmann said¹ it first (1868), in the following words: "Es leidet wohl keinen Zweifel, dass Heine dies Loeben'sche Ballade gekannt und bei Abfassung seiner Lorelei-Ballade benutzt hat." But he produces no proof except similarity of form and content. Of the others who have followed his lead, ten, for particular reasons, should be authorities: Franz Muncker,² Karl Hessel,³ Karl Goedeke,⁴ Wilhelm Scherer,⁵ Georg Mücke,⁶ Wilhelm Hertz,⁷ Ernst Elster,⁸ Georg Brandes,⁹ Heinrich Spiess,¹⁰ and Herm. Anders Krüger.¹¹ But no one of them offers any proof except Strodtmann's statement to this effect.

Now their contention may be substantially correct; but their method of contending is scientifically wrong. To accept, where verification is necessary, the unverified statement of any man is wrong. And that is the case here. Elster's note is of peculiar

¹ In *H. Heines Leben und Werke*, Hamburg, 1884 (3d ed.), Bd. I, p. 363. In the notes, Strodtmann reprints Loeben's ballad, pp. 696-97. His statement is especially unsatisfactory in view of the fact that he refers to the "fast gleicher Inhalt," though the essentials of Heine's ballad are not in Loeben's, and to "eine gewisse Ähnlichkeit in Form," though the similarity in form is most pronounced.

² In *Allgemeine deut. Biog.*, XIX, 44. It is interesting to see how Professor Muncker lays stress on this matter by placing in parentheses the statement: "Einige Züge der letzten Geschichte ["Sage vom Rhein"] regten Heine zu seinem bekannten Liede an."

³ In *Dichtungen von Heinrich Heine, ausgewählt und erläutert*, Bonn, 1887, p. 326. Hessel's statement is peculiarly unsatisfactory, since he says (p. 309) that he is going to the sources of Heine's poems, and then, after reprinting Loeben's ballad, he says: "Dieses Lied war Heines nächstes Vorbild. Ausführlicheres bei Strodtmann, Bd. I, S. 362." And this edition has been well received.

⁴ In *Grundriss*, VI, 110. Again we read in parentheses: "Aus diesem Liede und dem Eingange der Erzählung schöpfte H. Heine sein Lied von der Loreley."

⁵ In *Ges. d. deut. Lit.*, p. 662 (8th ed.).

⁶ In *Heinrich Heines Beziehungen zum deutschen Mittelalter*, Berlin, 1908, pp. 94-95. Mücke is the most cautious of the ten authorities above listed; and he anticipated Walzel in his reference to Schreiber's *Handbuch*.

⁷ In *Ueber den Namen Lorelei*, p. 224. Hertz is about as cautious as Strodtmann: "Es ist kaum zu bezweifeln, dass," etc.

⁸ In *Sämtliche Werke*, I, 491.

⁹ In *Hauptströmungen*, VI, 178. Brandes says: "Der Gegenstand ist der gleiche, das Versmass ist dasselbe, ja die Reimen sind an einzelnen Stellen die gleichen: blitzt-sitzet; statt 'an-gethan' steht da nur 'Kahn-gethan.'"

¹⁰ In *Die deutschen Romantiker*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 235.

¹¹ In *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon*, München, 1914, p. 271. It is significant that Krüger makes this statement, for the subtitle of his book is "Biographisches und bibliographisches Handbuch mit Motivübersichten und Quellen nachweisen." And it is, on the whole, an extremely useful book.

interest. He says: "Heine schloss sich am nächsten an die Bearbeitung eines Stoffs an, die ein Graf Löben 1821 veröffentlichte." The expression "ein Graf Löben" is grammatical evidence, though not proof, of one of two things: that Loeben was to Elster himself in 1890 a mere name, or that Elster knew Loeben would be this to the readers of his edition of Heine's works. Brandes says: "Die Nachahmung ist unzweifelhaft."¹ His proof is Strodtmann's statement, and similarity of content and form, with special reference to the two rhymes "sitzet-blitzet" that occur in both. But this was a very common rhyme with both Heine and Loeben in other poems. How much importance can be attached then to similarity of content and form?

The verse and strophe form, the rhyme scheme, the accent, the melody, except for Heine's superiority, are the same in both. As to length, the two poems are exactly equal, each containing, by an unimportant but interesting coincidence, precisely 117 words.² But the contents of the two poems are not nearly so similar as they apparently seemed, at first blush, to Adolf Strodtmann. The melodious singing, the golden hair and the golden comb and the use that is made of both, the irresistibly sweet sadness, the time, "Aus alten Zeiten," and the subjectivity—Heine himself recites his poem—these indispensable essentials in Heine's poem are not in Loeben's. Indeed as to content and of course as to merit, the two poems are far removed from each other.

And, moreover, literary parallels are the ancestors of that undocile child, Conjecture. We must remember that sirenian and echo poetry are almost as old as the tide of the sea, certainly as old as the hills,

¹ It is impossible to see how Brandes can lay great stress on the fact that this rhyme occurs in both poems. The following rhymes are found on the following pages of the Elster edition, Vol. I., of Heine's works: "Spitze-Blitze" (36), "sitzen-nützen" (116), "Witzen-nützen" (124), "sitzen-blitzen" (216), "erhitzet-bespitzet" (242), "Blitz-Sitz" (257), "blitzt-gestützt" (276), "blitze-besitze" (319), "blitzet-gespitzet" (464). And in Loeben's poems the rhyme is equally common. The first strophe of his *Ferdusi* runs as follows:

Hell erglänzt an Persiens Throne
Wo der grosse Mahmud sitzt;
Welch Juwel ist's, das die Krone
So vor allen schön umblitzt.

And in Schreiber's saga we have in juxtaposition, the words, "Blitze" and "Spitze." The rhyme "Sitze-Blitze" occurs in Immanuel's "Lorelei," quoted by Seeliger, p. 31. 

² There are, to be sure, only 114 words in Loeben's ballad if we count "um's," "dir's," and "glaub's" as three words and not six.

while as to the general situation, there is a passage in Milton's *Comus* (ll. 880-84) analogous to Heine's ballad, as follows:

And fair Ligea's golden comb,
Wherewith she sits on diamond rocks,
Sleeking her soft alluring locks,
By all the nymphs that nightly dance
Upon thy streams with wily glance,

and so on. And as to the pronounced similarity of form, we must remember that Heine was here employing his favorite measure, while Loeben was almost the equal of Rückert in regard to the number of verse and strophe forms he effectively and easily controlled. In short, striking similarity in content is lacking, and as to the same sort of similarity in form to this but little if any significance can be attached.

And if the internal evidence is thin, the external is invisible, except for the fact that Loeben's ballad was published by Brockhaus, whom Heine knew by correspondence. But between the years 1818 and 1847, Heine never published anything in *Urania*,¹ which was used by so many of his contemporaries. Heine and Loeben never knew each other personally, and between the years 1821 and 1823 they were never regionally close together.² Heine never mentions Loeben in his letters; nor does he refer to him in his creative works, despite the fact that he had a habit of alluding to his brothers in Apollo, even in his poems.³

And therefore, though it is fashionable to say that Heine knew Loeben's ballad in 1823, and though the contention is plausible, it is impossible to prove it. Impossible also for this reason: Karl Simrock, Heine's intimate friend, included in his *Rheinsagen* (1836, 1837, 1841)⁴ the ballads on the Lorelei by Brentano, Eichendorff,

¹ These numbers are in the Columbia Library.

² During these years Heine's letters are dated from Göttingen, Berlin, Gnesen, Berlin, Münster, Berlin, Lüneburg, Hamburg, Ritzenbüttel, and Lüneburg. During these same years Loeben was in Dresden and he was ill.

³ We need only to mention such a strophe as the following from *Atta Troll*:

Klang das nicht wie Jugendträume,
Die ich träumte mit Chamisso
Und Brentano und Fouqué
In den blauen Mondscheinnächten?

See Elster edition, II, 421. The lines were written in 1843.

⁴ The first edition of Karl Simrock's *Rheinsagen* came out in 1836. This was not accessible. The edition of 1837, "zweite, vermehrte Auflage," contains 168 poems, 572 pages; this contains Simrock's "Ballade von der Lorelei." The edition of 1841 also

Heine, and himself. Why did he exclude the one by Loeben? He made an ardent appeal in his preface to his colleagues to inform him of any other ballads that had been written on these themes. The question must be referred to those who like to skate on flabby ice in things literary.

The most plausible theory in regard to the source of Heine's ballad is the one proposed by Oscar F. Walzel, who says: "Heine hat den Stoff wahrscheinlich aus dem ihm wohlbekannten *Handbuch für Reisende am Rhein* von Aloys Schreiber übernommen."¹ The only proof that Walzel gives that Heine knew Schreiber's manual is a reference² to it in *Lutetia*. But this was written in 1843, and proves nothing as to 1823. His contention, however, that Heine borrowed from Schreiber³ has everything in its favor, from the point of view of both external and internal evidence and deserves, therefore, detailed elaboration.

contains Simrock's "Der Teufel und die Lorelei." The book contains 455 pages, 218 poems. The sixth edition (1869) contains 231 poems. In all editions the poems are arranged in geographical order from Südersee to Graubünden. Alexander Kaufmann's *Quellenangaben und Bemerkungen zu Karl Simrocks Rheinsagen* throws no new light on the Lorelei-legend.

¹ Cf. *Heinrich Heines sämtliche Werke*, edited by Walzel, Fränkel, Krähe, Leitzmann, and Petersen, Leipzig, 1911, II, 468. So far as I have looked into the matter, Walzel stands alone in this belief, though Mücke, as has been pointed out above, anticipated him in the statement that Heine drew on Schreiber in this case. But Mücke thinks that Heine also knew Loeben.

² The reference in question reads as follows: "Ich will kein Wort verlieren über den Wert dieses unverdaulichen Machwerkes [*Les Burgraves*], das mit allen möglichen Präsentationen auftritt, namentlich mit historischen, obgleich alles Wissen Victor Hugos über Zeit und Ort, wo sein Stück spielt, lediglich aus der französischen Uebersetzung von Schreibers *Handbuch für Rheinreisende* geschöpft, ist." This was written March 20, 1843 (see Elster edition, VI, 344).

³ Aloys Wilhelm Schreiber (1763–1840) was a teacher in the Lyceum at Baden-Baden (1800–1802), professor of aesthetics at Heidelberg (1802–13) where he was intimate with the Voss family, historiographer at Karlsruhe (1813–26), and in 1826 he retired and became a most prolific writer. He interested himself in guidebooks for travelers. His manuals contain maps, distances, expense accounts, historical sketches, in short, about what the modern *Baedeker* contains with fewer statistics and more popular description. His books appeared in German, French, and English. In 1812 he published his *Handbuch für Reisende am Rhein von Schaffhausen bis Holland*, to give only a small part of the wordy title, and in 1818 he brought out a second, enlarged edition of the same work with an appendix containing 17 *Volkssagen aus den Gegenden am Rhein und am Taunus*, the sixteenth of which is entitled "Die Jungfrau auf dem Lurley." His books were exceedingly popular in their day and are still obtainable. Of the one here in question, Von Weech (*Allgem. deut. Biog.*, XXXII, 471) says: "Sein *Handbuch für Reisende am Rhein*, dessen Anhang eine wertvolle Sammlung rheinischer Volkssagen enthält, war lange der beliebteste Führer auf Rheinreisen." There are 7 volumes of his manuals in the New York Public Library, and one, *Traditions populaires du Rhin*, Heidelberg, 1830 (2d ed.), is in the Columbia Library. It contains 144 legends and beautiful engravings. (The writer has just [October 15, 1915] secured the four volumes of Schreiber's *Rheinische Geschichten und Sagen*. The fourth volume, published in 1836, is now a very rare book.)

As to internal evidence, there is only one slight difference between Heine's ballad and Schreiber's saga: where Heine's Lorelei combs her hair with a golden comb and has golden jewelry, Schreiber's "bindet einen Kranz für ihre goldenen Locken" and "hat eine Schnur von Bernstein in der Hand." Even here the color scheme is the same; otherwise there is no difference: time, place, and events are precisely the same in both. The mood and style are especially similar. The only words in Heine not found in Schreiber are "Kamm" and "bedeuten." Schreiber goes, to be sure, farther than does Heine: he continues the story after the death of the hero.¹ This, however, is of no significance, for Heine was simply interested in his favorite theme of unrequited or hindered love.

Now Heine must have derived his plot from somewhere, else this would be an uncanny case of coincidence. And the two expressions, "Aus alten Zeiten," and "Mit ihrem Singen," the latter of which is so important, Heine could have derived only from Schreiber. Heine was not jesting when he said it was a fairy tale from the days of old; he was following, it seems, Schreiber's saga, the first sentence of which reads as follows: "In alten Zeiten liess sich manchmal auf dem Lureley um die Abenddämmerung und beym Mondschein eine Jungfrau sehen, die mit so anmuthiger Stimme sang, dass alle, die es hörten, davon bezaubert wurden." But Brentano's Lorelei does not sing at all, and Loeben's just a little, "Sie singt dir hold zum Ohr," while Heine, like Schreiber, puts his heroine in the prima donna class, and has her work her charms through her singing. And it seems that Heine was following Schreiber when the latter wrote as follows: "Viele, die vorüberschifften, gingen am Felsenriff oder im Strudel zu Grunde, weil sie nicht mehr auf den Lauf des Fahrzeugs achteten, sondern von den himmlischen Tönen der wunderbaren Jungfrau gleichsam vom Leben abgelöst wurden, wie das zarte Leben der Blume sich im süßen Duft verhaucht."

¹ The remainder of Schreiber's plot is as follows: The news of the infatuated hero's death so grieved the old Count that he determined to have the Lorelei captured, dead or alive. One of his captains, aided by a number of brave followers, set out on the hazardous expedition. First, they surround the rock on which the Lorelei sits, and then three of the most courageous ascend to her seat and determine to kill her, so that the danger of her repeating her former deed may be forever averted. But when they reach her and she hears what they intend to do, she simply smiles and invokes the aid

And as to her personal appearance, Brentano and Loeben simply tell us that she was beautiful, Brentano employing the Homeric method of proving her beauty by its effects. Heine and Schreiber not only comment upon her physical beauty, they also tell us how she enhanced her natural charms by zealously attending to her hair and her jewelry and religiously guarding the color scheme in so doing. In brief, the similarity is so striking that, if we can prove that Heine knew Schreiber in 1823, we can definitely assert that Schreiber¹ was his main, if not his unique, source.

Let us take up the various arguments in favor of the contention that Heine knew Schreiber's *Handbuch* in 1823, beginning with the least convincing. If Heine read Loeben's ballad and saga in "Urania für 1821," he could thereby have learned also of Schreiber's *Rheinsagen*, for, by a peculiar coincidence for our purpose, Brockhaus discusses² these in the introduction in connection with a tragedy by W. Usener, entitled *Die Brüder*, and based upon one of Schreiber's *Sagen*. Proof, then, that Heine knew Loeben in 1823 is almost proof that he also knew Schreiber.

But there is better proof than this. In *Elementargeister*,³ we find this sentence: "Ganz genau habe ich die Geschichte nicht im Kopfe; wenn ich nicht irre, wird sie in Schreibers *Rheinischen Sagen* aufs umständlichste erzählt. Es ist die Sage vom Wisperthal, welches unweit Lorch am Rheine gelegen ist." And then Heine tells the same story that is told by Schreiber. It is the eighth of the

of her Father, who immediately sends two white horses—two white waves—up the Rhine, and, after leaping down to the Rhine, she is safely carried away by these. She was never again seen, but her voice was frequently heard as she mocked, in echo, the songs of the sailors on her paternal stream.

¹ It is not simply in the appendix of Schreiber's *Handbuch* that he discusses the legend of Lorelei, but also in the scientific part of it. Concerning the Lorelei rock he says (pp. 174-75): "Ein wunderbarer Fels schiebt sich jetzt dem Schiffer gleichsam in seine Bahn—es ist der Lurley (von Lure, Lauter, und Ley, Schiefer) aus welchem ein Echo den Zuruf der Vorbeifahrendem fünfzehnmal wiederholt. Diesen Schieferfels bewohnte in grauen Zeiten eine Undine, welche die Schiffenden durch ihr Zurufen ins Verderben lockte."

² Brockhaus says (p. xxiv): "Die einfache Sage von den beiden feindlichen Brüdern am Rhein, von denen die Trümmer ihrer Burgen selbst noch *Die Brüder* heißen, ist in A. Schreibers Auswahl von Sagen jener Gegenden zu lesen." Usener's tragedy is published in full in this number of *Urania*, pp. 383-442.

³ Cf. Elster edition, IV, 406-9. The circumstantial way in which Heine retells this story is almost sufficient to lead one to believe that he had Schreiber at hand when he wrote this part of *Elementargeister*; but he says that he did not.

seventeen *Sagen* in question. This, then, is proof that Heine knew Schreiber so long before 1835 that he was no longer sure he could depend upon his memory. But it is impossible to say whether Heine's memory was good for twelve years, or more, or less.

But there is better evidence than this. Heine's *Der Rabbi von Bacharach* reaches far back into his life. That he intended to write this sort of work before 1823 has been proved;¹ just when he actually began to write this particular work is not so clear, but we know that he did much preliminary reading by way of preparing himself for its composition. And the region around and above and below Bacharach comes in for detailed discussion and elaborate description in Schreiber's *Rheinsagen*. The crusades, the *Sankt-Wernerskirchen*, Lorch, the *Fischfang*, Hatto's *Mäuseturm*, the maelstrom at Bingen, the *Kedrich*, the story of the *Kecker Reuter* who liberated the maid that had been abducted by dwarfs, and again, and this is irrefutable, the story "von dem wunderlichen Wisperthale drüben, wo die Vögel ganz vernünftig sprechen," all of these and others play a large rôle in Schreiber's sagas and in Heine's *Rabbi*. No one can read Schreiber's *Handbuch* and Heine's *Rabbi* without being convinced that the former stood sponsor for the latter.

And lastly, Heine wrote before 1821 his poem entitled "Die zwei Brüder."² It is the tenth of the seventeen *Volkssagen* by Schreiber, the same theme as the one treated by W. Usener already referred to. It is an old story,³ and Heine could have derived his material from a number of places, but not from Grimm's *Deutsche*

¹ Discussion as to the first conception of Heine's *Rabbi* are found in: *Heinrich Heines Fragment: Der Rabbi von Bacharach*, by Lion Feuchtwanger, München, 1907; *Heinrich Heine und Der Rabbi von Bacharach*, by Gustav Karpeles, Wien, 1895.

² The poem is one of the *Junge Leiden*, published in 1821. Elster (I, 490) says: "Eine bekannte Sage, mit einzelnen vielfach wiederkehrenden uralten Zügen, dargestellt in Simrocks *Rheinsagen*." Simrock had, of course, done nothing on the *Rheinsagen* in 1821, being then only nineteen years old and an inconspicuous student at Bonn. Walzel says (I, 449): "Mit einem andern Ausgang ist die Sage in dem von Heine vielbenutzten *Handbuch für Reisende am Rhein* von Aloys Schreiber (Heidelberg, 1816) überliefert." The edition of this work in the New York Public Library has no printed date, but 1818 is written in. Walzel may be correct. The outcome of Heine's poem is, after all, not so different: in Schreiber, both brothers relinquish their claims to the girl and remain unmarried; in Heine the one kills the other and in this way neither wins the girl.

³ It is the same story as the one told by Bulwer-Lytton in his *Pilgrims of the Rhine*, chap. xxiv.

Sagen, indeed from no place so convenient as Schreiber. Heine knew Schreiber's *Handbuch*¹ in 1823.

The situation, then, is as follows: Heine had to have a source or sources. There are three candidates for Heine honors; Brentano, Loeben, Schreiber. Brentano has a number of supporters, though the evidence, external and internal, is wholly lacking. It would seem that lack of attention to chronology has misled investigators. Brentano's ballad can now be read in many places, but between about 1815 and 1823 it was safely concealed in the pages of an unread and unknown novel. Loeben² has many supporters, though the external evidence, except for the fact that Heine corresponded with Brockhaus, is wholly lacking, and the internal weakens on careful study. It would seem that the striking similarity in form has misled investigators. Schreiber has only one supporter, despite the fact that the evidence, external and internal, is as strong as it can be without Heine's ever having made some such remark as the following: "Yes, in 1823 I knew *only* Schreiber's saga and borrowed from it." But Heine never made any such statement. It would seem that the strong assertions of so many investigators in favor of Brentano and Loeben have made careful study of the matter appear not worth while; the problem was apparently solved. And since Heine never committed himself in this connection, the matter will, in all probability, remain forever conjectural. This much, however, is irrefutable: even if Heine knew in 1823 the five *Loreleidichtungen* that had then been written, those by Brentano, Niklas Vogt,

¹ All through the body of Schreiber's *Handbuch* there are references to the places and legends mentioned in Heine's *Rabbi*. On Bacharach there is the following: "Der Reisende, wenn er auch nur eine Stunde in Bacharach verweilt, unterlasse nicht, die Ruinen von Staleck zu besteigen, wo eine der schönsten Rheinlandschaften sich von seinen Blicken aufrollt. Die Burg von sehr beträchtlichem Umfang scheint auf den Trümtern eines Römerkastells erbaut. Die, welche die Entstehung derselben den Hunnen zuschreiben, weil sie in Urkunden den Namen Stalekum hat, sind in einem Irrtum befangen, denn Stalekum oder Stalek heißt eben so viel als Stalbühl, oder ein Ort, wo ein Gericht gehegte wurde. Pfalzgraf Hermann von Staleck starb im 12ten Jahrhundert; er war der letzte seines Stammes, und von ihm kam die Burg, als Kölnisches Lehen, an Konrad von Staufen."

² To come back to Heine and Loeben, Herm. Anders Krüger says (p. 147) in his *Pseudoromantik*: "Heinrich Heine, der überhaupt Loeben studiert zu haben scheint," etc. He offers no proof. If one wished to make out a case for Loeben, it could be done with his narrative poem "Ferdusi" (1817) and Heine's "Der Dichter Ferdusi." Both tell about the same story; but each tells a story that was familiar in romantic circles.

Eichendorff, Schreiber, and Loeben, and if he borrowed what he needed from all of them, he borrowed more from Schreiber¹ than from the other four combined.²

III

Where Brentano sowed, many have reaped. Since the publication of his *Godwi*, about sixty-five *Loreleidichtungen*³ have been written in German, the most important being those by Brentano (1810–16), Niklas Vogt⁴ (1811), Eichendorff (*ca.* 1812), Loeben (1821), Heine (1823), Simrock (1837, 1840), Otto Ludwig (1838), Geibel (1834, 1846), W. Müller von Königswinter (1851), Carmen Sylva (*ca.* 1885), A. L'Arronge (1886), Julius Wolff (1886), and Otto

¹ In reply to a letter addressed to Professor Elster on October 4, 1914, the writer received the following most kind reply on November 23: "Die Frage, die Sie an mich richten, ist leicht beantwortet: Heine hat Loeben in seinen Schriften nicht erwähnt, aber das besagt nicht viel; er hat manchen benutzt, den er nicht nennt. Und es kann gar keinem Zweifel unterliegen, dass Loeben für die Lorelei Heines *unmittelbares Vorbild* ist; darauf habe ich öfter hingewiesen, aber wohl auch andere. Das Taschenbuch *Urania* für das Jahr 1821, wo Loebens Gedicht u. Novelle zuerst erschienenen, ist unserem Dichter zweifellos zu Gesicht gekommen." No one can view Professor Elster in any other light than as an eminent authority on Heine, but his certainty here must be accepted with reserve, and his "wohl auch andere" is, in view of the fact that he was by no means the first, and certainly not the last, to make this assertion, a trifle disconcerting.

² The ultimate determining of sources is an ungrateful theme. Some excellent suggestions on this subject are offered by Hans Röhl in his *Die ältere Romantik und die Kunst des jungen Goethe*, Berlin, 1909, pp. 70–72. This work was written under the general leadership of Professor Elster. The disciple would, in this case, hardly agree with the master. Pissin likewise speaks wisely in discussing the influence of Novalis on Loeben in his monograph on the latter, pp. 97–98, and 129–30. And Heine himself (Elster edition, V, 294) says in regard to the question whether Hegel did borrow so much from Schelling: "Nichts ist lächerlicher als das reklamierte Eigentumsrecht an Ideen." He then shows how the ideas were not original with Schelling either; he had them from Spinoza. And it is just so here. Brentano started the legend; Heine goes back to him indirectly, Eichendorff and Vogt directly; Schreiber borrowed from Vogt, Loeben from Schreiber, and Heine from Schreiber—and thereafter it would be impossible to say who borrowed from whom.

³ The majority of the *Loreleidichtungen* can be found in: *Opern-Handbuch*, by Hugo Riemann, Leipzig, 1886; *Zur Geschichte der Märchenoper*, by Leopold Schmidt, Halle, 1895; *Die Loreleysage in Dichtung und Musik*, by Hermann Seeliger, Leipzig, 1898. Seeliger took the majority of his titles from *Nassau in seinen Sagen, Geschichten und Liedern*, by Henniger, Wiesbaden, 1845. At least he says so, but one is inclined to doubt the statement, for "die meisten Balladen" have been written since 1845. Seeliger's book is on the whole unsatisfactory. He has, for example, Schreiber improving on and remodeling Loeben's saga; but Schreiber was twenty-three years older than Loeben, and wrote his saga at least three years before Loeben wrote his.

⁴ In F. Gräter's *Idunna und Hermode, eine Alterthumszeitung*, Breslau, 1812, pp. 191–92, Gräter gives under the heading, "Die Bildergallerie des Rheins," thirty well-known German sagas. The twenty-seventh is "Der Lureley: Ein Gegenstück zu der Fabel von der Echo." It is the version of Vogt.

Roquette (1889). In addition¹ to these, the story has been retold² many times, with slight alterations of the "original" versions, by compilers of chrestomathies, and parodies have been written on it. There is hardly a conceivable interpretation that has not been placed upon the legend.³ The Lorelei has been made by some the evil spirit that entices men into hazardous games of chance, by others she is the lofty incarnation of a desire to live and be blessed with the love that knows no turning away. The story has also wandered to Italy, France, England, Scotland, Scandinavia, and the United States,⁴ and the heroine has proved a grateful theme for painters and sculptors. Of the epic works, that by Julius Wolff is of interest because of the popularity it has enjoyed. First published in 1886, it had reached the forty-sixth thousand in 1898. Of the dramas that

¹ Aside from the above, some of the less important authors of lyrics, ballads, dramas, novels, etc., on the Lorelei-theme are: J. Bartholdi, H. Bender, H. Berg, J. P. Berger, A. H. Bernard, G. Conrad, C. Doll, L. Eichrodt, O. Fiebach, Fr. Förster, W. Fournier, G. Freudenberg, W. Freudenberg, W. Genth, K. Geib, H. Grieben, H. Grüneberg, G. Gurski, Henriette Heinze-Berg, A. Henniger, H. Hersch, Mary Koch, Wilhelmine Lorenz, I. Mappes, W. Molitor, Fr. Mücke, O. W. Notzsch, Luise Otto, E. Rüffer, Max Schafroth, Luise Freiin von Sell, E. A. W. Siboni, H. Steinheuer, Adelheid von Stolterfoth, A. Storm, W. von Waldbrihl, L. Werft, and others even more obscure than these.

² In Menco Stern's *Geschichten vom Rhein*, the story is told so as to connect the legend of the Lorelei with the treasures of the *Nibelungenlied*. In this way we have gold in the mountain, wine around it, a beautiful woman on it—what more could mortal wish? Sympathy! And this the Lorelei gives him in the echo. In reply to an inquiry, Mr. Stern very kindly wrote as follows: "The facts given in my *Geschichten vom Rhein* are all well known to German students; and especially those mentioned in my chapter 'Lorelay' can be verified in the book: *Der Rhein* von Philipp F. W. Oertel (W. O. v. Horn) who was, I think, the greatest authority on the subject of the Rhine." Oertel is not an authority. In Eduard Prokosch's *German for Beginners*, the version of Schreiber was used, as is evident from the lines spoken by the Lorelei to her Father:

Vater, Vater, geschwind, geschwind,
Die weissen Rosse schick' deinem Kind,
Es will reiten auf Wogen und Wind.

These verses are worked into a large number of the ballads, and since they are Schreiber's own material, his saga must have had great general influence.

³ There would be no point in listing all of the books on the legends of the Rhine that treat the story of the Lorelei. Three, however, are important, since it is interesting to see how their compilers were not satisfied with one version of the story, but included, as becomes evident on reading them, the versions of Brentano, Schreiber, Loeben, and Heine: *Der Rhein: Geschichten und Sagen*, by W. O. von Horn, Stuttgart, 1866, pp. 207-11; *Legends of the Rhine*, by H. A. Guerber, New York, 1907, pp. 199-206; *Eine Sammlung von Rhein-Sagen*, by A. Hermann Bernard, Wiesbaden, no year, pp. 225-37.

⁴ Mrs. Caroline M. Sawyer wrote a poem entitled "The Lady of Lurlei. A Legend of the Rhine." It is published in *The Female Poets of America*, by Rufus Wilmot Griswold, New York, 1873, p. 221. This is not the first edition of this work, nor is it the original edition of Mrs. Sawyer's ballad. It is an excellent poem. Fr. Hoebel set it to music, and Adolf Strodtmann translated it into German, because of its excellence, and included it in his *Amerikanische Anthologie*. It was impossible to determine just when Mrs. Sawyer wrote her poem. The writer is deeply indebted to Professor W. B. Cairns, of the department of English in the University of Wisconsin, who located the poem for him.

by L'Arronge should be valuable, but it has apparently never been published; nor has Otto Ludwig's operatic fragment,¹ unless recently. Aside from Geibel, Otto Roquette is the most interesting librettist. Of the forty-odd (there were forty-two in 1898) composers of Heine's ballad, the greatest are Schumann, Raff, and Liszt, and in this case Friedrich Silcher,² who married the ballad to its now undivorceable melody.

Though Brentano created³ the story of his ballad, he located it in a region rich in legendary material, and it was the echo-motif of which he made especial use, and traces of this can be found in German literature as early as the thirteenth century.⁴ The first real poet to borrow from Brentano was Eichendorff,⁵ in whose *Ahnung und Gegenwart* we have the poem since published separately under the title of "Waldgespräch," and familiar to many through Schumann's composition.⁶ That Eichendorff's Lorelei operates the forest is only to be expected of the author of so many *Waldlieder*.

¹ Cf. *Otto Ludwigs gesammelte Schriften*, edited by Adolf Stern, Leipzig, 1891, I, 69, 107, 114.

² It has been impossible to determine just when Silcher (1789–1860) set Heine's ballad to music, but since he was professor of music at the University of Tübingen from 1817 on, and since he became interested in music while quite young, it is safe to assume that he wrote his music for "Die Lorelei" soon after its publication. The question is of some importance by way of finding out just when the ballad began to be popular. Strangely enough, there is nothing on Silcher in Robert Eitner's compendious *Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung*, Leipzig, 1900–1904. Heine's ballad is included in the *Allgemeines deutsches Commersbuch unter musikalischer Redaktion von Fr. Silcher and Fr. Erck*, Strassburg, 1858 (17th ed.), but the date of composition is not given.

³ In *Pauls Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, I, 1039, Mogk says: "Die weiblichen Nixen bezaubern durch ihren Gesang, die Loreley und ähnliche Sagen mögen hierin ihre Wurzel haben." The only trouble is, no one has thus far unearthed this saga.

⁴ Wilhelm Hertz gives (pp. 229–30) instances of this so that uncertainty as to its accuracy is removed. The passages are striking in that they concern the "Lorberg" and the "Lorleberg."

⁵ In chap. xv Eichendorff introduces the ballad as follows: "Leontin, der wenig darauf achtgab, begann folgendes Lied über ein am Rheine bekannte Märchen." The reference can be only to Brentano, despite the fact that the first two lines are so strongly reminiscent of Goethe's "Erlkönig." Eichendorff and Brentano became acquainted in Heidelberg and then in Berlin they were intimate. There is every reason to believe that Eichendorff knew Brentano's "Rheinmärchen" in manuscript form. For the relation of the two, see the Kosch edition of Eichendorff's works, *Briefe* and *Tagebücher*, Vols. XI–XIII.

⁶ Niklas Vogt included, to be sure, in his *Jugendphantasien über die Sagen des Rheins* (ca. 1811) an amplified recapitulation in prose of Brentano's ballad. Schreiber knew this work, for in his *Handbuch* there is a bibliography of no fewer than ten pages of "Schriften, welche auf die Rheingegend Bezug haben." So far as one can determine such a matter from mere titles, the only one of these that could have helped him in the composition of his Lorelei-saga is: *Rheinische Geschichten und Sagen*, von Niklas Vogt, Frankfurt am Main, 1817, 6 Bände.

Even if Heine had known it he could have borrowed nothing from it except the name of his heroine.¹

As to Loeben's saga, there can be but little doubt that he derived his initial inspiration from Schreiber, with whom he became intimately acquainted² at Heidelberg during the winter of 1807-8. This, of course, is not to say that Heine borrowed from Loeben. Indeed, one of the strongest proofs that Heine borrowed from Schreiber rather than from Loeben is the clarity and brevity, ease and poetry of Schreiber's saga as over against the obscurity and diffuseness, clumsiness and woodenness of Loeben's saga,³ the plot of which, so far as the action is concerned, is as follows: Hugbert von Stahleck, the son of the Palsgrave, falls in love with the Lorelei and rows out in the night to her seat by the Rhine. In landing, he falls into the stream, the Lorelei dives after him and brings him to the surface. The old Palsgrave has, in the meanwhile, sent a knight and two servants to capture the Lorelei. They climb the lofty rock and hang a stone around the enchantress' neck, when she voluntarily leaps from the cliff into the Rhine below and is drowned.

The one episode in Loeben not found in any of Schreiber's *Rheinsagen* is the story of the castaway ring miraculously restored from the stomach of the fish. This Loeben could have taken from "Mage lone" by Tieck, or "Polykrates" by Schiller, both of whom he revered as men and with whose works he was thoroughly familiar. But there is nothing in Loeben that Heine could not have derived in more inspiring form from Schreiber; and Schreiber contains essentials not in Loeben at all. Indeed, a general study of Schreiber's manuals leads one to believe that the influence of them, as a whole, on Heine would be a most grateful theme: there is not one Germanic legend referred to in Heine that is not contained in Schreiber. And as a prose writer, Heine's fame rests largely on his travel pictures.⁴

¹ Eduard Thorn says (p. 89): "Man darf annehmen, dass Heine die Ballade Brentano's kennen gelernt hat, dass er aus ihr den Namen entlehnte, wobei ihm Eichendorff die Fassung 'Lorelei' lieferte, und das ihm erst Loebens Auffassung der Sage zur Gestaltung verholfen hat." It sounds like a case of *ceterum censeo*, but Thorn's argument as to Brentano and Heine is so thin that this statement too can be looked upon only as a weakly supported hypothesis.

² Cf. Raimund Pissin's monograph, pp. 73-74.

³ There are about two thousand words in Schreiber's saga, and about five thousand in Loeben's.

⁴ It must be remembered that Schreiber's manuals are written in an attractive style; his purpose was not simply to instruct, but to entertain. And it was not simply the legends of the Rhine and its tributaries, but those of the whole of Western Germany that he wrote up with this end in view.

The points of similarity between Loeben's ballad and saga and the ballads and *Märchen* of Brentano, all of which Loeben knew in 1821, are wholly negligible. It remains,¹ therefore, simply to point out some of the peculiarities of Brentano's "Loreley" as portrayed in the *Rheinmärchen*—peculiarities that are interesting in themselves and that may have played a part in the development of the legend since 1846.

In "Das Märchen von dem Rhein und dem Müller Radlauf,"² Loreley is portrayed in a sevenfold capacity, as it were: seven archways lead to seven doors that open onto seven stairways that lead to a large hall in which Frau Lureley sits on a sevenfold throne with seven crowns upon her head and her seven daughters around her. This makes interesting reading for children, but Brentano did not lose sight of adults, including those who like to speculate as to the origin of the legend. He says: "Sie [Lorelei] ist eine Tochter der Phantasie, welches eine berühmte Eigenschaft ist, die bei Erschaffung der Welt mitarbeitete und das Allerbeste dabei that; als sie unter der Arbeit ein schönes Lied sang, hörte sie es immer wiederholen und fand endlich den Wiederhall, einen schönen Jüngling in einem Felsen sitzen, mit dem sie sich verheiratete und mit ihm die Frau Lureley erzeugte; sie hatten auch noch viele andere Kinder, zum Beispiel: die Echo, den Akkord, den Reim, deren Nachkommen sich noch auf der Welt herumtreiben."

Just as Frau Lureley closes the first *Märchen*, so does she begin the second: "Von dem Hause Staarenberg und den Ahnen des Müllers Radlauf."³ Here she creates, or motivates, the other characters. Her seven daughters appear with her, as follows: Herzeleid, Liebesleid, Liebeseid, Liebesneid, Liebesfreud, Reu und Leid, and Mildigkeit. She reappears then with her seven daughters at the close of the *Märchen*, and each sings a beautiful song, while Frau Lureley, the mother of Radlauf, proves to be a most beneficent creature. Imaginative as Brentano was, he rarely rose to such

¹ Some minor details that Loeben, or Heine, had he known the *Märchen* in 1823, could have used are pointed out in Wilhelm Hertz's article, pp. 220–21.

² Cf. Görres' edition, pp. 94–108.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 128–40, and 228–44. It is in this *Märchen* (p. 231) that Herzeleid sings Goethe's "Wer nie sein Brod in Thränen asz."

heights as in this and the next, "Märchen vom Murmelthier,"¹ in which Frau Lureley continues her great work of love and kindness. She rights all wrongs, rewards the just, corrects the unjust, and leads a most remarkable life whether among the poor on land or in her element in the water. All of which is poles removed from Loeben's saga, though he knew these *Märchen*,² for they were written when Brentano was his intimate friend.

As to the importance of Loeben's saga, Wilhelm Hertz says: "Fast alle jüngeren Dichter knüpfen an seinen Erfindungen an, so besonders die zahlreichen musikdramatischen Bearbeitungen."³ It is extremely doubtful that this statement is correct. It is plain that many of the lyric writers leaned on Schreiber, and the librettists could have done the same; or they could have derived their initial suggestion in more attractive form than that offered by Loeben. It seems, however, that Geibel⁴ knew Loeben's saga. Though his individual poems on the Lorelei betray the influence of Heine, and though his drama resembles Brentano's ballad in mood and in unimportant details, it contains the same proper names of persons and places that are found in Loeben. And what is more significant, it contains two important events that are not found in any of the other versions of the saga: the scene with the wine-growers and the story of the castaway ring. The latter is an old theme, but that they both occur in Loeben and in Geibel would argue that the latter took them from the former. It is largely a question as to whether a poet like Geibel has to have a source for everything that is not absolutely

¹ Cf. Görres' edition, pp. 247-57. There are a number of details in this *Märchen* that remind strongly of Fouqué's *Undine*, which Brentano knew.

² In his *Die Märchen Clemens Brentanos*, Köln, 1895, H. Cardauns gives an admirable study of Brentano's *Märchen*, covering the entire ground concerning the question whether Brentano's ballad was original and pointing out the sources and the value of his *Rheinmärchen*. Cardauns comes to the only conclusion that can be reached: Brentano located his ballad in a region replete with legends, but there is no positive evidence that he did not wholly invent his own ballad. The story that Hermann Bender tells about having found an old MS dating back to the year 1650 and containing the essentials of Brentano's ballad collapses, for this MS cannot be produced, not even by Bender who claims to have found it. See Cardauns, pp. 66-67. Reinhold Steig reviewed Cardauns' book in *Euphorion* (1896, pp. 791-99) without taking in the question as to the originality of Brentano's ballad.

³ P. 224.

⁴ In Geibel's *Gesammelte Werke*, VI, 106-74. Geibel wrote the libretto for Felix Mendelssohn in 1846. Mendelssohn died before finishing it; Max Bruch completed the opera independently in 1863. It has also been set to music by two obscure composers. Karl Goedeke gives a very unsatisfactory discussion of the matter in *Emanuel Geibel*, Stuttgart, 1869, pp. 307 ff.

abstract. The entire matter is complicated.¹ The paths of the Lorelei have crossed each other many times since Brentano started her on her wanderings. To draw up a map of her complete course, showing just who influenced whom, would be a task more difficult than grateful.²

As to Brentano's original ballad,³ try as we may to deprecate the value of his creation by tracing it back to echo-poetry and by coupling it with older legends, such as that of Frau Holla, we are forced to give him credit for having not simply revived but for having created a legend that is beautiful in itself and that has found a host of imitators, direct and indirect, the world over, including one of the world's greatest lyric writers. This then is just one of the many things that the German romanticists started; it is just one of their many contributions to the literature that lasts. And for the perpetuation of this one, students of German literature have, it seems, given the obscure Graf von Loeben entirely too much credit. But who will give the oft-scolded Clemens Brentano too little credit? Only those who dislike romanticism on general principles and who will not be convinced that the romanticists could be original.⁴

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¹ Hermann Seeliger says (p. 73): "Zu den Bearbeitungen, die sich an die Ballade von Brentano anlehnen, gehören die Dichtungen von Geibel, Mohr, Roquette, Hillemacher, Fiebach und Sommer." Seeliger wrote his study for musicians, and his statement may be correct.

² Aside from the treatises on the Lorelei already mentioned, there are the following: *Zu Heines Balladen und Romanzen*, by Oskar Netoliczka, Kronstadt, 1891; this study does not treat the Lorelei; *Die Lurleisage*, by F. Rehorn, Frankfurt am Main, 1891; *Sagen und Geschichten des Rheinlandes*, by Karl Geib, Mannheim, 1836; the work is naturally long since superseded; *Kölnische Zeitung* of July 12, 1867, by H. Grießen; *Kölnische Zeitung* of 1855, by H. Dünster; *H. Heine, ein Vortrag*, by H. Sintenis, pp. 21-26; *Die Lorelei: Die Loreleidichtungen mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Ballade von Heinr. Heine*, by C. L. Leimbach, Wolfenbüttel, 1879. The last six of these works were not accessible, but, since they are quoted by the accessible studies, it seems that they offer nothing new. (The writer has since secured Leimbach's treatise of 50 small pages. It offers nothing new.)

³ Adolf Seybert in his *Die Loreleisage*, Wiesbaden, 1863 and 1872 (Programm), contends that Frau Holla and the Lorelei are related. Fritz Strich in his *Die Mythologie in der deutschen Literatur von Klopstock bis Wagner*, Halle, 1910, says (pp. 307-9) that Brentano's ballad is "eine mythologische Erfundung Brentanos, zu der ihn der echo-reiche Felsen dieses Namens bei Bacharach anregte." He also says: "Ob nicht Heines Lied auf Brentanos Phantasie zurückgewirkt haben mag?" The reference is to Brentano's *Märchen*. Strich's book contains a detailed account of the use of mythology in Heine, Loeben, and Brentano.

⁴ Hermann Seeliger says (p. 8): "Ich meine, die ganze romantische Schule hätte, ohne den Stoff vom Volke zu bekommen, ein Gedicht von solcher Schönheit wie das von Brentano weder gemacht noch machen können." Vis-à-vis such a statement, sociability ceases.

GOETHE UND DIE BILDENDE KUNST ITALIEN

Was Goethe bewog der Gotik den Rücken zu kehren, veranlasste auch seine Annäherung an die Antike. Das Kapitel von Goethes Kunstanschauungen und -bestrebungen, während der Italia-Reise und später, ist abgehandelt worden von Volbehr,¹ wenn auch nicht philologisch genau, und vorzüglich, wenn auch in knappem Rahmen vom alten Hettner² und neuerdings von Harnack³ und Heuszler.⁴

Es kann sich hier nicht darum handeln dasselbe Feld nochmals durchzuackern, was für den italienischen Aufenthalt ja auch von Klenze⁵ getan, wohl aber bei Sichtung des heute angesammelten Materials neue Gesichtspunkte für Goethes Übergang ins antike Lager und, teilweise wenigstens, eine neue Wertung seiner antiken sowohl als seiner späteren Kunstbestrebungen zu erbringen.

Es mögen hier zusammenfassend die Haupttendenzen seines italienischen Aufenthaltes kurz skizziert werden. Er bezeugt, dasz ihm selbst Italien noch zu barbarisch, da sein Verlangen nur auf griechische Kunst ging: "Denn auch Italien ist noch nördlich und die Römer waren auch nur Barbaren die das Schöne raubten, wie man ein schönes Weib raubt. Sie plünderten die Welt und brauchten doch griechische Schneider um sich die Lappen auf den Leib zu passen";⁶ dasz fürs erste nur die italienische Hochrenaissance für ihn vorhanden, dasz ihn eine grosze Befriedigung überkommt nun in "Abrahams Schoosze" endlich die Kunstschatze, nach denen er sich so lange gesehnt, leibhaftig vor sich zu sehen und dasz er seinen

¹ Th. Volbehr, *Goethe und die bildende Kunst*, Leipzig, 1895.

² H. Hettner, *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur im 18. Jahrhundert*, Braunschweig, 1894, Bd. 3, 2. Teil.

³ O. Harnack, *Goethe in der Epoche seiner Vollendung*, Leipzig, 1905, 4. Abschnitt.

⁴ A. Heuszler, *Goethe und die italienische Kunst*, Basel, 1891.

⁵ C. von Klenze, *The Interpretation of Italy during the Last Two Centuries*, Chicago, 1907, chaps. v-vii.

⁶ 3, 1, 308. *Zitate nach Abteilung, Band, und Seite der weimarer Ausgabe von Goethes Werken*. Hier gebrauchte Abkürzungen: Biedermann = W. von Biedermann, *Goethes Gespräche*, 10 Bde.; Eckermann = J. P. Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe*.

römischen Aufenthalt als die glücklichste Zeit seines Lebens erachtete. "Ich kann sagen, dasz ich nur in Rom empfunden habe, was eigentlich ein Mensch sei. Zu dieser Höhe der Empfindung bin ich später nie wieder gekommen; ich bin mit meinem Zustand in Rom verglichen, eigentlich nachher nie wieder froh geworden."¹ "Ich habe endlich das Ziel meiner Wünsche erreicht und lebe hier mit einer Klarheit und Ruhe die Ihr euch denkt, weil Ihr mich kennt."² "Wie mir's in der Naturgeschichte erging, geht es auch hier, denn an diesen Ort knüpft sich die ganze Geschichte der Welt an, und ich zähle einen zweiten Geburtstag, eine wahre Wiedergeburt, von dem Tage, da ich Rom betrat."³ "Die Wiedergeburt, die mich von innen heraus umarbeitet, wirkt immer fort. . . . "⁴

Sechs grosze Passionen aus dieser Zeit nehmen ihn ganz gefangen: "Das menschlich interessanteste, was ich auf der Reise fand, war die Republick Venedig, nicht mit Augen des Leibs sondern des Geists gesehen. Das gröszte Werk der innern Groszheit nach die Rotonde [ein vornehmes Gebäude in Vicenza], das gröszte dem Maase nach, die Peterskirche . . . und das genialischte dasz man sagen musz es scheint unmöglich, ist der Apoll von Belvedere."⁵ "So hat z. B. das Pantheon, der Apoll von Belvedere, einige, colossale Köpfe und neuerdings die sixtinische Capelle so mein Gemüth eingenommen, dasz ich daneben fast nichts mehr sehe."⁶

Dabei arbeitete er rüstig an seiner *Iphigenie* und sah die Kunstschatze so weit als möglich unter fremder, berufener Leitung. Dazu kam ein eifriges Studium bis er endlich doch die Ruinen satt hat: "Gegen Weihnachten wird auch mein Pensum in Rom fürs erste absolviert sein, mit dem neuen Jahre will ich nach Neapel gehen und dort mich der herrlichen Natur erfreuen und meine Seele von der Idee sovieler trauriger Ruinen reinspülen und die allzustrengten Begriffe der Kunst lindern."⁷

Nun nach Sizilien, das ihm Griechenland ersetzte (Hettner), und unter Hackerts Anleitung zur Landschafts-Malerei, für die er ein

¹ Biedermann, VI, 341.

² An J. G. und Caroline Herder, Rom, den 10. und 11. Nov., 1786.

³ 1, 30, 232.

⁴ 1, 30, 236.

⁵ An den Freundeskreis in Weimar, Rom, den 7. Nov., 1786.

⁶ 1, 30, 232, Rom, den 3. Dez., 1786.

⁷ An den Herzog Carl August, Rom, den 12.–16. Dez., 1786.

neues Verständnis gewann! Jetzt kommt ihm auch für Früh- und Spätrenaissance das Verständnis und Michel Angelo wird einer seiner Lieblinge. Dazu er zur ausübenden Kunst kein Talent habe, wurde ihm nun klar, und er verlegte sich nach seiner Rückkunft nach Weimar darauf, mit J. H. Meyer das Evangelium des griechisch-plastischen Kunstideals als einziges Heil für Deutsche in die Welt zu tragen. Diese streng antike Periode kam, circa 1810, mit dem Einsetzen der Boisseréeschen Bemühungen zu Ende, und liesz den Greis für deutsche Kunst wieder empfänglicher werden. Das ist, kurz gesagt, das Ergebnis der Untersuchungen.

Wir, nun, wollen die einzelnen Übergänge und Beweggründe etwas näher prüfen, um, womöglich, zu einem besseren Verständnis von Goethes Bestrebungen und Einfluss in Sachen der bildenden Kunst zu gelangen.

Versetzen wir uns in Goethes Frühzeit, so finden wir uns im Zeitalter des Rococo und einer französisch-europäischen Kultur, gegen welche soeben Lessing erfolgreich anzukämpfen begonnen hatte. Zwar die Lehre von einer kosmopolitisch-philosophischen Verbrüderung der Menschheit hielt noch eine Zeitlang vor. Nathan, Don Carlos, die französische Revolution, das sind ihre markantesten Stufen. Das nationale Gefühl herrschte, im Grunde, aber doch vor, wie es sich, z. B. im deutschen Sturm und Drang aufs prägnanteste dokumentierte. Goethe war hier einer der eifrigsten Rufer im Streite. Zwar war auch er aus der allgemeinen französisch-europäischen Kultur hervorgegangen. Um uns das klar zu machen, brauchen wir nur einen Blick zu werfen in den Kreis der Goethischen Familie; in Bettinas Briefe an die Frau Rat, in die Bibliothek und die Kunstschatze des Vaters Goethe, in das Klein-Paris Leipzig, wohin man den zu erziehenden Jüngling sandte, oder in die ersten litterarischen Versuche Goethes, welche rein Rococokunst darstellen.

Und die Kunst Deutschlands in dieser Epoche, was war sie anders als Rococo? Wenn Goethe in Dichtung und Wahrheit über Kunstbestrebungen seiner Umgebung berichtet, so braucht man nur auf die Namen der Künstler zu achten um zu sehen, dass es Rococokunst ist, die hier gepflegt wurde. Und was war die Erlösung, welche ihm Oeser und Winckelmann brachten? Erlösung von Rococo! Denn den groszen Holländern blieb er auch später ergeben. "Ich dancke

Ihrem Vater das Gefühl des Ideals, und die gedrehten Reitze des Franzosen, werden mich so wenig exstasieren machen, als die platten Nymphen von Dietrich, so nackend und glatt sie auch sind.”¹

Von der groszen deutschen Kunst kannte der junge Goethe leider nur Dürer, dessen Einflusz, und Hans Sachsens, dann auch die Abfassung der Farcen möglich machte. Und die Possen bringen uns noch auf ein Weiteres. Was war es, was Goethe in dieser Zeit auf den gutmütigen Wieland so erbitterte? Die französisch-dilletantische Auffassung der Antike; das heiszt wohl, in die Kunstsprache übertragen, der Geist des Rococo!

Lessing hatte die Herrschaft des französischen Geschmacks auf dem Gebiet der Litteratur gebrochen; Goethe, durch die bildende Kunst in seinem litterarischen Schaffen immer stark beeinfluszt—Grimm behauptet ohne Italien und Antike hätten *Iphigenie*, *Faust*, *Tasso* und *Egmont* nie vollendet werden können—lehnt sich auch gegen den französischen Geschmack in der bildenden Kunst auf. Ist “Philologie ohne Kunst nur einäugig,” wie Goethe behauptet,² so ist die Dichtung ohne Kunst für ihn unmöglich. Das französisch-welsche Rococo aber hatte Deutschland geknechtet! Daher auch der Protest in *Götz von Berlichingen*, in den, deutschem Puppenspiel ähnlichen, *Possen*, und in der Propagandaschrift *Über deutsche Baukunst*. Denn, dasz der deutsche Sturm und Drang sich auf das Gebiet der bildenden Kunst erstreckte, das kann man schon an der Verehrung, welche die Stürmer und Dränger Dürern entgegenbrachten, abnehmen.

Goethe suchte nun dem französischen Rococo eine deutsche Kultur und Weltanschauung entgegen zu setzen. Aber wie und was? Als *Götz*, der *Urfaust*, und die *Possen* geschrieben waren, hatte der junge Stürmer und Dränger seinen nationalen Schatz, soweit er ihn kannte, schier erschöpft. Es kam die Zeit der Dürre in Weimar, die Zeit der Zersplitterung, des Suchens, des Lernens, des Sich-findens. Was die weimarer Hofgesellschaft ihm nicht geben konnte, suchte er in der Natur; was die Heimat ihm nicht geben konnte, suchte er in andern Zonen; er wirft sich ganz auf seine zwei Passionen: auf Natur und Kunst! Die Natur, ja die Naturwissenschaft, lernte er in Weimar

¹ An Friederike Oeser, den 8. Apr., 1769.

² An J. A. Sack, den 15. Jan., 1816.

gründlich kennen. In die Kunst suchte er nach Kräften einzudringen, aber erst in Rom konnte er schreiben: "Wie ich die Natur betrachtet, betrachte ich nun die Kunst, ich gewinne, wo nach ich so lange gestrebt, auch einen vollständigen Begriff von dem Höchsten was Menschen gemacht haben und meine Seele bildet sich auch von dieser Seite mehr aus und sieht in ein freyeres Feld."¹

Aber in welche Kunst? Rococo? Nein! Altdeutsche Kunst? Nein! Von altdeutscher Kunst war ihm bisher nur Dürer zugänglich und dieser nur in minderwertigen Reproduktionen. *Ihn* und das Strassburger Münster hatte Goethe bereits in seinem Innern verarbeitet. Was er aus den "nordischen" Anschauungen gemacht hatte, ist bereits angedeutet worden. Goethe spricht sich selbst darüber so aus: "Wir Deutschen sind auch wirklich schlimm daran; unsere Urgeschichte zu sehr im Dunkel und die spätere Zeit hat aus Mangel eines einzigen Regentenhauses kein allgemeines nationales Interesse, Klopstock versuchte sich am Hermann, allein der Gegenstand liegt zu entfernt, niemand hat dazu ein Verhältnis, niemand weiss was er damit machen soll, und seine Darstellung ist daher ohne Wirkung und Popularität geblieben. Ich tat einen glücklichen Griff mit meinem *Götz von Berlichingen*; das war doch Bein von meinem Bein und Fleisch von meinem Fleisch. . . . Beim *Werther* und *Faust* muszte ich dagegen wieder in meinen eigenen Busen greifen; denn das Überlieferte war nicht weit her. Das *Teufels* und *Hexenwesen* machte ich nur einmal; ich war froh mein nordisches Erbteil verzehrt zu haben, und wandte mich zu den Tischen der Griechen."²

Dazu war ihm, der "die Sachen in sich und nicht . . . sich in den Sachen"³ zu sehen gewohnt war, diese nordische Kunst zu subjektiv: "Ihr wählt euch ein Muster und damit vermischt ihr eure Individualität, das ist all eure Kunst. Da ist an keine Grundsätze an keine Schule, an keine Folge zu dencken," . . . alles willkürlich und wie es einem jeden einfällt. . . . Aber dasz man nicht denckt es müssen doch Gesetze seyn die aus der Natur jeder Kunst entspringen daran denckt niemand."⁴ "Es will kein Mensch

¹ An Charlotte von Stein, den 20.–23. Dez., 1786.

² Biedermann, V, 274. Vgl. auch I, 32, 351 f.

³ An J. H. Meyer, den 3. März, 1795.

⁴ *Paralipomena*, 1, 32, 455.

die gesetzgebende Gewalt des guten Geschmacks anerkennen so verliert man sich in einer Breite und Weite des Zweifels, leugnet die Regel, weil man sie nicht findet oder nicht einsieht lässt sich vom Material Gesetze vorschreiben. . . . Bald will man abstracte Ideen darstellen und bald bleibt man hinter dem gemeinsten zurück. . . . Bringt man ungeschickte und widerliche Dinge hervor, so sollen sie sogar als Symbol verehrt werden, man arbeitet blos nach dunkeln Vorstellungen, auf unbestimmte Ideen los und so kommt alles zum Schwanken, dasz man immer von einem Erdbeben geschaukelt zu werden glaubt.”¹ “Nichts ist dem Dillettantism mehr entgegen als feste Grundsätze und strenge Anwendung derselben.”² “Es fehlt an einer approbierten Theorie, wie sie die Musik hat, in der keiner gegen den Generalbasz schlegeln darf, ohne dasz die Meister es rügen.”³ Auch war der nordische Kunstbegriff ihm zu eng. “So etwas (der alte schwarze Turm in Eger) setzt einen groszen Kunstbegriff voraus,”⁴ und er war deshalb für Goethe römisch.

Sodann suchte Goethe in der Kunst “auch einen vollständigern Begriff von dem Höchsten was Menschen gemacht haben.”⁵ “Wer sich mit irgend einer Kenntnis abgibt, soll nach dem Höchsten streben. Es ist mit der Einsicht viel anders als mit der Ausübung, denn im Praktischen musz sich jeder bald bescheiden, dasz ihm nur ein gewisses Masz von Kräften zugetheilt sei; zur Kenntnis, zur Einsicht sind aber weit mehrere Menschen fähig.”⁶

Gotteswerk war sein bisheriges Studium gewesen. Nun zum Menschenwerk in der Kunst! “Als ich zuerst nach Rom kam, bemerkte ich bald dasz ich von Kunst eigentlich gar nichts verstand, und dasz ich bisz dahin nur den allgemeinen Abglanz der Natur in den Kunstwercken bewundert hatte, hier that sich eine andre Natur, ein weiteres Feld der Kunst vor mir auf, ja ein Abgrund der Kunst in den ich mit desto mehr Freude hineinschaute, als ich meinen Blick an die Abgründe der Natur gewohnt hatte.”⁷ Freilich

¹ An J. H. Meyer, den 20. Mai, 1796.

² Über strenge Urteile, 1, 47, 49 (1798).

³ Tagebücher, den 19. Mai, 1807.

⁴ Ibid., den 30. Aug., 1821.

⁵ An Charlotte von Stein, den 20. Dez., 1786.

⁶ Einleitung in die Propyläen, 1, 47, 26.

⁷ An den Herzog Carl August, den 25. Jan., 1788.

kannte er sich in der Natur besser zurecht. "Ich darf nur Augen haben um zu sehen, so kann ich die Verhältnisse entdecken, ich bin sicher dasz innerhalb eines kleinen Cirkels eine ganze wahre Existenz beschlossen ist. Ein Kunstwerk hingegen hat seine Vollkommenheit ausser sich. . . . Es ist viel Tradition bei den Kunstwercken, die Naturwercke sind immer wie ein erst ausgesprochenes Wort Gottes."¹ "Die andern bildenden Künste erfreuen mich mehr, und doch am meisten die Natur mit ihrer konsequenter Wahrheit."²

Fühlung mit dieser Kunst hatte Goethe allerdings, obwohl er in seinem bisherigen Leben nur etliche minderwertige Abgüsse derselben gesehen hatte, denn sie kam ihm vor wie ein Kommentar zu Homer, der seit der Sturm und Drang Zeit einer seiner Lieblinge gewesen. "Was den Homer betrifft ist mir wie eine Decke von den Augen gefallen. Die Beschreibungen, die Gleichnisse u.c. kommen uns poetisch vor und sind doch unsäglich natürlich, aber freilich mit einer Reinheit und Innigkeit gezeichnet vor der man erschrickt. Selbst die sonderbarsten erlogenen Begebenheiten haben eine Natürlichkeit, die ich nie so gefühlt habe, als in der Nähe der beschriebenen Gegenstände."³ "So viel ist gewisz, die alten Künstler haben ebenso grosze Kenntnis der Natur und eben einen so sicheren Begriff von dem, was sich vorstellen lässt, und wie es vorgestellt werden musz, gehabt, als Homer."⁴ "Die Logen von Raphael und die groszen Gemählde der Schule von Athen hab ich nur erst einmal gesehen, und da ist's als wenn man den Homer aus einer zum Theil verloschene beschädigten Handschrift herausstudieren sollte."⁵ "Zu meiner Erquickung habe ich gestern einen Abgusz des colossalen Junokopfes in den Saal gestellt. . . . Keine Worte geben eine Ahnung davon. Es ist wie ein Gesang Homers."⁶

Weiter suchte Goethe immer grosze Zusammenhänge auf. Ein Begriff muszte sich ihm zum Universell-Menschlichen erweitern. Der deutsche Kunstbegriff war ihm zu eng. Daran zu haften wäre für diesen elementaren Geist unmöglich gewesen. Und gerade dieses Universell-Menschliche, der griechischen Kunst zog ihn an. "Was ich aber sagen kann, und was mich am tiefsten freut ist die Würckung,

¹ An die Herzogin Luise, den 12.–23. Dez., 1786.

² An den Herzog Carl August, Neapel, den 27. Mai, 1787.

³ 1, 31, 238 f.

⁴ 1, 32, 77.

⁵ 1, 30, 209 f.

⁶ 1, 30, 244.

die ich schon in meiner Seele fühlle: es ist eine innere Solidität mit der der Geist gleichsam gestempelt wird; wenn man so eine Existenz ansieht, die 2,000 Jahr und drüber alt ist, durch die Wechsel der Zeiten so manigfaltig und von Grund aus verändert und doch noch derselbe Boden, derselbe Berg, ia oft, dieselbe Säule und Mauer, und im Volcke noch die Spuren des alten Characters; so wird man Mitgenosze der groszen Rathschlüsse des Schicksals.”¹ “Es dringt eine zu grosze Masse Existenz auf einen zu, man musz eine Umwandlung sein Selbst geschehen laszen.”² “Wer sich mit Ernst hier umsieht und Augen hat zu sehen, musz solid werden, er musz einen Begriff von Solidität fassen, der ihm nie so lebendig ward. Der Geist wird zur Tüchtigkeit gestempelt.”³

Ferner, und das war es, was er an den Deutschen, auch an Dürer, vermisste, war es die erhabene naive Sinnlichkeit der antiken Kunst was ihn entzückte. “Ich leugne nicht dasz eine anhaltende Betrachtung der Kunstwerke, die uns aus Alterthum und die uns die Römische Schule zurückgelassen haben mich von der neuern Art, die mehr zum Verstande als zu der gebildeten Sinnlichkeit spricht einiger-maszen entfernt hat.”⁴ “Lasz mich meinen Gedanken kurz so ausdrücken; sie schilderten das Fürchterliche, wir schildern fürchterlich; sie das Angenehme, wir angenehm u.s.w.”⁵ “Wir Neueren,” fuhr er fort, “fühlen wohl die grosze Schönheit eines solchen rein naiven Motivs, wir haben auch wohl die Kenntnis und den Begriff wie es zu machen wäre; allein wir machen es nicht, der Verstand herrscht vor, und es fehlt immer diese entzückende Anmut.”⁶ “Dieser grosze sittliche Propheten-Act ist aber sinnlich gar nicht darzustellen, und solche Bilder werden nur gemahlt weil sie schon oftmal gemahlt worden sind. . . . Es mag ein gut Bild seyn, aber es sagt nichts. Davon haben die modernen Künstler keinen Begriff und müssen sich am Ende deine Auslegung des Beywesens gefallen lassen. Hier aber liegt der Grundirrthum der deutschen Künstler seit beynahe

¹ An J. G. und Caroline Herder, Rom, den 10.–11. Nov., 1786.

² An Charlotte von Stein, den 17.–18. Jan., 1787.

³ 1, 30, 212; vgl. hierzu auch An Charlotte von Stein, den 7.–11. Nov., 1786.

⁴ An Lichtenberg, den 7. Dez., 1795.

⁵ 1, 31, 239 (1787).

⁶ Eckermann, den 24. Feb., 1824. Vgl. dazu Biedermann, VI, 354, und *idem.*, II, 332.

40 Jahren.”¹ Aber auch die Sinnlichkeit der Antike und die eines Rembrandt will er unterschieden wissen: “Besonders fühle ich hier in Rom wie interessanter denn doch die Reinheit der Form und ihre Bestimmtheit, vor jener Marckigen Rohheit und schwebenden Geistlichkeit (eines Rembrandt) ist und bleibt.”² Diese Entwicklung von der Natürlichkeit zur ideelen Form zeigt ja Goethes eigener Werdegang auf: Von der Adelheid und den Bauern im *Götz* zu der *Iphigenie* und den *Tauriern!* Um das zu erreichen hatte er sich nur “am besten” gebildet, was für ihn gleichbedeutend mit Antike war, “Denn den Geschmack kann man nicht am Mittelgut bilden, sondern nur am Allervorzüglichsten.”³

Wenn die soeben angeführten Gründe Goethe bewogen sich zur Antike zu wenden, so fand er sich empirisch im höchsten Maß gefördert sobald er nicht “Mehr in der Kritik als im Anschauen” lebte, sondern in Italien unter “dem Höchsten was Menschen gemacht haben” weilte. “Das Studium der Kunst wie das der alten Schriftsteller gibt uns einen gewissen Halt, eine Befriedigung in uns selbst; indem sie unser Inneres mit groszen Gegenständen und Gesinnungen füllt.”⁴ “Ist doch die wahre Kunst,” rief er aus, “wie gute Gesellschaft; sie nötigt uns auf die angenehmste Weise das Mass zu erkennen, nach dem und zu dem unser Innerstes gebildet ist.”⁵ Und aus seinem zweiten römischen Aufenthalt schreibt er: “Wenn man des Morgens die Augen aufschlägt, fühlt man sich von dem Vortrefflichsten gerührt; all unser Denken und Sinnen ist von solchen Gestalten begleitet, und es wird dadurch unmöglich in die Barbarei zurückzufallen.”⁶ Wie ja auch schon in Frankfurt, “Diese edeln Gestalten eine Art von heimlichen Gegen-gift [waren], wenn das Schwache, Falsche, Manierete über mich zu gewinnen drohte.”⁷

Dasz wie Geiger⁸ meint, Goethe in Italien die Lösung der Frage, ob er Dichter oder bildender Künstler werden wollte, suchte, ist

¹ An C. F. Zelter, den 9. Nov., 1830.

² An den Herzog Carl August, den 8. Dez., 1787.

³ Biedermann, V, 35.

⁴ *Campagne in Frankreich*, I, 33, 188.

⁵ *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, I, 23, 161.

⁶ I, 32, 322.

⁷ Ebenda S. 324.

⁸ L. Geiger, *Goethe und die Renaissance*, Berlin, 1887.

nicht anzunehmen. Da weisz es Goethe besser: "Die Sache ist dasz ich wieder Interesse an der Welt nehme, meinen Beobachtungsgeist versuche und prüfe, wie weit es mit meinen Wissenschaften und Kenntnissen geht, ob mein Auge licht, rein und hell ist, wie viel ich in der Geschwindigkeit fassen kann, und ob die Falten, die sich in mein Gemüth geschlagen und gedrückt haben wieder auszutilgen sind."¹ Sonst hätte sich Goethe auch nicht wieder sofort an die Arbeit an der *Iphigenie* gemacht und sie selbst unter Vernachlässigung seiner Kunststudien rüstig weitergeführt. "So habe ich eine heilige Agathe gefunden. . . . Ich habe mir die Gestalt wohl gemerkt und werde ihr im Geiste meine *Iphigenie* vorlesen, und meine Helden nichts sagen lassen, was diese Heilige nicht aussprechen möchte."² "Ihr beklagtet euch schon einig Mal über dunkle Stellen meiner Briefe, die auf einen Druck hindeuten, den ich unter den herrlichsten Erscheinungen erleide. Hieran hatte diese griechische Reisegefährtin (= *Iphigenie*) nicht geringen Anteil, die mich zur Thätigkeit nötigte, wenn ich hatte schauen sollen."³

Nein, der Dichterberuf sasz schon fest! Wohl mochte ihm vorschweben, dasz er es auch in der bildenden Kunst zu ansehbaren Werken bringen könnte, hatte er doch diese Kunst sein Lebtag geflegt und studiert! Hatte er ja auch das grosze Beispiel Michel Angelos, welcher nicht nur Bildhauer, Baumeister, Maler, sondern auch Dichter war, und doch so riesengrosz! Zwar spricht folgende Stelle—welche er aber nicht anführt—scheinbar für Geigers Ansicht: "Täglich wird mir's deutlicher dasz ich eigentlich zur Dichtkunst geboren bin." "Von meinem längern Aufenthalt in Rom werde ich den Vortheil haben, dasz ich auf das Ausüben der bildenden Kunst verzicht thue."⁴ Man braucht an derselben Stelle aber nur ein wenig weiter zu lesen um zu sehen, dasz es sich um den Malerberuf gar nie handelte: "Genug ich habe jetzt schon meinen Wunsch erreicht: in einer Sache, zu der ich mich leidenschaftlich gezogen fühle, nicht mehr blind zu tappen."⁵ Folgendes mag noch zum Überflusz Goethes Auffassung seiner Kunstbestrebungen in Italien

¹ 1, 30, 34 (1786).

² *Italienische Reise*, den 19. Okt., 1786.

³ 1, 30, 245.

⁴ 1, 32, 276 f.

⁵ *Ibid.*, S. 277. Vgl. hierzu auch Eckermann, den 20. Apr., 1825; und *ibid.*, den 10. Apr., 1829.

weiter, und zwar nicht im Sinne Geigers, darlegen. "Es ist eine ernste Sache um die Kunst . . . und sogar die Kenntnis schon ein Metier, . . . so viel kann ich versichern: dasz wenn ich Ostern weggegangen wäre, ich eben geradezu nicht sagen dürfte ich sey dagewesen. . . . Da doch von Jugend auf mein Geist diese Richtung genommen hat (auf die bildende Kunst); so hätte ich nie ruhig werden können, ohne dies Ziel zu erreichen."¹ Das Ziel, welches er erreicht hatte, war aber nicht der Malerberuf sondern lediglich Kenntnis der Kunst.

"Ich werde täglich fleiszier, und treibe die Kunst, die eine so ernsthafte Sache ist, immer ernsthafter. Wenn ich nur über einige Stufen im machen hinwegkönnte! Im Begriff, und zwar im ächten, nahen Begriff bin ich weit vorgerückt. Da ich doch einmal ein Künstler bin, so wird es viel zu meiner Glückseligkeit und zu einem künftigen frohen Leben zu Hause beytragen, wenn ich mit meinem kleinen Talente nicht immer zu kriechen und zu krabbeln brauche, sondern mit freyem Gemüthe, auch nur als Liebhaber, arbeiten kann."² "Ich habe recht dieser Zeit her zwei meiner Capitalfehler, die mich mein ganzes Leben verfolgt und gepeinigt haben, entdecken können. Einer ist dasz ich nie das Handwerck einer Sache, die ich treiben wollte oder sollte lernen mochte. . . . Nun dächt' ich, wäre Zeit und Stunde da zu corrigieren. Ich bin im Land der Künste, laszt uns das Fach durcharbeiten, damit wir für unser übriges Leben Ruh und Freude haben und an was anderes gehen können."³ "Im Zeichnen fahr' ich fort Geschmack und Hand zu bilden, . . . es wird mir alles erstaunend leicht (das heiszt der Begriff denn die Ausübung fordert ein Leben). Was das Beste war: ich hatte keinen Eigendünkel und keine Prätension, ich hatte nichts zu verlangen, als ich herkam." "Ich⁴ sage dieses, indem ich bedenke wie viele Jahre es gebrauchte, bis ich einsah, dasz meine Tendenz zur bildenden Kunst eine falsche sei, und wie viele andere, nachdem ich es erkannt, mich davon loszumachen."⁵ Zu diesem letzten Wort ist zu bemerken, dasz Goethe schon in der Frankfurter Zeit das

¹ An den Herzog Carl August, den 28. Sept., 1787.

² *Ibid.*, den 6.—7. Juli, 1787.

³ *Zweiter römischer Aufenthalt*, 1, 32, 34.

⁴ 1, 32, 28.

⁵ Biedermann, VII, 87.

Messerorakel über eine mögliche Einlenkung in die Künstlerlaufbahn befragte,¹ und dasz er in Rom schreibt: "Ich bin schon zu alt, um von jetzt an mehr zu thun (in der bildenden Kunst) als zu pfuschen."²

Dasz sich Goethe in Italien ein groszes Programm vorgenommen, ist bekannt. Wie grosz diese Pläne waren mag hier kurz skizzirt werden: "Jetzt werden Architektur und Perspektive, Komposition und Farbengebung der Landschaft betrieben, Sept. und Oktbr. möchte ich im Freyen dem Zeichnen nach der Natur wiedmen, Nov. und Dez. zur Ausführung zu Hause, dem Fertigmachen und Vollen-den." Die ersten Monate des künftigen Jahres, der menschlichen Figur, dem Gesichte pp.³ "die Perspektiv beschäftigt uns des Abends."⁴ "Meine Absicht ist nun im Februar einige Landschaftszeichnungen zu kopieren, einige Veduten nach der Natur zu zeichnen und zu kolorieren." . . . Den März wollte ich anwenden, das wichtigste nochmals zu durchlaufen."⁵

Goethe sieht seinen Dilletantismus wohl ein, deshalb ühte er die bildende Kunst auch nach Italien nicht mehr aus, denn "Dilletantismus ernstlich betrieben heiszt Pedanterie."⁶

Dasz Goethe durch die bildende Kunst stark beeinfluszt wurde, bezeugt er selber. Plastisch nennt er sein eigenes Empfinden: "Ich bin ein Plastiker," sagte er, auf die Büste der Juno Ludovisi zeigend, "habe gesucht mir die Welt und die Natur klar zu machen, und nun kommen die Kerls (gewisse zeitgenossische Maler), machen einen Dunst, zeigen mir die Dinge bald in der Ferne, bald in einer erdrückenden Nähe wie *Ombres chinoises*; das hole der Teufel!"⁷ "Was hat ein Mahler zu studieren, bis er ein Pfirsche sehen kann wie Huysum, und wir sollen nicht versuchen ob es möglich sei einen Menschen zu sehen wie ihn der Grieche gesehen hat?"⁸ So stehen

¹ 1, 28, 175 f.

² 1, 32, 140. Vgl. hierzu auch An den Herzog Carl August, den 11. Aug., 1787.

³ An den Herzog Carl August, den 11. Aug., 1787. Vgl. auch *Zweiter römischer Aufenthalt*, den 23. Aug., 1787 (=Modellieren).

⁴ 1, 32, 156.

⁵ An den Herzog Carl August, den 25. Jan., 1788.

⁶ *Sprüche*, No. 170. Vgl. hierzu auch *ibid.*, eine weitere Stelle, und An Friedrich von Stein, den 18. Dez., 1787; An J. G. Herder, den 29.-30. Dez., 1786; An den Herzog Carl August, den 29. Dez., 1787; vgl. hierzu auch Eckermann, den 20. Apr., 1825.

⁷ Biedermann, V, 286.

⁸ *Maximen und Reflexionen über Kunst*, 1, 48, 206.

ja auch die griechischen Dichter, voran Goethes Liebling Homer, unter dem Prinzip der Plastik. Und über *Hermann und Dorothea* schreibt Goethe: "Diejenigen Vortheile, deren ich mich in meinem letzten Gedicht bediente, habe ich alle von der bildenden Kunst gelernt."¹ "Die Gegenständlichkeit meiner Poesie," sagte Goethe, "bin ich den noch jener groszen Aufmerksamkeit und Übung des Auges schuldig geworden; sowie ich auch die daraus gewonnene Kenntnis hoch anzuschlagen habe."² "Die höchste Instanz, vor der es [*Hermann und Dorothea*] gerichtet werden kann, ist die, vor welche der Menschenmaler seine Compositionen bringt, und es wird die Frage seyn, ob Sie unter dem modernen Costum die wahren, echten Menschenproportionen und Gliederformen anerkennen werden."³ "Das Altertum," sagte ich, "muszte Ihnen doch sehr lebendig sein, um alle Figuren wieder so frisch ins Leben treten zu lassen und sie mit solcher Freiheit zu gebrauchen und zu behandeln." "Ohne eine lebenslängliche Beschäftigung mit der bildenden Kunst," sagte Goethe, "wäre es mir nicht möglich gewesen."⁴ Man hat auch sonst interessante Einflüsse von bestimmten Kunstwerken auf Goethische Werke nachgewiesen⁵ und vieles bleibt ohne Zweifel noch auf diesem Gebiet zu tun.

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¹ An Schiller, den 8. Apr., 1797. Vgl. auch *ibid.*: "So erschienen mir diese Tage einige Scenen im Aristophenes völlig wie antike Basreliefen und sind gewiss auch in diesem Sinne vorgestellt worden."

² Eckermann, den 20. Apr., 1825.

³ An J. H. Meyer, den 28. Apr., 1797.

⁴ Biedermann, VIII, 31.

⁵ Jos. Bayer, *Aus Italien*, Leipzig, 1885, S. 297; *Goethe Jahrbuch*, VII, 251 ff.; VIII, 239 ff.; VI, 334; W. von Biedermann, *Goethe-Forschungen*, N.F., Leipzig, 1885, S. 13 ff.

ARISTOTELES UND PHILLIS

I

Das kleine mittelhochdeutsche Gedicht von *Aristoteles und Phillis* ist von zwei uns leider nicht mehr erhaltenen Handschriften des 14. Jahrhunderts überliefert worden. Diese waren:

A, eine Strassburger Sammelhs. von 80 Blättern, gr. 8 oder kl. 4, zweispaltig, Pergament, welche der ehemaligen Johanniter- später Stadt-Bibliothek in Strassburg gehörte und die Signatur A 94 trug. Sie verbrannte 1870. Nach einem von Graff, *Diutiska I*, 314 veröffentlichten Inhaltsverzeichnis bildete der Aristoteles und Phillis das zwanzigste Gedicht der Sammlung, wo er auf Bl. 41–45 stand.¹ Hiernach wurde unser Gedicht zum ersten Male von Christoph Heinrich Myller (Müller) in seiner *Sammlung deutscher Gedichte aus dem XII., XIII. und XIV. Jahrhundert*, 3. Band, S. xvii–xxi, nach einer von Breitinger vorgenommenen Abschrift zum Abdruck gebracht. Im allgemeinen können bekanntlich die Texte der Müllerschen Sammlung nichts weniger als zuverlässig bezeichnet werden, aber durch ein glückliches Ereignis ist mir von seinem Werke das Handexemplar der Brüder Grimm aus Oskar Jänickes Tristan-Nachlass in die Hände gekommen.² Zu den einzelnen Gedichten befinden sich zahlreiche handschriftliche Bemerkungen der beiden Grimms, darunter eine Kollation des *Aristoteles und Phillis* mit der Handschrift, von Wilhelm Grimm besorgt, die wahrscheinlich gleichzeitig mit der Kollation des Müllerschen Textes des *Armen Heinrich*

¹ Für eine genauere Beschreibung der Hs. sowie über ihre Vorgeschichte vgl. ausser Graff noch von der Hagen, *Gesammtabenteuer*, III, 760 (wo sie mit der Sigle St. bezeichnet wird), und zuletzt Gierach, *Der Arme Heinrich von Hartmann von Aue*, Überlieferung und Herstellung, Heidelberg, 1913, S. ix.

² Vgl. *Lit. Zentralbl.*, 1914, 742. Jänickes Vorarbeiten zu einer Tristan-Ausgabe sind nach dessen 1874 erfolgtem Tode in den Besitz Zachers gekommen der sie später an Reifferscheid zum Zwecke der Herausgabe übermittelt hat. Durch die Liebenswürdigkeit von Frau Prof. Reifferscheid sind mir nebst Jänickes Sammlungen auch die wertvollen diesbezüglichen Studien ihres verstorbenen Mannes auf beliebige Zeit zur Verfügung gestellt worden. Hinzu kommt noch der in einzelnen Teilen fast druckfertige Nachlass Marolds, dessen Vermittlung ich dem verehrten Herausgeber der "Teutonia," Prof. Dr. W. Uhl, verdanke. Das vollständige Wörterbuch befindet sich bereits unter der Presse und wird voraussichtlich in nicht allzu ferner Zeit vorliegen. Ein zweiter Band, der den textkritischen Kommentar, u.s.w. enthalten wird, befindet sich in Vorbereitung.

aus derselben Hs. die als eine Vorarbeit zur gemeinsamen Ausgabe von 1815 gemacht wurde, entstanden ist. Das Ergebnis dieser Vergleichung ist jedoch nur geringfügig und betrifft blos Kleinigkeiten in der Orthographie, u.s.w. So stellt sich z.B. das V. 332 wiederholte *vliehen* als Druckfehler heraus; vgl. auch zu 31, 176. Unter diesen Umständen lässt sich also für den Text von A. u. Ph. die Hs. A kaum vermissen.

R bezeichnet eine zweite Handschrift die sich früher in der Jesuiten-Bibliothek zu Regensburg befand. Sie ist 1809 ebenfalls durch Feuer vernichtet. Eine nähere Beschreibung ist mir nicht bekannt. Aus den wenigen Angaben bei von der Hagen, *GA*, III, 780, enthielt diese Hs. ausser dem A. u. Ph. noch ein Leben des h. Alexius —jedoch nicht die Konradsche Version—sowie eine Bearbeitung des Cato.¹

Auf Grund von Abschriften dieser beiden Hss.—für A, von Massmann, für R, von Th. Ried—gab von der Hagen den *Aristoteles und Phillis* als Nro II seiner Gesammtabenteuer, Berlin, 1850, 1. Band, S. 21–35, zum zweiten Male heraus. Während Müllers Ausgabe lediglich ein Handschriftenabdruck war, ohne jegliche Interpunktions, u.s.w., bedeutet von der Hagens Text einen wesentlichen Fortschritt, indem er die Schreibung der Eigennamen geregelt, eine Interpunktions eingefürt, und ferner die Sinnesabschnitte durch Absätze bezeichnet hat. Bei Müller sind die Zeilenanfänge durchwegs mit grossen Buchstaben gedruckt, doch in der Hs. scheinen sie—wie beim Armen Heinrich—vorwiegend klein gewesen zu sein. Hagen dagegen, setzt abwechselnd die Majuskel neben den kleinen Buchstaben. Schliesslich teilt er am Schluss des Bandes eine Auswahl aus den Lesarten mit.

Die vorliegende neue Ausgabe verfolgt einen doppelten Zweck. Einmal will sie die beiden früheren ersetzen und das sprachlich wie literarhistorisch nicht uninteressante kleine Gedicht weiteren Kreisen zugänglich machen. Aber auch andererseits, möchte ich sie als einen kleinen Beitrag zur Kritik und Erklärung von Gottfrieds von Strassburg Tristan bezeichnen. Denn es war erst das genauere Studium dieses Autors und seines Werkes welches meine Aufmerksamkeit auf den *Aristoteles und Phillis* hinzog. Die Ausgabe von Müller, wie überhaupt seine Sammlung, erregt heute wohl nur Interesse als ein

¹ Vgl. Zarnke, *Der deutsche Cato*, Leipzig, 1852.

schönes Kapital in der Geschichte der deutschen Philologie,¹ geschweige seine Seltenheit auf unseren Bibliotheken. Aber auch der von von der Hagen gebotene Text entspricht doch nicht den jetzigen Anforderungen der Wissenschaft. Unter diesen Umständen also bedarf eine neue Ausgabe wohl keiner Rechtfertigung.

Der vorliegende Text unterscheidet sich von seinen Vorgängern im wesentlichen dadurch, dass eine normale mhd. Orthographie durchgeführt wird. Es werden ausserdem die einzelnen Teile von Kompositis auf übliche Weise zusammengezogen und vor allem die sinnlose Interpunktions von der Hagens durch die einfache Lachmannsche ersetzt. Die Anwendung von Majuskeln beschränkt sich, ausser bei den Eigennamen, auf die Absätze, welche dieselben geblieben sind wie bei von der Hagen. Beziiglich der Varianten, habe ich es nicht für zweckmässig gehalten, von der Hagens Lesartenverzeichnis einfach abzuschreiben und alle bloss orthographische Differenzen zu notieren, sondern habe mich darauf beschränkt auf die wichtigsten Sinnvarianten nebst meinen Abweichungen von seinem Texte in Übereinstimmung mit Grimm an der betreffenden Stelle aufmerksam zu machen. Bei dem Stand der Überlieferung bin ich nicht bestrebt gewesen möglichst glatte, in regelmässigem Wechsel von Hebung und Senkung dahinfliessende Verse herzustellen, sondern habe mich so weit es ging an die Hss. angeschlossen. Deswegen erscheinen En- und Proklisis graphisch bezeichnet nur an denjenigen Stellen wo die Hss. bereits die Kürzung bieten: z.B. 153, 196. Mit den wenigen beigefügten Anmerkungen erhebe ich keinen Anspruch darauf einen eingehenden Kommentar zum Texte zu liefern; sie gehen hauptsächlich darauf aus des Dichters Verhältnis zu seinen Vorgängern, besonders aber zu Gottfried von Strassburg, klarer darzulegen.

Das gegenseitige Verhältnis der beiden Hss. lässt sich nicht näher bestimmen. Jedesfalls ist keine eine Anschrift der anderen. Während A dem alemanischen Dialekt des Verfassers nahe steht—hierauf deuten besonders die Part. *gesat* 39, *gesîn* 410, die Bindung von *n:m* 295, u. Ä—zeigt die Hs. R, wie nach ihrem Aufbewahrungsort zu erwarten wäre, ein unverkennbares bayerisches Gepräge. Sie bietet überhaupt eine kürzere Fassung des Textes, wahrscheinlich ohne

¹ Ich erinnere an die bekannte Episode mit Friedrich dem Grossen und den Nibelungen. Den Brief des Königs findet man bei Zarnke, *Das Nibelungenlied*, Leipzig, 1856, S. xxvii abgedruckt.

erkennbare Lücken. Es fehlen ihr die Verse 95–96, 185–94, 207–22, 297–98, 309–22, 364–65, 383, 422, 447–64, 535–36, 551–52; also ein Minus von 70 Versen gegenüber A. Bloss an einer Stelle bietet sie ein Plus von zwei Versen, nämlich nach 286, welche überdem doch nur eine platte Wiederholung von 273–74 bilden.

Es wäre wohl ein eitles Bemühen unsere kleine Erzählung mit dem Namen irgendeines bekannten Autors in Verbindung bringen zu wollen. Grimm erinnert an Konrad von Würzburg, mit dessen Stil sich manche Übereinstimmung findet. Aber für seine Verfasserschaft sind bestimmte Anhaltspunkte nicht vorhanden. Dagegen spricht aber das Fehlen der bei Konrad übliche Namensnennung, und obgleich er bei Gottfried von Strassburg in die Schule gegangen ist, hat er sich nirgends zum blossen Abschreiber des Tristan gestempelt. Vgl. zu 207 f., 238 f., 270 f., 310 f.

Unser Dichter gehört dagegen der grossen Menge der Unbekannten an, deren gemeinsamer Tätigkeit wir eine beträchtliche Zahl derartiger kleinerer Erzählungen und Schwänke verdanken. Von geringer dichterischer Begabung, kam es ihm hauptsächlich darauf an seine Erzählung in Verse einzukleiden, ohne sich dabei um die poetische Form viel zu kümmern. Seine Rede verschönerte er dadurch, dass er sich aus dem Werke des Tristandichters gerade das entlehnte was ihm für seine Zwecke 'am besten passte. Aber auch da, wo keine direkte Entlehnung stattfindet, erkennt man leicht den Einfluss Gottfrieds. Ob er neben diesem auch Hartmann von Aue gekannt hat, scheint mir nicht mit Sicherheit ausgemacht; vgl. jedoch zu 20, 113, 390, 467, u.s.w. Eine Bekanntschaft mit dem Parzival verrät sich überhaupt nicht, doch neben der höfischen Erzählung finden sich hier und da Anklänge an die volkstümliche Epik; vgl. 1 ff.

Was die Reime betrifft, so kann der Dichter nicht als sorgfältig bezeichnet werden. Auf die Bindung von *n:m*, die aber nicht so sehr dem Dichter als seiner Mundart zur Last fällt, ist schon hingewiesen worden. Derselben Katagorie gehört auch der Reim *z:s* der an folgenden Stellen begegnet: 47, 117, 123, 197, 267, 399; vgl. Weinhold, *Mhd. Gr.*, § 204. Von vokalisch ungenauen Reimen sind nur solche von *a:â* (157, 169, 333, 465) und *i:î* (229, 287, 339, 377, 479) je ein paar Mal zu belegen. Rührender Reim erscheint an drei Stellen: *sol 57, mich 391, ergienc:gienc 227.*

Die Verse sind mit wenigen Ausnahmen regelmässig gebaut und haben entweder stumpfen oder klingenden Ausgang. Die ersten weisen sämmtlich vier Hebungen auf, während solche mit klingendem Schluss drei Hebungen zeigen. Unter 277 Reimpaaren haben ungefähr 20 Prozent letztere Form. Mit diesem Ergebnis vergleiche man Schroeder, *Moriz von Craon*, 2. Aufl. S. 9.

Nur so ungefähr kann die Entstehungszeit des *Aristoteles und Phillis* bestimmt werden. Wegen der Bekanntschaft mit dem Tristan gewinnen wir das Jahr 1210—um diese Zeit wird der Tristan gewöhnlich angesezt—as einen *terminus a quo*, aber eine dieszeitige Grenze lässt sich nicht mit Sicherheit aufstellen. Jedoch auf Grund der Technik, des Wortschatzes, sowie der Sprache, möchte ich das Gedicht nicht viele Dezennien nach den Tristan ansetzen. Innerhalb des Zeitraumes 1220–1250 wird es wohl entstanden sein.

Der Stoff der Erzählung, deren letzter Ursprung in der orientalischen Literatur zu suchen ist, hat vom Mittelalter bis in die neueste Zeit hinein eine ungemein weite Verbreitung genossen. Für das mhd. Gedicht ist bis jetzt keine unmittelbare Quelle nachgewiesen worden. Wohl am nächsten mit ihm verwandt steht das anmutige kleine *Lai d'Aristote* des Henri d'Andeli, eines Trouveres des 13. Jahrhunderts.¹ Doch auf die Quellenfrage, u.s.w., gehe ich nicht näher ein, zumal da dieselbe eine eingehende und verständige Behandlung erfahren hat in der fleissigen Schrift von A. Borgeld, *Aristoteles en Phyllis*, Een bijdrage tot de vergelijkende litteratuurgeschiedenis, Groningen, 1902,² wo man alle den Gegenstand betreffende Literatur angeführt findet.

II

In Kriechen was gesezen
ein künic vil vermezzen,
der was genant Philippus.
daz mære saget uns alsus,
5 daz er gewaltic wäre.
milte und érbare
was er alliu sñne jär.
an lfbe, an muote und an gebár
näch wunsche was er vollekommen;
10 vor andern künigen üzgenomen
an gewalt und an rícheit,
als uns diu áventiure seit.

der selbe künic het ein wíp,
diu was sô schene, daz nie líp
schoener an wíbe wart gesehen: 15
des muosten alle die jehen,
die st ie gesáhen,
die verren und die nähnen.
diu was, als uns daz mære seit,
ein bluome reiner wípheit
und ganzer tugende ein adamas 20
und lüter als ein spiegelglas
vor wandel und vor missetät,
als noch maniger vrouwen stát.

¹ Vgl. A. Héron, *Oeuvres de Henri d'Andeli trouvère normand du XIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1881. Eine schöne Übersetzung des Lais gibt Hertz, *Spielmannsbuch*, 2te und 3te Auflage.

² Bespr. von Ludw. Fränkel, *Lit. Zentralbl.*, 1904, 491.

25	Dem künige und der künigin verlēch got ein kindeln, daz twanc dā nach alliu lant; Alexander was er genant, daz vil hōch geborne kint.	sō wisen knaben niht envant. doch wart er leider gepfant an witzen und an sinne: daz tet diu strenge minne.	85
30	alle die nū lebende sint gerichseten nie sō verre, als Alexander der herre sider tet bī sinen tagen. daz kint wart, als ich hōrte sagen,	Diu künigin het eine maget, diu was sō schoene, sō man saget, an lībe und an varwe, daz man sich an ir garwe volleclſchen hete ersehen.	90
35	schoene unde aller tugende vol; an im was swaz man sehen sol an hōher küniges vrühte. durch kunst, durch herrenzühte, wart daz kint ze schuole gesat.	die schoene an wiben kunden spheben, die sprächen, daz sī wäre schoene unde lobebzere. sī was von hōhem künne,	95
40	der künig ime gewinnen bat ein meister, der was wīse und gar von alter grīse: Aristoteles was er genant. der künig sprach "meister, sīt gemant	der werlte gar ein wünne. diu süeze vröudenschouwe was der künigin juncvrouwe unde was Phillis genant. Alexander wart enbrant	100
45	éren unde tugende, und macht in sñer jugende daz kint wīse und lēret ez." "ich tuon." sprach Aristoteles. der was sō künsterliche,	in ir minneglüete; verirret an gemüete wart der juncherre. er gedāhte harte verre wie ime der sorgen bürde ein teil geringert würde.	105
50	daz al diu werlt gēſche noch sñer künste lère hāt hiute und iemer mēre. er sprach "nach grōzen éren wil ich daz kint lēren	sīn lernen was verirret gar. er nam der juncvrouwen war: swenne er die niht ensach, sō sach man grōz ungemach an dem jungelinge.	110
55	und wil ime geben stiure von al der äventiure, die diu werlt haben sol." dō sprach der künig "dar umbe ich sol	swen nū diu Minne twinge, der merke, wie im wäre: Alexander der martelere enweste wie gebären; diu Minne in tūsent jāren	115
60	und wil iuch sicherliche goutes machen rīche."	getwanc nie sō sere eins mannes herze mēre als er von ir betwungen was. swā er stuont oder gesaz,	120
	Vor des küniges palas ein schoener boumgarte was, dā vor ein hūs erbouwen wol. der künig sprach "meister, diz hūz sol	sō was diu reine guote Phillis in sñem muote. diz werte alsō lange zit, daz diu juncvrouwe sit	125
65	sīn iuwer und des kindes und des ingesindes, daz ir haben bī iu welt."	also dicke bī im was, daz er ie baz unde baz kam in heinſchen mit der minneclſchen,	130
	dā wart dō langer niht getwelt: der meister nam den jungen knaben	daz si einen muot gewunnen und nāch ein ander brunnen. er was betwungen, sī noch baz.	135
70	und lērte in die buochstaben å bē cē dē.	alsō lange werte daz, daz diu juncvrouwe zart wol an ime inne wart, daz er nāch ir tobete.	
	daz tet im an dem érsten wē, als ez noch tuot den jungen, die dā sint betwunngē	dā nāch sī im gelobete, (dō er sī vīzeclſchen bat), si wolte komen an eine stat in dem boumgarten:	
75	mit schuole meisterschēfe.	dā wolte sī sīn warten. des komen sī beide über ein.	
	daz kint gevienç mit kreſte der künste von dem meister vil, wan sīn sin was áne zil, geleric unde verstanden,		
80	daz man in allen landen		

- 140 dô wart under den gelieben zwein
vriuntschaft unde triuwe;
in ganzen vröuden niue
wart ir minne und ir gemach.
alsô dicke daz geschach,
sô sô des state mohten hân.
- 145 Dô began sich des enstân
der meister an dem jungen,
daz ime was misselungen
von der juncvrouwen minne.
150 des wart er dâ nach inne
unde bevant wol die wärheit.
dar umbe er harte sere streit
den jungen, unde morten
mit slegen und mit worten,
155 und huote sfn alle stunde,
sô er ie beste kunde.
daz half allez niht ein hâr:
swen er mochte komen dar,
ez wäre spâte oder vruo,
160 der lieben gienc er allez zuo
und hete mit ir guot gemach.
ir beider bant vil gar zebrach,
dâ mite sô gebunden
wâren ze allen stunden
165 von der strengen Minne;
ir herze und ir sinne
die swebeten in vröuden gar
hôhe alsam ein adelar.
Diz was dem meister harte
swâr;
- 170 er gienc zuo dem künige dar
und seite ime disiu mære,
daz der juncherre wære
verirret an der schœnen.
der künic begunde hœnen
175 und strafen sere dise maget.
sî sprach "herre, swaz ir saget,
dâ enist dekeiniu schulde mite;
mfn vrouwe erkennet mîne site:
die sint wol sô stæte,
180 daz ich næete missetete."
und swuor dô sô manigen eit,
daz diu küniginne streit
selbe umbe ir unschulde.
dô kam sî ze hulde.
- 185 diu wol getâne Phillis
was dâ nach ungewis
minne und vriuntschefe;
des wart ir lfp an kreft
beroubet und an vröuden bar;
wan man nam ir beider war
190 mit der vertânen huote,
daz diu reine guote
niht mochte an ime gestillen
irs wunden herzen willen.
195 dô wart leide Alexander,
sfn herzeleit erkander,
wan ime sfn liep benomen was.
harte zornig er dô saz
- an der schuole, brummende als
ein ber;
er want sich hin, er want sich her; 200
er was in sime sinne
erblendet von der Minne.
diu sende jâmerunge
vergienc ouch niht die junge;
diu kläre unde schoene 205
wart über mäsen hoene.
sî was mit dem selben schaden
durch in, als er durch sî, beladen.
diu gewaltige Minne,
diu was ouch in ir sinne 210
ein teil ze sturmliche kommen
und het ir mit gewalt benomen
ein teil ir besten mäze;
sî was an ir gelâze
ir selben, noch der werlte mite 215
nach ir gewonlîchem site;
swaz sî sich vröuden an genam,
als ir dâ vor wol gezam,
daz missetet sî allez dô:
ir leben was gerichtet sô. 220
sî gedâhte in irem muote,
diu süeze reine guote,
wie sî ir liep gespräche,
ir herzeleit geræche
an dem meister wîse, 225
der was von alter grîse.
nû merket, wie ez hier umbe
ergienc:
- Phillis diu liehte sunne giene
in eine kemenâte hin
und nam ein sfdn swenzeln 230
und leit ez an ir zarten lfp.
daz süeze minneleiche wîp
het einen pelz dar under,
der was ouch guot besunder;
er gap ir sô blanken schîn
und was gar lüter hermîn; 235
sî was schoene, daz geloubet!
sî satzte tif ir houbet
einen zirkel von golde,
der was smal, als er solde,
geworht mit hôhem sinne. 240
dâ lägen gimmen inne,
zwischen dem gesteine,
vil lieht und iedoch kleine,
die besten von dem lande: 245
smaragden und jachande,
saffire und kalzedône,
und wâren die vil schône
dâ unde dar in geleit;
des wercmannes wîsheit 250
nach rechter spaheite
nie steine baz geleite.
diu schoene wol gezieret was.
sî nam ein liehtes spiegelglas; 255
an libe unde ouch an varwe
beschowete sî sich vil garwe,

	obe kein dinc ir möchte missestân, daz bezzerunge solte hân. diu schône was wol an geleit, als uns diu âventure seit. dâ der boumgarte was, dô gienc sî vür den palas barvuoz, an den vüezen blôz. ir bein wâren wizer dan ein slôz	und reget sich unde wil dan. dâ mite rueret er daz zwî an keiner stat, swie kûene er sî, ez bindet in und macht in haft: sus wirt der man unsigehaft und gevangen in dem stricke von wîbes ougenblicke.	320
260	und slechter dan ein kerze, blanc, ân alle swerze; diu wurden von dem touwe naz. dâ bî ein quecbrunne was; dem gie diu minneclîche bî, vrô unde aller sorgen vri. ir trite wâren und ir ganc gemezzzen, niht ze kurz, noch ze lanc	swie wîse er sî, swie lös ein man, von wîbes listen nieman kan sîn gemüete enbinden, wil er sich läzen vinden in ir geselleschefe: sô stark sint minnenkrefte. swer des welle wesen vri, der sî den wîben selten bî, wan anders niht gehelfen kan wan vliehen verre von in dan.	325
265	und doch in rechter mâze. sî was an ir gelâze ûfreht und offenbære, gelfch dem sperwære, und gestreichet als ein papegân;	Nû läzen wir die rede stân und vâhen daz mære wider an, daz ez niht belfbe in wâne. Phillis diu wol getâne gienc spilnde under der blüete; vil stolz was ir gemüete. sî sleich her unde hin.	330
270	sî liez ir ougen umbe gân als ein valke tûf dem aste; ze lîse, noch ze vaste heten sî beide ir weide. sî weideten beide vil eben und vil lîse in harte süezer wîse.	diz ersach durch ein vensterlin der alte meister und blickte dar und nam ir gebärden war: die dûhnen im gar wunderlich. “hei,” dâhte er, “wie minneclîch, wie schoene und wie gehiure, wie zartiu crâtiure ist daz minneclîche wîp! er selic man, der stnen lîp solte mit ir elten!”	335
275	280	340	
285	daz minneclîche bilde gebârte harte wilde; sî sleich her unde hin. tûf huop sî ir swenzeln vil nâch unz über iriu knie.	345	
290	295	350	
295	bluomen lesende sî gie und warf die in iren swanz. Phillis der liehte sunnenglanz begunde sus gebâren, durch daz sî möhte ervâren und betriegen den alten man,	in stieze an ein kelten unde einiu hitze dâ nâch; diu Minne tet im manigen schâch und machte in ze eime kinde. under der grünen linde dô kam diu süeze reine,	355
300	der ir ir herzeliep benam. dar umbe lief der minnen trût spilnde als ein windesbrût, durch daz gras ze dem brunnen. waz wîfe liste kunnen,	gar alles wandels eine, vür des meisters vensterlin und warf ime bluomen dar in, mê dan eine hantvol.	360
305	daz kunde nieman gesagen! ein wîp kan tûf der verte jagen, daz sich vor iren listen nieman kan gevristen.	sî sprach “meister, ich gan iu wol gelückes unde éren, und möhte ich iu gemären vröude unde kurzewile, dar umbe ich eine mîle	365
310	ez wart nieman sô wîse, noch von alter sô grîse, wil er sîn den wîben bî, ern werde gevangen an ein swî unde an der minnen lîmrout reht als der wilde vogel tuot,	wolte gân, swie kranc ich sî” der meister sprach “gramerzi, minneclîche süeze vrucht. an iu lît alliu diu genuht, die man zer werlte haben sol.	370
315	der durch die vriheit, die er hât, tûf daz gellmete swî stât; als er des denne entsetbet und sich tûf ze berge hebet, sus klebet er dô mitten dran,	juncrvouwelîn, nû tuo sô wol und ruoche dich erbarmen über mich vil armen und ruoche gân her in ze mir; hie ist nieman mî dan wir.”	375

	gar alles wandels eine, zuo dem meister hin īn. st̄ kérte dar ûf iren sin wie st̄ in geschante: 380 dar an st̄ gar genante. st̄ gie dâ b̄t in sitzen. er sprach "ich bin an witzen unde an sinnen gepfant. ich hân ervarn manic lant; 385 ich gesach nie kint sô wol getân. lâ mich dîne hulde hân: ich gibe dir golden zweinzie marc und vüere dich in mñnen arc und nim dar úz swie vil dû wilt."	mannes kunst, swie wîse er ist. wunder wirket wîbes list. ir smeichen und ir zarten, ir lägen und ir warten, ir sprechen und ir singen, ir tanzen und ir springen, ir weinen und ir lachen: die kunnen alle machen den stric und die gebende, daz st̄ mit ir hende vüret den man, swar st̄ wil. wîbes kunst ist âne zil. daz st̄ vil wol bewæret: von wîben wart erwæret Adam unde Samsôn, Dâvít unde Salomôn unde die besten alle. doch, samir sante Galle, diu wîp sint alle niht alsô; wîp machen manic herze vrô, daz in sorgen wäre begraben.	435 440 445 450 455 460 465 470 475 480 485 490
390	st̄ sprach "der rede mich bevit. meister, wes muotet ir an mich?" "ich wolte, daz dû liezest mich ein naht b̄t dir släfen." st̄ sprach "geschriren wâfen!"	daz sô mit ir hende vüret den man, swar st̄ wil. wîbes kunst ist âne zil. daz st̄ vil wol bewæret: von wîben wart erwæret Adam unde Samsôn, Dâvít unde Salomôn unde die besten alle. doch, samir sante Galle, diu wîp sint alle niht alsô; wîp machen manic herze vrô, daz in sorgen wäre begraben.	450
395	meister, wie solt ich das getuon ? ich wil mñnen magetuon sô törliche niht verliesen." dô begunde st̄ wol kiesen, daz er an st̄ vereffet was.	wil ir ein teil niht êre haben, noch kiuschen sin, noch stæten muot, daz schat den niht, die sint behuot und vrâ vor aller missetât.	455
400	nû sach diu minneclîche, daz ein satel b̄t der wende lac. st̄ sprach "entriuwen, ich enmac diz dinc niht tuon vergebene: lât mich iu vil ebene	tûsent wîbe tugende hât; ob aber keiniu wäre bœse und wandelbare, wâ solte man erkennen b̄t, welhiu were an missewende vrî.	460
405	den satel ûf den rücke legen, (des sult ir iuch gen mir bewegen) und lât mich tuon an dirre stunt einen zum in iuwern munt, daz ist mîn sldîn gürtefn.	Nû suln wir vâhen wider an daz maere, dâ ez wart verlân. diu gewaltige Minne, der sinne ein roubärinne, betwanc den meister grîsen,	465
410	tuotz, wan ez mac niht anders gesin. ich enmac niht langer bñten; ir müezet mich lân rîten in dem boumgarten:	der hôhen künste wîsen. er sprach "schcenez vrouwîlfn, ich wil dir undertænic sñn und tuon swaz dû mir gebiutest, daz dû mich niuwan triutest."	470
415	dâ enmac uns gewarten deweder wîp noch man." der alte sprach "ich enkan dich niht vil wol gereiten." st̄ sprach "ich wil iuch bereiten	der alte gouch sich nider lie ûf die hende und ûf diu knie. diu schöne minneclîche nam vil behendiclîche und leite den satel ûf in	475
420	vil schône und eben als ein pfert. sô sit ir mir denne wert und wil tuon swaz iu liep ist." nû heret wunderlîchen list von einem jungen wîbe.	und nam ir sldîn gürtefn und macht im ein zum in den munt.	480
425	swie sô man ez trîbe, ein schcene minneclîchez wîp, diu beide muot hât unde lîp, waz diu wunders begât! und wie vil gewaltes si hât,	dô hete sô gewunnen an der stunt von rôsen ein blündez zwî. diu schöne missewende vrî nam den zum in die hant	485
430	und wie st̄ kan versêren, herze und muot verkêren mit iren süezen worten! swie st̄ an allen orten mit gallen sint gemischet!	unde saz ûf den wîgant und reit in vil schône; in eime süezen dône sanc st̄ ein süezez minneliet. dô sümte sich der alte niet:	490
	vor den gar verlischet	er krouch ûf allen vieren dô, (des wart ir gemüete vrô)	

	gegen dem boumgarten und truoc ûf im den zarten süezen minneclchen lîp.	heinlich in ein schiffelin: er enmohte dâ niht langer gesîn von dem spotte und von dem schimpf	525
495	Daz ersach des küniges wîp und ander ir juncvrouwen. an den zinnen schouwen begunden sî daz wunder, daz Phillis dâ besunder alsô hêrlîche reit. des wart diu künegin gemeit und wunderte sî harte vil. dô sî gereit unz an daz zil, dâ saz sî vrcelchen abe. sî sprach "dû alter gouch, nû habe diz laster iemer mère, daz dû mir mîn êre unde mîn liep hâst benomen.	und von dem grôzen ungelimpf, den sî häten ûf dem sal. er vuor daz wazzer hin ze tal, daz dâ durch die gegene flöz, wan in des schimpfes dâ verdröz, daz man sîn dâ würde sat. er kam gevavn in eine stat in ein insel, hiez Galicfâ;	530
500	dâ saz sî vrcelchen abe. sî sprach "dû alter gouch, nû habe diz laster iemer mère, daz dû mir mîn êre unde mîn liep hâst benomen.	dâ beleip er und machte dâ ein michel buoch und schreib dar an	535
505	dîn hundert jâr seit nû kommen ze siben jären überwegen; daz dîn der tiuel müeze pflegen!" Phillis lief durch daz gras vrcelchen in den palas.	waz wunderlicher liste kan daz schœne ungetriuwe wîp und wie diu leben unde lîp manigem hât versëret. swer sich an sî kôret, der wirt von in gevangen als der visch an dem angen und als der vogel in dem stricke.	540
510	Diz grôze unbilde daz erschal in den hof und in den sal vür den künic und al die sîne. Phillis diu süeze fine hete ir leit gerochen.	ir lachen, ir ougenblicke vâhen sam der agestein. ich bin des komen über ein, daz dâ vür niht gehelfen kan, wan daz ein iegelech wîse man, der gerne âne vreisen sî, sî ir geselleschefe vrî	545
515	dâ nâch in einer wochen nam der meister sâ zehant siniu buoch und sîn gewant, sîn golt, sîn silber und sîn habe; er schickete ez bî naht abe	und vliehe verre von in dan, wan anders niht gehelfen kan.	550
520			

III

Der Titel stammt von von der Hagen. In A lautete die Überschrift: *dis seit von alexander vn̄ aristotiles; in R: Aristotiles.*

1 f. Laurin 1 f. Ez was ze Berne gesezzen ein degen sô vermezzen der was geheizen Dietrich; ähnlich GA 1, 38 = Heidin hrsg. Pfannmüller, 1912, Ulr. Trist. 520, 33 f. St. Alexius hrsg. Massmann 45b. Vgl. auch Armer Heinrich 31. 8 Trist. 3814, 4030, Troj. (Müller) 87, 7520. 12 = 260. Lanzelet 670, 6906, Wigalois 742. 13 Lanz. 72 nu hât er ein schœnez wîp. 18 Über den Ausdruck vgl. Martin zur Kudrun 96, 4. 20 f. Armer Heinr. 60 f. er was ein bluome der jugent der werlte fröude ein spiegelglas stæter triuwe ein adamas. Der bildliche Gebrauch von bluome, der bei Gottfried fehlt, stammt aus der Mariendichtung. Lassberg, Liedersaal 27, 24 wird die h. Jungfrau ain bluom rainer wibhaft genannt. Vgl. Roethe zu Reinmar von Zweter 26, 6. Über adamas als Bild der Charakterfestigkeit vgl. Roethe a.a.O. 28, 6. Iwein 3257 ein rechter adamas rîterlicher tugende. Das Wort kommt bei Gottfr. nicht vor. 22 Virginal 4, 5; 37, 9; 699, 7. Wig. 949, 4135. Trist. 11730 durchlütter also ein spiegelglas. 24 frowen h'ze A. 26 kindeln begegnet sehr häufig bei Gottfr. z.B. 1482, 1550, 1786, 1833, 1975, 2044, 6083. 29 vil wol R(H). 31 gerichseten A

nach Grimm. geriten R, gerichten H. Die Stelle wird von Lexer mit Recht unter gerîchsen angeführt. 34=Trist. 6558. Vgl. ferner Heinr. Trist. 1636, 2204. Lanz. 1541, 3198, 4135, 4180. 37 Troj. 3137 er ist eines hôhen küniges frucht. Helnbr. 493 ein man von küneges frucht. Parz. 41, 13 von küneges frucht was sín art. 38 herrenzuht fehlt den Wörterbüchern. 39 Myst. 253, 20 satzze si zu schûle (Wb.). Über die Form gesat, die vornehmlich bei md. und alemannischen Dichtern begegnet, vgl. Zwieržina, Z.f.d.A. 45, 43 f.; Gottfr. hat sie bloss zweimal, 12586, 13270. 41 f. Vgl. 225 f. Vor. Alex. 189 f.=Str. Alex. 219 f. der vierde meister den er gewan daz was Aristotiles der wise man. 42 Vgl. 510. Aristoteles, der bekanntlich nur das 62. Lebensjahr erreicht hat, galt dem Mittelalter als ein altersachwacher Greis. Vgl. das Lai d'Aristote 244, 338, 491, sowie Hertz, Aristoteles in den Alexanderdichtungen des Mittelalters, Abh. der k. bayer. Akad. der Wissensch. I. Cl. Band 19. München, 1890, S. 20. 49–50 umgesetzt A.; die Besserung von 49 von Hagen. Dz alle die ovch hant künsten riche AR. 52 Virg. 90, 2; 242, 13; 529, 11; 590, 4; 624, 13; 625, 13; 636, 9; 639, 5; 672, 11, u.s.w. 55 stiure hier etwa Anteil, (Abgabe) 58 f. So werden häufig die Hilfsverba nebeneinander gestellt, z.B. Iw. 4788 ich sol und wil gedienen. 68 Wegen der Form getwelt neben häufigerem getwalt, vgl. Zwieržina Zs.f.d.A. 45, 40 f. 70 In Ulrichs von Eschenbach Alex. 1276 (Toischer) heisst es von Aristoteles als Erzieher Alexanders: er lérte in zuht und êre er lérte in die karakter ê in kriebeschem daz â b c daz wir alrést müezen verstén so man uns lât ze schuole gên. Parz. 453, 15 f. der karakter â b c muoser hân gelernet ê. 72 f. Anlässlich des jungen Tristans Erziehung sagt Gottfr. 2983 f. der buoche lêre und ir getwanc was sîner sorgen anevanc. 76 f. Vg. Trist. 2085 f. 88 Wegen garwe neben der Form gar 105, vgl. Zwieržina, Z.f.d.A. 44, 1 f. 89 sich ersehen an etw., sich ins Anschauen verlieren. Vgl. MF 144, 10 mit Anm. 94 Trist. 254 er was der werlde ein wunne. Gottfr. kennt bloss die umlautlose Form, Hartmann dagegen nur wünne; vgl. Kraus in Abh. zur germ. Phil. Heinzel-Festschr. 112 f. bes. 119. 95–96 fehlen R. Das Kompositum vröudenschouwe, 'freudiger Anblick,' wird sonst nicht belegt; vgl. aber jámerschouwe bei Lexer. froeide frowen sch. A. 99 minnegluot begegnet sonst nur in dem Gottfr. v. Str. (fälschlich) zugeschriebenen Lobgesang 58, 12. senegluot Trist. 112.

103 f. Trist. 19065 f. ob ime sín senebürde mit ir iht ringer würde. 110 Iw. 1570 f. minne twinget alle künige noch lîhter danne ein kint. Trist. 902. Parz. 84, 2; 301, 22; 548, 1. Walther 55, 28. MF 45, 20. 112 Trist. 7652 ein armer marterære. 7740 der wäre ein marterære (Hss. NRS martelere) 113 Iw. 2252 und enweste wie gebâren. Armer Heinr. 1410 si enwesten wie gebâren. 124 Zum wiederholten baz vgl. Trist. 13281. MF 13, 4. Reinmar v. Zweter 38, 5. Lanz. 2908. 1. Büchl. 1496. 125 heimliche, Ort zu dem nur die Vertrauten Zugang haben, Vertraulichkeit, begegnet sonst nur als stf., z.B. Trist. 10414 f. Er. 1532. Das Wb. nimmt

für unsere Stelle ein swm. an. 128 Herzmaere 123 er bran nāch ir minne. 137 Trist. 18143 f. si begunde in ir boumgarten ir gelegenheite warten. 145 Greg. 882 sō si des state gewan. 146 sich enstān eines dinges, etw. wahrnehmen. Vgl. Wb. II², 581b. 152 Ausser der Redensart 'einen strīt, kampf strīten' belegen die Wörterbücher keinen transitiven Gebrauch dieses Verbums. 153 morten = morte in, wie Wb. III, 223a vermutet wird. 155 Ein Adv. beste kennt Gottfr. nicht. Vgl. aber Parz. 482, 22 sō wir beste kunden. Walther 91, 26, u.s.w. 157 Trist. 16537 ern hāete niht gegeben ein hār. Armer Heinr. 501. Iw. 579. Zum Ausdruck vgl. Zingerle, Über die bildliche Verstärkung der Negation. Wiener Sitzungsber. 39, 414-477, Wien, 1862. 159 spāte unde fruo: zuo sehr häufig bei Gottfr. z.B. 2095, 3115, 5740, 7927, 13849, 14081. 160 allez mit R. Vgl. Trist. 14518 sleich allez nāch im dar. 161 Des Hundes Not 95 der hunt hāt vil guot gemach. das. 163 dā hāt er vil guot gemach. 162 Im Tristan hat Gottfr. auffälligerweise das Wort bant nicht; dagegen in seinem (?) Minnelied 6, 10 enstricke mir daz bant. Vgl. noch Parz. 288, 30 frou Minne strickte in an ir bant. das. 532, 23. MSH 1, 144a, diu bant si noch nie zerbrach. 168 Trist. 4720 sfniu wort diu sweiment also der ar. Ueber das Bild vgl. E. Schmidt, Reinm. v. Hagenau und Heinr. v. Rugge, S. 97 f. 176 ir]A (Gr.) er H. 180 ncete, Adv. ungern, gedrungen. Trist. 2177, 17856. 184 Mære v.d. Sperwāre 263 wie si nāch ir schulde kōeme wider ze hulde. Häufiger steht aber der Plural, ze hulden kommen, Iw. 184, 8111. 185-194 fehlen R. 191 Das Part vertān als attributiver Adj. sehr oft bei Gottfr. und Konrad v. Würzburg. 193 Trist. 16433 man sol gelangen gestillen mit dem gewissen willen. 195 leider A laidig R. Die Besserung von H. Auffällig bleibt aber die Konstruktion. 199 Rother 1660 er begunde brimmen als ein bere. Herb. 2990 als ein grimmer ber er bram.

200 Trist. 1744 f. si want sich unde brach ir līp sus unde sō her unde dar. 202 Trist. 17745 f. diu blintheit der minne diu blendet üze und inne, si blendet ougen unde sin, und ähnlich öfters. MSH 1, 55b ir süezen minne bant mich an den sinnen hāt erblant. 204 Transitives vergān, vorübergehen an. Vgl. Trist. 955 f. ouch vergie sfn senelich geschiht die seneden Blancheflüre niht. 207-222 fehlen R. Die Verse 207-220 bilden eine fast wörtliche Wiedergabe von Gottfrieds Tristan 957-970. 209= unten 467. Für gewaltige hat Gottfr. gewaltærinne, doch wird von den Hss. MBOERS gewaltege geboten. 211 sturmliche A = Gottfr.; weshalb von der Hagen in sturmische geändert hat, sehe ich nicht ein. Lexer hat unsere Stelle als einzigen Beleg für sturmische angeführt. 214=274. 216 Aneg. 37, 41 nāch gewonlchem site. Marienleg. hrsg. Pfeiffer, 42, 32 (Lexer). 221 Trist. 9453 er gedāhte in sīnem muote. Iw. 1609, 5971. Greg. 2235. Gute Frau 275. Heidin 61. Des Hundes Not 63, u.s.w. 224 herzeleit ist ein beliebter Ausdruck Gottfrieds. 227 Lanz. 6914 nu merkent wie ez ergie. 233 Vgl. Helnbr. 143 und einen pelz dar under 236 Wig. 701 f. mit einem pellez hermīn was er gefurriet. 237 Des Hundes

Not 191. Lanz. 1454, 4599, 5400. 238–252 sind aus dem Tristan entlehnt, wo sie den Versen 10966–10980 entsprechen. 254 ein liehtez spiegelglas Wig. 763. 259 geclait R. Zur Lesart von A vgl. Greg. 3656 als er an wart geleit; ferner Nibel. (A.) 516, 1. Helmb. 414. Neid. 37, 7. 263 Derartige Tautologien begegnen nicht selten. Vgl. ferner Trist. 4007 an füezen und an beinen bar. 264 slōz, stm. oder n? Hagelkorn; ein seltsamer Vergleich, der mir sonst nicht begegnet ist. 265 Vergleiche mit der Kerze stehen z.B. Lanz. 7122. Wolfd. B. 2, 2. Ortn. 387, 4. 266 Engelh. 3004 ir hende án alle swerze wären, luter unde wíz. 268 chüler prun R. Wegen dieser Lesart vgl. Trist. 16743, 17162, 17378. 270–284=Trist. 10992–11006. 277 Die Tristanstelle hat auch Konrad v. Würzburg benützt. Vg. Troj. 7521 Medea die vil kläre lancesine kam geslichen in gestreichet als ein velekin dem sín gevider eben lít; ferner noch Trist. 17540. 278 s̄ mit R=Gottfr. und A. 286 ‘Benam sich auffällig.’ Ein Adv. wilde belegt das Wb. überhaupt nicht, Lexer mit nur ein paar Beispielen aus Chr. 287=339 Zum Ausdruck vgl. Krone 25370 slichen hin und her vil līse. 292 diu liehte sunne glanz H. Nach Analogie von sunnenglast habe ich das Kompositum gewagt, obgleich es sonst nicht belegt ist. 297–98 fehlen R. Zu windesbrüt vgl. zuletzt B. Schmidt, Beiträge 21, 111 f.

309–322 fehlen R. 310–319=Tristan 842–851. 313 entseben, empfinden, wahrnehmen, bei Gottfr. nur hier (845). Das Wort ist md. Dichtern besonders eigentümlich. Vgl. Zwierzina, Zs.f.d.A. 44, 253 f. 318 keiner A (Gr.)=Gottfr. Kleiner H. küene für kūme und umgekehrt ist einer der häufigsten Schreiberfehler. Vgl. Nibel. (A) 419, 3; 425, 4. Warnung 2182. Virg. 69, 13. Engelh. 270 nebst den angeführten Lesarten. Das kūme bei Gottfr. macht Schwierigkeiten; vgl. Bechstein zur Stelle. 322 wibes ougenblic Neif. 31, 33. 323 lös hier ‘listig.’ Lanz. 4054 wan nieman also kündic ist der sich der minne müge erwern. 333 Vgl. 465. Der Uebergang nu läzen wir . . . ist typisch. Lanz. 5676. Wolfd. B. 155, 1. CII 10, 1. Virg. 72, 4. 130, 1. Laurin 1758. Eckenl. 161, 1. 335 ‘Damit es nicht eitle Rede bleibe.’ Den Ausdruck kenne ich sonst nicht. 346 Ueber créatiure, das aus der geistlichen Poesie stammt, vgl. Roethe zu R. v. Zweter S. 287, Anm. 333. Zum Inhalt Wig. 937 f. ein sô scheniu créatiure, reine und sô gehiure. Winterst. 29, 31. 348 f. Mariae Himmelf. 1658 sô muost du elden dñen lfp. 350 kelten stf. Fieberfrost, ahd. chaltñ. 352 einem schâch tuon, einem ein Leid zufügen. Fehlt bei Gottfr. kommt aber sonst häufig vor; vgl. das Wb. 355–56=375–76. 360 f. Trist. 2598 f. alle die mir gunden gelückes unde guotes. 362 f. Trist. 13945 f. wie er in fröude und ère gemache unde gemère. 364–65 fehlen R. 365 swie A (Gr.) wie H. 367 f. frucht: genuht ist ein beliebter Reim bei Konrad von Würzburg. 374 wir R ir A. Hagen verbessert schon in den Lesarten 380 gemante H. In den Lesarten sagt er “besser genante von genenden,” wie denn auch von A tatsächlich geboten wird. Vgl. Trist. 10562 daz er dar an genante. 383 Der Vers fehlt R. 384=Biterolf 274.

Vor. Alex 668 er erfür al diu lant. das. 6585 sint erfür ich manic lant. 386
 Wig. 312 nū lät mich iuwer hulde haben. 387 f. Derselbe Reim auch
 Troj. 6514, 7641. Gottfr. kennt nur arke, swf. 390 mich bevilt eines
 dinges, es verdriesst mich, wird mir zu viel. 'Lasst eure Rederei.' Das
 Verbum kommt bei Gottfr. nur 4939 vor. Vgl. Wb. und Lexer. 391
 'Was verlangt ir von mir?' Trist. 16228 waz ist iu liep? wes muotet ir?
 394 Erec 4050 und wolde wâfen hân geschrirn.

406 sich eines dinges bewegen, sich wozu entschliessen. 410 ez A
 (Gr.) es H. Vgl. Nibel. (B) 2293 ez mak niht anders gesin. Ueber die Form
 des Particips vgl. Weinhold, Mhd. Gr. § 364, Al Gr. § 203. 415 Vgl.
 Martin zu Kudrun 127, 2. 422 Fehlt R. Vgl. Lanz. 7193 dar zuo merkent
 einen list der noch an manegem wibe ist. 427 Lanz. 4496 ach Minne waz
 du wunders weist! 432 an allen orten 'durch und durch.' Engelh. 3358.
 Walth. 5, 25. 433 Vgl. Trist. 13899 f. Armer Heinr. 108 f. unser süeze
 ist vermischet mit bitterre gallen. 438 Der subst. Infin. lägen wird von
 den Wbb. nicht belegt. 447–64 fehlen in R. 449 f. Die Erwähnung
 der vier biblischen Gestalten als Beispiele für die Macht der Liebe ist
 typisch. Vgl. Borgeld, S. 26 f., 29 f., 34, und noch Part. 8884 f. Wegen
 Salomon besonders MF 66, 16. Parz. 289, 16. Krone 8451. 452 Vgl.
 Trist. 1055, 2439, 5434, 8520, 10080. 461 aber fehlt AR Ein wip: ob
 . . . A (H). 464 (484) missewende frf Part. 263 u. sonst öfters bei
 Konrad von Würzburg. 467 Iw. 2056 f. diu gwaltige Minne ein rehtiu
 süenærinne. Der Ausdruck ist aber Gottfriedisch, vgl. Trist. 928 f. Ferner
 Minne und ein minneclîchez wip sint sinne roubærinne MSH 3, 438b. mîner
 sinne ein roubærin das. 2, 73a (Lexer) 489 minneliet belegt sonst nur
 Apoll. 20129. Neidh. 85, 33. 493 Unt krouch g.H. (AR). 498 Lanz.
 1449 f. daz tet inneclîchen wê den vrouwen ûf den zinnen.

510 dñe H. das er in den Lesarten verbessert. 511 überwegen,
 erprobt, ausgezeichnet; hier ironisch. Vgl. Alph. 76, 4 512 Virg. 511,
 6 daz iuwer der tiuvel walde. das. 894, 11 daz ir der tiuvel walde! 518 diu
 fine, die Schöne, MSH 1, 190b. 519 Hâte H. 535–36 fehlen R.
 Wegen derartig angehängter Sätze (hiez G.), vgl. Roethe zu Reinm. v. Zweter
 186, 7. 537 Das secretum secretorum. nach Borgeld S. 7, Anm. 1.
 542 und swer A (H). 543 in AR ir H. 547 Wegen des Vergleichs
 vgl. Trist. 8092 f., 8114 f., ferner MSH 3, 329b. 548=Part. 16. 551–
 52 fehlen R. Nach 554 in R: Aristotiles hat hye ain end.

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CONCERNING THE GERMAN RELATIVES "DAS" AND "WAS," IN CLAUSES DEPENDENT UPON SUB- STANTIVIZED ADJECTIVES, AND UPON NEUTER INDEFINITES, AS USED IN SCHILLER'S PROSE

Two articles bearing, in a more general way, upon the use of the two pronouns *das* and *was* are the occasion of the present inquiry. The first of the two is that by Professor Starr Willard Cutting, in the *Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago*, First Series, Vol. VII: "Concerning the Modern German Relatives *das* and *was* in Clauses Dependent upon Substantivized Adjectives." The second is by Dr. Charles Boyle Campbell, "Concerning the Pronominal Antecedent and the Form of the Accompanying Pronoun in Modern German Prose," University of Chicago Dissertation, Berlin, 1913.

Professor Cutting concluded, from his collected material, that most of the modern stylists recognize a qualitative difference between the relatives *das* and *was*, and that they use *das* when it is intended to particularize the reference to a substantive adjective or to an indefinite antecedent, while *was* is employed when intentional vagueness is observed in the reference. It is with special reference to Professor Cutting's query and findings that the following exhibit of examples from Schiller's prose is given. The bearing of these examples upon Dr. Campbell's statements is discussed later.

In order to facilitate reference (as well as from necessity), the same grouping of examples is here adopted as that used by Professor Cutting, only minor changes being made, according to the occurrence or non-occurrence of certain forms.

I. *Was*-clauses.

- (a) After superlatives (or *alles* or *einzig*).
- (b) After positives or comparatives or indefinites.

II. *Das*-clauses (*welches*, *wodurch*, *woran*, etc.).

- (a) After *alles*, with or without an adjective.
- (b) After positives or comparatives or indefinites.

With the exception of the four instances of *alles* under II(a), Schiller uses only *alles*, *was*. This occurs so often, 248 times in all, that I have not included any examples in these quotations. Since

the number of other instances is not excessive, all that occur are given. The citation is indicated by volume, page, and line, in that order, reference being to Bellerman's *Kritisch durchgesehene und erläuterte Ausgabe*. Consecutive numbers are merely for reference in this article.

I. Was-CLAUSES

(a) After *alles* or *einzig*, or Superlatives

1. II:18:21. Dir auch nich *das Geringste* zu verhehlen, *was* ich auffangen kann.
2. II:125:22. es ist nicht *das Schlechteste*, *was* ich getan habe.
3. VI:521:24. da er *das Einzige* war, *was* ihr einigen Ersatz geben konnte.
4. VII:399:10. mit dem Geld, *dem Einzigsten*, *was* er brauchte.
5. VIII:141:9. so ist Billigung *das Höchste*, *was* erfolgen kann.
6. VIII:167:2. zu *dem erhabensten*, *was* dem Auge je erscheinen kann.
7. VIII:321:5. *das wenigste*, *was* man ihm schuld gab.
8. VIII:364:7. aus *dem Höchsten* und *Edelsten*, *was* ihn ausmacht.
9. VIII:397:21. so ist eine Komparative Allgemeinheit *das Höchste*, *was* der Realist erreicht.
10. VIII:419:10. *Dieses einzige Schreckliche*, *was* er nur muss und nicht will.
11. VIII:428:2. über *das Höchste*, *was* die Sinnlichkeit leisten kann.
12. XIII:63:11. *Das erste*, *was* sich ihm darbietet.
13. XIII:455:34. *das einzige*, *was* sie bemerken konnte.
14. XIV:76:17. *das Teuerste*, *was* er auf der Welt hätte.
15. XIV:449:15. *das Schlimmste*, *was* von ihm gesagt werden konnte.

(b) After Positives or Comparatives or Indefinites

1. II:271:29. Ich bin zu stolz, mir *etwas* schenken zu lassen, *was* ich noch selbst zu erwerben weiss.
2. VI:11:1. verschlang noch *das wenige*, *was* er erwarb.
3. VI:92:2. aus *dem wenigen*, *was* er mir abfragte.
4. VI:99:27. nur durch *etwas*, *was* nicht besser ist als Zauberei.
5. VI:99:34. so ist *nichts* unnatürlich, *nichts* gezwungen, *was* ihn führt.
6. VI:103:4. und eben *das Grauenvolle* und *Derbe*, war es *was* sich seiner lebhaften Einbildungskraft zuerst bemächtigte.
7. VI:136:22. Kann die Phantasie *etwas* geben, *was* sie nie empfangen hat?
8. VI:136:23. ist *nichts*, *was* ich mit diesem Bilde zusammenstellen könnte.
9. VI:149:3. Aber es war *etwas* an diesem Auftritt, *was* mich rührte.
10. VI:213:27. Es ist nicht *das Ausserordentliche* oder *Heroische* dieser Begebenheit, *was* mich anreizt sie zu beschreiben.

11. VI:295:26. dass *nichts* geschehen wäre, *was* die Staaten nicht getan.
12. VI:339:1. aber nur *das Wenige*, *was* wir von ihm auffinden können.
13. VI:350:8. Da die Schlüsse *Verschiedenes* enthielten, *was* gegen die Rechte verstieß.
14. VI:354:30. und *nichts* damit gemeint worden sei, *was* die Achtung verletzte.
15. VI:369:9. Es war noch *nichts* geschehen, *was* sich nicht vertrug, *was* ihre Absichten verdächtig machte.
16. VI:389:2. *nichts* enthält, *was* sich nicht vertrüge.
17. VI:389:6. *nichts* enthält, *was* streitet.
18. VI:478:28. würde ihm *nichts* auferlegen, *was* die Rechte kränke.
19. VI:494:13. und *nichts* sei mehr übrig, *was* ihren Eintritt rechtfertigen könnte.
20. VII:517:23. *nichts* besassen, *was* hätte lieb machen können.
21. VII:29:28. *vieles*, *was* sie taten.
22. VII:62:7. *das Wenige*, *was* sie preisgaben.
23. VII:155:14. *das Wenige*, *was* er sprach.
24. VII:359:3. Es war *nichts Geringes*, *was* er jetzt auf dem Wege war, zu unternehmen.
25. VIII:44:4. mit *etwas*, *was* in uns vorhanden ist.
26. VIII:113:5. *das Kleine* und *Niedrige*, *was* sich misst.
27. VIII:113:8. es ist *das absolut Grosse* selbst, *was* findet.
28. VIII:116:2. *nichts*, *was* nur gross ist.
29. VIII:123:16. *nichts*, *was* bloss angeht.
30. VIII:126:23. setzt also *etwas* voraus, *was* von der Sinnlichkeit unterschieden ist.
31. VIII:127:3. *etwas* vorzustellen, *was* über der Natur ist.
32. VIII:127:27. Die Sprache ist gewiss *etwas*, *was* steht.
33. VIII:128:23. so ist *nichts* mehr vorhanden, *was* an die Person erinnern könnte.
34. VIII:134:15. Aber *etwas* ist in uns, *was* keinen Teil nimmt.
35. VIII:194:21. Es muss also *etwas* vorhanden sein, *was* im Wege steht.
36. VIII:241:21. dass *etwas* anfange, *was* noch nicht war.
37. VIII:251:33. Die Wahrheit ist *nichts*, *was* von aussen empfangen werden kann.
38. VIII:260:5. zeigt ihm *nichts*, *was* sein eigener Grund wäre.
39. VIII:260:6. zeigt ihm *etwas*, *was* von keinem Grund weiss.
40. VIII:264:25. sehen diese letztere als *etwas Zufälliges* an, *was* wegbleiben konnte.
41. VIII:289:15. *etwas Sinnliches*, *was* liegt.
42. VIII:308:30. da sie *nichts* besitzt, *was* sie nicht hingeben müsste.
43. VIII:317:6. *nichts*, *was* entspringt.
44. VIII:322:34. *das Wenige*, *was* aufbewahrt worden ist.
45. VIII:420:10. *Nichts*, *was* sie an ihm ausübt.

46. XIII:133:17. da ist *nichts* da, *was* ihn nötigen könnte.
47. XIII:135:19. es erfolgt *etwas* dem Analoges, *was* hervorbringen würde.
48. XIII:136:33. *nichts, was* gefallen könnte.
49. XIII:141:1. als *etwas Auswärtiges* und *Fremdes* betrachten, *was* keinen Einfluss hat.
50. XIII:150:31. Es kann aber *nichts Pflicht* sein, *was* unerfüllbar ist.
51. XIII:157:1. Behandelt die Komödie *etwas, was* interessiert.
52. XIII:157:5. Undank ist an sich *etwas, was* unser moralisches Gefühl affiziert.
53. XIII:251:25. *nichts, was* befriedigte.
54. XIII:283:20. *nichts was* nicht natürlich ist.
55. XIII:321:32. *etwas* sagen zu lassen, *was* gesagt werden kann.
56. XIII:353:6. *das Schöne, das Edle, das Vortreffliche, was* wirklich in ihm wohnt.
57. XIII:365:30. wird viel *Willkürliches* übrigbleiben, *was* den Künstler gefangen hält.
58. XIII:382:2. ist uns *nichts* bekannt, *was* so befriedigend wäre.
59. XIII:388:6. *nichts, was* nicht ganz würdig wäre.
60. XIV:74:25. dass er *nichts* unterlassen würde, *was* in seiner Macht stünde.
61. XIV:83:22. dass man *nichts* sagte oder täte, *was* Beziehung darauf hätte.
62. XIV:122:12. konnte *nichts ersetzen, was* er verloren hatte.
63. XIV:137:15. Habe ich *etwas zugelassen, was* zu widerstreiten scheint.
64. XIV:154:2. *nichts* zu versäumen, *was* dienen konnte.
65. XIV:227:27. *nichts, was* dem Schmerz nahe käme.
66. XIV:274:33. *das Wenige verlieren, was* erkennt.
67. XIV:301:15. unterliess man *nichts, was* den Connetable—stürzen konnte.
68. XIV:307:9. worin *nichts* vergessen war, *was* zusichern konnte.
69. XIV:320:11. *Nichts* gab es, *was* sie nicht aufopferte.
70. XIV:386:2. obgleich die historische Kritik *das Böse* glauben darf, *was* ein Freund berichtet.
71. XIV:411:9. *etwas verstehen würde, was* fassten.
72. XIV:478:32. dass *nichts* Bestand hat, *was* Wahn—gründete.
73. XIV:486:18. Bot ihm also *nichts* dar, *was* sich lobpreisen liess.

II. *Das- (welches) CLAUSES*

(a) After *alles*, with or without an Adjective

(Schiller does not use *das* with any superlative adjective or with *einzig*.)

1. VI:17:18. an alles Böse zu erinnern, *das* mir der Tote zugefügt hatte.
2. VII:12:2. *Alles Böse, welches* Philipp beschloss.

3. VIII:107:28. *alles mit Würde, welches zu verrichten er über seine Menschheit hinausgehen muss.*
4. XIV:394:7. *Alles Böse, welches man . . . nachzusagen gewohnt ist.*

(b) After Positives or Comparatives or Indefinites

1. II:19:4. *von dem Wenigen, das ich weiss.*
2. II:68:26. *ich muss was Magnetisches an mir haben, das . . . anzieht.*
3. II:107:24. *Es ist so was Grosses und oft Geschehenes, das mich leben macht.*
4. II:119:30. *es war so viel, so viel in seinem Angesicht . . . das Ihnen so gleich kommt, das ich so liebe.*
5. II:179:16. *arbeitet etwas auf deinem Gesichte, das nicht . . . gibt.*
6. II:189:11. *Haben Sie jemals etwas gegen mich gefühlt, das man . . . nennt?*
7. II:201:24. *Ich habe schon längst ein Etwas in meiner Brust gefühlt, das sich von nichts wollte ersättigen lassen.*
8. II:222:236. *Ich denke etwas, das du nicht weiss.*
9. II:226:12. *Nichts kann zu ehrwürdig sein, das du nicht untertauchen sollst.*
10. II:249:17. *Etwas Ausserordentliches mag es auch sein, das . . . führt.*
11. II:338:29. *In nichts, das mir wichtiger wäre.*
12. II:383:10. *dir etwas Angenehmes zu verkündigen und etwas lieber Sohn, das dich ganz überraschen wird.*
13. VI:29:33. *Sie sagten mir etwas, wodurch er widerlegt werden könnte.*
14. VI:67:3. *das Wunderbare, das ich . . . im Sinne hatte.*
15. VI:125:31. *Zeigen Sie mir etwas, das dauert.*
16. VI:137:11. *sprach sie einiges, das Biondello nicht verstand.*
17. VI:159:11. *ich wollte etwas darin aufsuchen, das ihn mildern könnte.*
18. VI:280:4. *In dem gemeinschaftlichen Ganzen, welches die Provinzen jetzt ausmachten.*
19. VI:329:10. *führt zugleich etwas Grosses, etwas Erhabenes mit sich, das . . . gibt.*
20. VI:11:5. *ist . . . etwas Grosses und Merkwürdiges geschehen, woran die Reformation . . . gehabt hätte.*
21. VIII:121:9. *Verstand lässt ihn das Zufällige, das . . . macht, von dem Notwendigen nicht unterscheiden.*
22. VIII:121:18. *Kleider sind ihm etwas Zufälliges, dem . . . nachgesetzt werden darf.*
23. VIII:149:17. *von dem Guten, welches . . . gefällt.*
24. VIII:153:30. *Jeder wird diesen Erdhaufen hinwegwünschen als etwas, das die Schönheit . . . verunstaltet.*
25. VIII:156:20. *von etwas, das . . . überschreitet.*
26. VIII:156:26. *Ein Manigfaltiges wird uns dort gegeben, welches . . . treibt.*
27. VIII:161:28. *etwas absolut Grosses, dem kein Maßstab gewachsen ist.*
28. VIII:176:10. *Sie nimmt dem Menschen etwas, das er wirklich besitzt, und ohne welches er nichts besitzt.*

29. VIII:176:12. weist ihn dafür an *etwas*, an das er besitzen könnte.
30. VIII:205:14. Sie unterscheidet *etwas*, das bleibt, und *etwas* das sich verändert.
31. VIII:217:25. *ein Unendliches*, dem er sich nähern kann.
32. VIII:225:28. haben wir *das Schöne* hervorgehen sehen, dessen höchstes Ideal wird zu suchen sein.
33. VIII:236:3. wenn nicht *etwas* vorhanden wäre von *welchem* ausgeschlossen wird.
34. VIII:241:22. es muss *etwas* aufhören, *welches* war.
35. VIII:250:15. *das Einzelne* sorgfältig aufscharren, *das* der Meister verschwinden machte.
36. VIII:251:35. sie ist *etwas*, *das* die Denkkraft hervorbringt.
37. VIII:281:7. *Das Angenehme*, *welches* lockt.
38. VIII:324:24. erzeugen *ein Naives* des Ausdrucks im Umgang, *welches* darin besteht.
39. VIII:337:8. Weil aber das Ideal *ein Unendliches* ist, *das* er niemals erreicht.
40. VIII:365:21. *das Ganze*, von *dem* sie ausmachen.
41. VIII:394:7. *das schöne Ganze*, *welches* zerstört wird.
42. VIII:394:32. die poetische Stimmung ist *ein selbständiges Ganze*, in *welchem* verschwinden.
43. VIII:399:13. auf *das Allgemeine* richtet, *welches* gleich macht.
44. VIII:399:15. kann er leicht *das Besondere* vernachlässigen, *wodurch* sie sich unterscheiden.
45. VIII:437:17. *das Niedrige*, *welches* unterschieden ist.
46. XIII:19:4. drückt mich *etwas* auf dem Herzen, *das* ich Ihnen sagen wollte.
47. XIII:101:14. Der Mensch brachte hier *etwas* zustande, *das* mehr ist, als er selbst war, *das* an etwas Grössers erinnert.
48. XIII:102:17. *Etwas* geschaffen zu haben, *das* nicht untergeht.
49. XIII:145:28. *etwas Furchtbare*, *welches* kommen soll.
50. XIII:156:4. Man findet *etwas*, *das* hinausgeht.
51. XIII:253:28. für die Glückseligkeit *dieses grossen Ganzen* entzündet, *das* ihm vergegenwärtigt war.
52. XIII:270:25. Also muss *etwas Drittes* vorhanden sein, *das* verschieden ist von Freundschaft und Liebe, für *welches* beide gewirkt haben und *welchen* beide aufgeopfert worden.
53. XIII:283:30. für *etwas* tun und geben kann, *das* ihm das Teuerste ist.
54. XIII:304:15. als gällt es *etwas*, *das* uns nicht lieb ist.
55. XIII:339:25. *ein zusammenhängendes Ganze* ausmachen, mit *dessen* Bruchstücken nichts gewonnen wird.
56. XIII:346:9. *das Unideale*, *welches* davon unzertrennlich ist.
57. XIII:353:1. von *etwas* unterrichten, *das* vorgegangen.
58. XIII:369:17. auf dem simultanen Eindruck *des Ganzen* beruht, *das* er doch nicht anders kann.
59. XIII:418:12. allein das Pöbelhafte in ihrer Seele ist noch nicht verdrungen worden, *welches* sie an den Tag legen.

60. XIII:437:7. Wenn je *etwas* ist, *das* . . . erwärmen kann.
61. XIII:459:17. *einiges* in mir zu bemerken . . . , *das* mich vielleicht fähig mache.
62. XIII:497:2. wenn nicht *etwas* vorhanden ist, *das* ihr Wachstum beschränkt.
63. XIV:109:1. sah er auf seinem Gesicht *etwas* arbeiten, *das* . . . anzeigen.
64. XIV:114:30. er hätte *etwas sehr Eiliges* zu entdecken, *welches* . . . beträfe.
65. XIV:445:16. Zu Hause fand der Spartaner *nichts*, *das* ihm hätte fesseln können.
66. XIV:448:16. um *etwas* zu erhalten, *das* nur . . . einen Wert haben kann.

Even a casual survey of the illustrative material of the *was*-clauses in the superlative category will convince that only the generalizing *was* could properly be used. Also it is illuminating to notice that not a single instance of *das* occurs relating to a superlative adjective. In the three instances in which *alles Böse, das (welches)* occurs, the delimiting force of the relative is evident, so that we might substitute *jedes* for *alles* and still preserve the meaning. The other example seems not so clear, as will appear by the reading of the entire sentence: "Überhaupt gilt hier das Gesetz, dass der Mensch *alles* mit Anmut tun müsse, *was* er innerhalb seiner Menschheit verrichten kann, und *alles* mit Würde, *welches* zu verrichten er über seine Menschheit hinausgehen muss." This would seem to be a deliberate change of relative with purpose to particularize each separate act to be performed.

By a more careful survey of the examples under the positive-comparative categories we are struck by the very few cases in which either a *was*-clause or a *das*-clause might be shifted to the opposite category. For example, I (b) 4, 32, 36 seem to be more particular than general in their sense; while II (b) 1, 9, 11, 21, 26 might be regarded as more general in meaning than particular.

Another helpful factor in reaching a decision is that a very considerable majority of *was*- and *das*-clauses, outside of the superlative category, occur in those volumes devoted chiefly to philosophical writings (VIII, XIII, XIV), and in which, therefore, we should expect to find a more discriminating use of these relatives. The ratio in these three volumes is: *was* 49, *das* 46; in the first three volumes (II, VI, VII) the ratios are, severally: II, *was* 1, *das* 12; VI, *was* 19,

das 7; VII, *was* 4, *das* 1. Here again the character of the composition and material have their evident effect; for all of Vol. II is occupied with the colloquial style of Schiller's three earlier prose dramas. Vol. VI is half narrative, half history, and the ratio in the historical part is *was* 10, *das* 2; total for the three volumes: 24, 20.

In view of the evidence available, and in view of Schiller's recognized standing and authority as a stylist and a careful thinker, we may confidently conclude that he did observe a qualitative difference between the relatives *das* and *was*. To quote Professor Cutting's apt phrasing, Schiller used *was* in this relation "whenever the vagueness (inherent in the antecedent) is not overborne by the particularizing intention of the author, or whenever the writer's intentional vagueness demands such expression."

The second part of my discussion has to do with what seems to me to be an unfortunate choice, on the part of Dr. Campbell, of material from Schiller upon which to draw for his comparisons. He has chosen the "Geschichte des dreissigjährigen Kriegs," and "Briefe (1782-83)," (1903).

In lack of access to the *Briefe*, I am giving below only those figures obtained from a careful count in the six volumes referred to in the first part of this discussion. Reference to the above ratios in Vol. VII, which contains the "Thirty Years' War," will instantly show how barren of material is this choice for the purpose here in hand, a total of seven *das*- and *was*-clauses.

Following are Dr. Campbell's figures (first column), compared with the total examples in the Bellerman edition of Schiller's prose.

<i>nichts, was</i>	1:35	<i>einiges, was</i>	1:0
" <i>das</i>	1:3	" <i>das</i>	0:2
<i>alles, was</i>	50:248	<i>vieles, was</i>	? : 1
" <i>das</i>	0:1	" <i>das</i>	0:0
<i>etwas, was</i>	0:18	<i>viel, das</i>	0:2
" <i>das</i>	?:27		

To be sure none of these results might change essentially Dr. Campbell's conclusions. They do, however, suggest the importance of a complete survey of each author's writings, in order to determine accurately his total influence in such changes of usage as those discussed by Dr. Campbell.

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ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE SPANISH GRAIL FRAGMENTS

I

My object in this chapter is to record several non-Castilian elements contained in the language of the Grail portions (G) of Ms. 2-G-5 in the Palace Library at Madrid. I include some similar elements contained in the language of *La Demanda del Sancto Grial*, 1535 (D). Both texts, as I have shown in *Modern Philology* 11, 1, go back to a common source (O). As scribes and redactors have continuously endeavored to Castilianize G and D, the non-Castilian elements still found in G and D are not due to them but belong to O. The date which I assign to O is the first quarter of the fourteenth century.

1. Pretonic *e* instead of *i*: G 254¹ *presion*. 255 *feniestra*. 256 *deziendo*. 267 *egal*. 271 *serviente*. 275^v *esquierdo*, etc. Cf. § 13a and b.

The lack of umlaut would suggest that these forms are OLeonese, cf. Hanssen, Gram. hist. § 74.² They are found also in a group of texts that have other Leonese and Portuguese-Galician characteristics in common with our texts. I refer to Alexandre (Janer),

¹ =f. 254 of Ms. 2-G-5. *El Libro de Josep Abarimatia* comprises f. 25[2]-f. 282, *La Estoria de Merlin* f. 282^v-f. 296, *Lançarote* f. 298^v-f. 300^v.

² According to Hanssen, such forms as *presion* abound in Leon and Navarra. Wherever we are dealing with a form that may be western or eastern, I shall put it down as western. For we shall soon observe forms that are western only.

Alfonso XI (Janer),¹ and Ms. h-I-13 of the Escorial.² The cases are: *presion SEnperatriz* 519, 62. *feniestras* Alex. 1103, 1384; Rrey Guillelme 181, 182. *deziendo* Alex. 527 ad, 2193; Rrey Guillelme 245; Alfonso XI 494, 1139. *equal* Alex. 735, 1831 (P 1973 *eguales*); Alfonso XI 10. *servientes* SCatalina 274, 301; Placidas 133, 150; Rrey Guillelme 220, 229; Alfonso XI 1102, 1897. *esquierda* Alfonso XI 1316, 1331.

2. Pretonic *o* instead of *u*: G 290^v *mogieres*.

Pretonic *o* (before palatal) remains in OPortuguese (*molher*), OGalician (*moller*) and OLeonese. Cf. *moyer* FJuzgo 45 VL 10 B.R. 2.³ *moyeres* FJuzgo 4 VL 32 B.R. 2. *mojer* Staaff, Dial. léon. 122 (1262—twice). *mogier* Alex. 386; FJuzgo XIV VL 5 Esc. 3; 196 VL 4 Esc. 3; Staaff 82, 6 (1260). *mogieres* Alex. 822; FJuzgo 4 VL 32 Esc. 3; 201 VL 1 Esc. 3; Josaphat (Lauchert)⁴ 370. *moger* FJuzgo 45 VL 10 B.R. 3;⁵ 55 VL 9 B.R. 3; 196 VL 4 Esc. 3; Elena 210; Josaphat 354 (cf. note); 373; 376; 378; 379. *mogeres* FJuzgo 196 VL 4 Esc. 3; Josaphat 369; 375; 376; 378. *moguer* Elena 260.

3. Atonic *-es* instead of *-as*: G 279 E [si] *queria* (sc. Josafas) *dezar que el padre era perfecto Dios e entrego, pues non podrian nada las personas del fijo nin del spiritu sancto. Sy avyan ames cada uno su deydat, pues seryan tres deydades.* (K⁶ 94 *Et se il voloit dire ke li peres fust entiers diex & parfais, dont n'i prendroit noient la persone du fil & du sains esperit. Et se eles auoient ambedeus cascune sa deite enterine, dont serroient chou trois deites.*) 281^v E *cuydavan que eras mas fidalgo que tu non eras, porque eres fermoso fieramente.* (S⁷ 1, 47, 27 *car tu estoies tant biaus que trop.*)

¹ To these poetical works belongs also *Elena*, cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Rev. fil. esp.* 1, 92.

² The following parts of this Ms. have been printed: SMaria Egipciaca (Knust), SCatalina (Knust), Placidas (Knust), Rrey Guillelme (Knust), Florencia (Rios), SEnperatriz (Mussafia), Carlos Maynes (Bonilla).

All these works were translated from French about the first quarter of the fourteenth century; the Ms. dates from the same century; cf. Baist, *Span. Litt.* 416.

³ Cf. Hanssen, *Conj. leon.* 8: "El testo leonés [del Fuego Juzgo] se ha conservado particularmente en tres manuscritos de la Biblioteca Real (B.R. 1, B.R. 2, B.R. 3)."

⁴ The text is full of decidedly western characteristics; the Ms. is of the fifteenth century.

⁵ See note 3.

⁶ =Kempe, *The Legend of the Holy Grail*, 1905 (EETS). The French Ms. published there is part of Ms. Bibl. Reg. XIV E 3 in the British Museum.

⁷ =Sommer, *The Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances*, 1909–13. 6 v.

The phenomenon is OLeonese, cf. Elena p. 81 § 10. I add FJuzgo 24 VL 30 S.B. *bueltes*; SCatalina 236 *desvariades*¹ *boses*.

In the first example, the translator, bearing in mind *las personas*, probably wrote *ames cada una*. *ames* is partly OCastilian (*am-*) and partly OLeonese (*-es*), the strict OLeonese form being *ambes*. But the use of such a hybrid form is quite natural in the case of a Leonese translator. *ames* was overlooked by a Castilian scribe, who, however, changed *una* to *uno*.

In the second example the translator may have written *yeres* or *eres*.²

4. Cons.+r instead of cons.+l: G 259^v *fabra*. 266^v *proguyese*; 282^v *progo*. 269^v *conpriose* [l. *conpriese*]; 277 *conpropio*; 276^v *conpremiento* (K 88 *satisfasions*). 273 *prata*. 274 *brago*; 276. 290^v *afroxaron*. 294^v *Brage*. 298^v *senbrante*.

OLEonese forms, cf. Staaff 240. Other cases of *fabrar*: Elena p. 81 § 8, etc. Of *prazer*: Alex. 1913; 2029; 2088, etc.; SMaria Eg. 340; Rrey Guillelme 213; Florencia 444, etc. Of *conprar*: Alex. 5; 1462; 1641, etc. . . . Of *afroxar*: Lucas Fernandez 121 . . .

5. r-r instead of r-l: G 267 *arbor*, 268 (twice). 267^v *arbores* (twice), 268 (twice).

OPortuguese-Galician *arvor*. OLeonese: *aruores* Staaff 140, 7 (1246) etc. (cf. Staaff 251); SMaria Eg. 330; Rrey Guillelme 183; JRuiz (S)³ 1291, 1292 (G T *r-l*), etc. Similarly *cacer*, *caceres*; *marmor*, *mármores*.

6. Prosthetic v: G 259^v *vueste*, 281.

OLEonese, cf. ZrP 34, 646.

7. -s (of verbal inflection)+l- (of pers. pron.)>l: G 262 *convenete* . . . *dexar tus ymagines que dizes e que tu crees que son dios e demandales consejo*. D 143a E *quando vistes que no queria yr con vos, tomastesle el galgo, que era todo blanco, y leuastesgelo, e dexistele que lo guardariades* . . .

According to Cornu § 312 the phenomenon is especially frequent

¹ Thus the Ms.; Knust reads *desvariadas*.

² In a Ms. otherwise strictly Castilian, *ames* for *amas* and *eres* for *eras* would be scribal errors. Considering, however, that our Ms. has undoubtedly western characteristics, and further that *ames* and *eres* can be justified as western forms, I have admitted them as such. I shall do likewise in other similar cases.

³ On "leonesismos" of Ms. S. s. Rom. 30, 435.

in OPortuguese, less so in OGalician. For OLeonese, s. Staaff 255 and 259.

8. *arbor* f.: G 267^v *venieron a los que fincaron so el arbor que avya la corteza negra. E comenzaronla a tajar toda enderredor. E despues que esto ovieron hecho, non quedaron aun, ante le quebrantaron las rramas que tenia. E pues la ovieron asi ferida e quebrantada e llagada, salio ende un rrio . . . E levol (sc. el rrey . . . al rrepostero) a los tres arbores por catar por ver de qual guysa eran. E entonce conoscio bien que eran tres e que la mediana que avia fea la corteza [nascia] de la primera. E (de) la tercera nascia de la una e de la otra. E el rrey los cato contra suso e vido que avya en cadauno de los arbores letras de oro e de azul e de bermejo. E dezian las letras asy de la primera: Esta forma. E las otras dezian: Esta salva. E las otras: [Esta] alinpia(n).*

OGalician *aruor* occurs as f. in Martínez Salazar, Doc. gall. 44, 8 (1259) *doutras aruores*; 113, 16 (1348) *húa aruor*; 115, 11 (1354) *das aruores*. Likewise OLeonese *arbol* f., cf. Mod. Lang. Not. 27, 168b. I add Alex. 2323 *las aruoles*; FJuzgo 137a; CMaynes 507a *vna arbol*.

9. *lle, lla*, pron., instead of *le, la*: G 255 *si sabia alguna cosa que lle podiese fazer pro. 255^v nunca vy enfermo a que lla* (sc. la tovaja) *posiese que non fuese guarido.*

OLeonese forms, cf. Staaff 266. To judge from Staaff, the palatal form of the acc. is not so rare as Menéndez Pidal, *Dial. leon.* 49, believes.

10. a) *ela, elos, elas*, art. and demonst. pron., instead of *la, los, las*: G 254 *todas elas gentes. 254^v servir ela yglesya. 256 todas elas¹ otras gentes. 258^v ζ elos paganos. 259^v elos² otros. 262^v ζ ela donzella. 263^v tolere elos onbres . . . todas elas cosas. 275^v complir elas obras. 280 en tal manera que elos que alli estavan . . . 282 todos elos pensamientos. 282^v sañudos fueron elos diablos. 287 ζ ela otra. 288 por ela saña. 290 todas elas³ cosas . . . ζ ela madre. 290^v ζ elas mogieres. 293^v ζ (l. de) elas cosas. 299 çedo averedes (ζ) ela puerta abierta. 299^v ζ elos otros.*

OLeonese, cf. Staaff 262. As Menéndez Pidal, *Gram. hist.*² § 100, 2, observes, this form of the article was lost early in Castile, but still used in Leon in the fourteenth century.

¹ Corrected in Ms. for ζ *las*; cf. Elena p. 81 § 9.

² Ms. *et los*.

³ Ms. ζ *las*.

b) *lla*, art., instead of *la*: G 299^v *De como lievan a lla rreyna a quemar.*

O Portuguese instances of the palatal form are given by Gessner, Das Altleonesische 17. OGalician: Martínez Salazar 105, 15 (1324) *per llas sentenzas*. 17 *sobre llo dito señorío*. 126, 6 (1394) *porlla mja alma*. 11 *todas llas partes*. 127, 2 *porollo amor*. 129, 18 (1415) *sobre llo adeante declarado*. 130, 18 and 23 *todas llas outras herdades*. O Leonese: Menéndez Pidal, Dial. leon. 50.

11. a) Personal infinitive: G 259 *E todos aquellos que contigo fueren non lieven de todo el aver del mundo nada fuera tu si levares la mi escodilla que levaras contigo.*

The phenomenon is rather O Portuguese-Galician than O Leonese, cf. Staaff 288 and *Elena* p. 82 § 12.

b) Unsynecopated future and conditional forms: G 259 *saliredes*. D 22a *salira* (three times), 52b, 57a. G 266 *avere*. 286^v *averas*. 260 *avera*. D 63b. G 266 *averedes*, 271 (three times), 286. 259 *averan*, 278^v, 296. 253 *averia* (3), 267, 285^v. D 99b *auerian*. D 113b *ponere*, etc.

O Leonese forms, cf. Hanssen, Gram. hist. § 261. Cf. for similar future or conditional forms of *salir*: SENperatriz 558, 71. Of *aver*: SENperatriz 509, 39; 513, 22; 519, 84, 85; 537, 49; 548, 4; 551, 30; 556, 22; Rrey Guillelme 186; 188; 189. Of *saber*: SENperatriz 513, 23; 515, 7; Placidas 141; Rrey Guillelme 196. Of *poder*: SENperatriz 513, 10; Placidas 126; Rrey Guillelme 216, etc.¹

c) A future form of the type *habeo cantare*: D 25a *ε̄ me lo as tu mostrari?* (M² 1, 65 *et le nous saveriores tu ensegnier?*)

O Leonese examples in *Alexandre* have been pointed out by Cornu, *Misc. Caix-Canello* 225.

d) *deria* (3) instead of *diria*: G 270 *En como vino la boz del spiritu sancto sobre Josep e su compaña que dixo que escuchasen lo que les deria.*

dere (*deria*) is found in Alex. 130 (*deredes*); FGonçalez 201 (*deria* [3]); 472²; Josaphat 343 (*deriades*). OGalician *deria* is attested by

¹ Quoting from Ms. h-I-13, I should not fail to mention OGalician *fazerás* SENperatriz 550, 31.

² = Merlin, p.p. G. Paris et J. Ulrich, 1886. 2 v. (SATF).

³ These forms like others in FGonçalez are due to a scribe, "natural de la regiōn leonés-portuguesa" (Marden); cf. also Menéndez Pidal, *AnS* 114, 244.

García de Diego, Gram. hist. gall. 138. One OPortuguese instance occurs in Graall¹ 60 (*eu lho deria*²).

12. *oes* instead of *oyes*: D 115b *y en aquella cruz auia letras que dezian*: “*Oyste tu, cauallero, acuerdate, e antes cata de³ otras auenturas, que yo te defiendo que . . .*”

The perfect *oyste* seems illogical in the context; one would expect the present *oyes = oyes ? = oye*, cf. Mod. Phil. 10, 16.

I have no doubt that O read *Oeste tu. œ* (pres. 3) appears in Cant. Maria 2, 288a, 486b, 542a; (imp. sg.) 1, 32b. *oēn* 1, 104a. García de Diego, Gram. hist. gall. 119, remarks: “Audis ant. *oes* . . . mod. *ois* . . . Audit ant. *oe* . . . mod. *oi*.” For OLeonese *oe* (pres. 3 and imp. sg.), *oen*, s. ZrP 35, 171. Concerning the ethical dative *te* (OGalician beside *che*), cf. CMichaelis de Vasconcellos, ZrP 19, 534: “Auf Schritt und Tritt braucht der Galizier [den ethischen Dativ], besonders *che* (für *chi=tibi*) . . .”⁴ Out of *Oeste tu* a Castilian scribe made *Oyste tu*.

13. Perfect forms and derived forms.

a) Lack of umlaut in weak perfects (3 and 6) and derived forms:

G 252 *rrescebio*, 262. 258 *rrescebieron*. 259^v *rrescebiera*. Cf. SCatalina 232. 237. 264. 281. Rrey Guillelme 203. 240. 242.

G 252 *sofriese*. 253 *sofriera*. 262 *sofrio*. Cf. Placidas 133. 149. 153. SEnperatriz 509, 53. 538, 16. 539, 43. 542, 26.

G 252^v *pedio*, 253. Cf. SMaria Eg. 333. SCatalina 309. Rrey Guillelme 204 (*espiedieron*).

G 253^v *moriese*, 255^v, 258^v. Cf. SCatalina 264. 291. Placidas 133. Rrey Guillelme 179.

G 254^v *bevio* (= *vixit*).

G 256 *descobrio*. Cf. Rrey Guillelme 229. SEnperatriz 515, 79. Rrey Guillelme 198 (*encobrió*). 230. SEnperatriz 523, VII, 4.

G 257 *servio*. 259 *servieren*. 260 *servieremos*. 260 *servieron*. Cf. Placidas 139. 144. 145. Rrey Guillelme 197. 237.

¹ = *A Historia dos Cavalleiros da Mesa Redonda e da Demanda do Santo Graall*, veröffentlicht von K. von Reinhardstoettner, 1887.

² Thus the Ms.; the editor reads *diria*.

³ This use of *de* is possibly one of the abuses which Alvarez Gimenez has in mind, cf. Los defectos de lenguaje en Galicia y en la provincia de Leon 64.

⁴ Cf. also 535 n. 1: “Ballesteros wird nicht müde, darauf aufmerksam zu machen, dass der Stock-Galizier diese Redeweise auch ins Kastilische überträgt, wo sie verpönt ist.” “Verpönt” is going somewhat too far, cf. Hanssen, *Gram. hist.* § 499.

G 259^v *convertio*. Cf. Placidas 124. 126.

b) Lack of umlaut in some strong perfects (6) and derived forms:

G 252 *podiese*, 253^v, 255, 258, 261^v. 255 *podierdes*. 262 *podieron*.¹ Cf. Placidas 126. Rrey Guillelme 173. 195. 233.

G 252^v *posieron*, 258^v, 260^v. 255^v *posiese*. Cf. Placidas 152. Rrey Guillelme 206.

G 257 *estodieran*. 258 *estodiera*. 260^v *estodiereron*.

G 260 *andodieron*. Cf. Placidas 142.

G 252 *quesiese*. 254 *quesieron*, 254^v. 255^v *quesierdes*, 257, 258^v, 261^v (and *quesieredes*), 262. 258^v *quesieren*, 259, 260, 260^v. 260 *quesiere*. 260^v *quesieres*. Cf. Placidas 132. 136. Rrey Guillelme 186. 190. 192. 200. 201. 203. 207. 215. 217. 226, etc.

G 252 *veniera*. 259 *vieron*, 262^v. Cf. Placidas 141. 148. 150. 156. Rrey Guillelme 201. 202. 208. 222. 226. 234.

G 253 *feziera*, 253^v, 254, 256^v, 259, 259^v. 253^v *fezieran*. 255^v *fezieron*, 257^v, 258, 259^v, 261. 255^v *feziesen*, 258^v (l. *feziese*). 255^v *feziese*, 257^v, 261^v. Cf. Placidas 123. 134. 135. 138. 144. 145. 150. 151. 152. 155. 156. 157.

Forms cited under a) and b), all taken from the first ten folios of G² and Ms. h-I-13, are OLeonese, cf. Staaff 307.

c) Imperfect and future subjunctives of verbs in -er ending in -ese, -era, -ere: G 280^v *yoguera*, 287, 287^v. 286^v *yogueres*. 287^v *yoguese*. D 25b *pluguere*, 329b (see v. 2, 700a). Cf. Florencia 451 *ploger*.

OLeonese, cf. Hanssen, *Gram. hist.* § 245; Staaff 299.

d) -e (3) of strong perfects instead of o: G 299^v *e desarmol e prise de aquellas armas las mejores*. D 152a *La Tabla Redonda, que se fize por vuestro consejo, e que sera della?*

Cf. Staaff 169, 74 (doc. from Cacabelos, 1294) *sacado el Prior iadito que non uene hy*. SEnperatriz 516, 22 *Mas el diablo . . . nunca le tanto pudo³ fazer que . . . Josaphat 336 Entre estas cosas nascea* (l. *nasce a*) *el fijo muy fermoso, en el nasciemiento del qual el*

¹ G 252^v *podiera ver* is to be read *podie aver*.

² Forms with umlaut on the same folios: 256 *sintio* (but *sentieron* 270, etc. *sentio* SCatalina 264 [twice]. *sentieres* 284, etc.). 262 *sufrio* (but *sofrio* twice on the same folio). 256^v *pudieron*.

³ Thus the Ms.; Mussafia reads *pudo*. But critical as always he asks in a note: "gibt es andere Beispiele, in denen die 3. Sing. der starken Perfecta das dem ursprünglichen i (potuit) näher stehende e aufweisen könnte?"

alegrado mucho pusele nombre Josafat. 355 *Ca ninguno de los omnes non pude acabar en ningund tiempo ninguna destas cosas.*

The phenomenon is OPortuguese-Galician, cf. Staaff 308 and 344, García de Diego, *Gram. hist. gall.* 127.

e) Weak perfects and derived forms instead of strong: G 262^v *aduzieron.* 282^v *dezieran . . . dezieron.* 287^v *dezistes.* 300^v *dezier.*

Cf. LEnxemplos¹ (Gayangos) 462b *endució*, 475a *redució*. Alvarez Gimenez 52 *conducí*, *conduciste*, etc. SMaria Eg. 339 *bendisio*. Alonso Garrote, *El dialecto vulgar leonés hablado en Maragatería y tierra de Astorga* 71 *decistes*, *decieron*, etc.

Castilian examples of *aduzieron* do not seem to appear until late, cf. Cuervo, Apunt. crít.⁵ § 263, and Cirot, Bull. hisp. 13, 89; Castilian examples of *dezieron* are not known to me at all. Consequently I posit the above forms as OLeonese.

Here may belong also G 258^v (Joseph is pleading for Caiaphas) *ca podria ser q el emendaria en su yerro q asy se el defazer q nō qrria dios q moriese.* I propose to read *sel defazere,² non querria Dios . . .*

For *fazi*, s. Josaphat 341 *desfaziose*. Alvarez Gimenez 55 *satisfacimos*, *satisfacísteis*, *satisfacieron*, etc. El tiu Xuan³ 18 *jacieron*; 62 *jaciera*. Nunes, *Dialectos algarvios*, Rev. lus. 7, 47 *fazi*, *fazètes*, *fazèu*, *fazèmos*, *fazèrom*, *fazèsse*, *fazer*.

Of *-ere* for *-iere* I have spoken under c).

For the sequence of tenses in *defazere . . . querria*, s. Gessner, ZrP 14, 64.

Finally for the meaning of *defazere*, s. Dicc. Aut.: "Deshacer un yerro. Phrase que vale emendar o corregir alguna cosa mal dirigida . . . Quev. Romul. Quieren deshacer un yerro, y hacen mil."

14. *se*, conj., instead of *si*: G 256^v *se*, 258^v, 284^v.

OLeonese, cf. *Elena* p. 83 § 16, Hanssen, *Gram. hist.* § 660.

15. Interpolation. Extremely frequent in G, D, and Ms. h-I-13. A few instances from the first five folios of G will suffice: 252^v *aquel*

¹ By "Climente Sanches, arcediano de Valderas en la iglesia de Leon" (*Rom.* 7, 484).

² It is possible that O read *defazer*, *e*. The text has many instances both of apocopated forms of the fut. subj. (1 and 3) and of the *e* of the "nachsatz." It is more probable, however, that the scribe, being unfamiliar with the form *defazere*, separated it into the infinitive and the conjunction.

³ "La acción pasa en un caserío del pueblo de Llenin (Cangas de Onís) el año 1877."

que se non llega . . . e porque la non podiera ver (l. podie aver) . . . ante que les su carne e su sangre diese. 253 quando la el ovo guardada. 253^v sy la non viese . . . quel non diesen. 254^v como lo ende saco. 256 quando lo su padre vyo . . . 256^v se le non mostrasen . . . sy lo aquel non sabe. 257 por tal pleyto que me non enforquedes . . . este que lo tanto servyo . . . si lo non sacase bivo . . . aquellos de que se el mas confiava. 257^v tan grand claridat que le nunca fallescio . . . en guysa que la non oviese onbre del mundo . . . ally do la tu posiste en aquel lugar de donde la yo aqui aduxe.

OLeonese, cf. *Elena* p. 84 § 17.

16. *si-non* instead of *si non*: G 268 *non a y si muerte non*. D 24b *ninguno no podria dezir aquellas palabras si el no* (M 1, 65 *se il non*). (Four lines later: *no podía adeuinar ninguno la muerte de aquellos sino el* [M 1, 65 *fors que il*].) 78a *si Dios no, otre no vos puede guardar de muerte* (M 1, 229 *fors Dieus*). 171b *no lo vimos si cubierto no*. 176a *jamas no tornareys, si por marauilla no*. 301a *no lo puede* (l. *puedo*) *saber si por vos no*. 328a *no lo sentian si eran mal trechos si poco [no]*.

Cf. SMaria Eg. 333 *ella non podia saber su nonbre si por santo spiritu non* (*si par le saint espirit ne l[e] seust*). SCatalina 288 *yo non prise de ninguno comer, nin alguno non melo dio sy aquel non que . . . (se cil non q[ue]i . . .)*. 298 *Tu puedes conocer sy al non, commo el Dios de los christianos, que el poder que ha te confonde . . . (se viaus non)*. Placidas 156 *non ha Dios sy él non*. Rrey Guilleme 199 otro cauallero *non prenderia* (1) *nin casamiento sy el suyo non* (G d'Angleterre 1129 *Ainz se leiroit [sc. la dame] bruller ou tondre, Que ja mes an nule meniere . . . Vueille ami ne seignor avoir Se le suen meïsmes ne ra*). SEnperatriz 557, 55 *Non es verdadero amigo sy Dios non* (G de Coinsi [Méon 2] 110, 3475 *fors Dieu*). 558, 69 *non seria* (1) *yamás mugier nin amiga de ninguno ssy dél non* (G de Coinsi 111, 3502 *Ne serai mès fame n'amie A roi, n'a prince n'a baron . . . s'à lui non*). Josaphat 380 *E agora, o padre, por que ençerreste las tus orejas . . . , sy al non, non me defiendas andar por la carrera derechera*. 383 *fijo, esta sea la postrimera palabra de mi a ti, a la qual sy non obedesçieres man a mano e sy al non en esto el mi coraçon espaciaras, sabe que . . .*

To the OPortuguese instances given by Espinosa, Matzke

Memorial Vol., 80, I add some OGalician from Crón. Troy.:¹ 2, 6
Ca nom ueio a quantos som enna hoste rroçoar (sic) *esto se a uos nom.*
(RTroie [Constans] 16948 *fors que vos.*) 18 et nō podia meter mentes
en al. se en esto nō. 29 et en outra maneyra nō querē tomar outro
camjno. se este nō. 65 *Ca elles de outra cousa non aujan cura se*
desta non. 70 *nem catara por outra cousa se por el non,* etc.

The phenomenon is surely OPortuguese. Whether also OGalician and OLeonese, I dare not say. It is certainly not OCastilian.

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[*To be continued*]

¹ = *Crónica Troyana; códice gallego del siglo XIV*, publicalo A. Martínez Salazar, 1900. 2 v.

FUTURE AND PAST FUTURE

That two of the tenses included in the system of conjugation of a French verb had their origin in the fusion of the present and imperfect of the verb *avoir* with the infinitive is a fact that has obtained recognition today even in the teaching of elementary grammar. The former of these tenses has been classed from the beginning among the tenses of the indicative, while the latter was assigned in the scheme of conjugation, to a mood of its own, the *conditional*. For a long time it has been, however, a recognized fact that this verb-entity has other uses besides the very frequent and distinctive use in hypothetical sentences. Especially prominent is a "temporal" use, in opposition to the "modal" (conditional, etc.). The temporal use of this verb-entity brings out its very close relationship to the future very clearly; consequently, ever since it was recognized as a distinct tense it was, like the future, assigned to the indicative mood. The recognition of its tense-force brought with it the necessity for giving it a name, and the name "past future" has only very recently in the *Report of the Joint Committee on Grammatical Nomenclature* (July, 1913) received what I may call "official sanction" in America. Mr. Armstrong¹ refers to the name "future of the past" (and "imperfect of the future," of which name, with good reason, he disapproves; [*ibid.*]), but the name "past future" is adopted in the recently published treatise on French verbs by Nitze and Wilkins² and there is scarcely a doubt that it is destined to prevail in this country.

The recognition of a specific temporal use of this verbal entity marks a distinct progress in the observation and formulation of the syntax of French moods and tenses; but interesting as it would be, it is beyond the scope of this article to give a history of the introduction into elementary or practical French grammars of the tense-idea of the past future. Some landmarks may, however, be briefly

¹ *Syntax of the French Verb* (1909), p. 43.

² *The French Verb, Its Forms and Uses*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1914.

sketched here. Girault Duvivier seems to make no mention of it in his grammar,¹ and Foth says: "noch Chabaneau in seiner *histoire et théorie de la conjugaison française* erwähnt von einer Bedeutung und Anwendung desselben als eines Futurs der Vergangenheit so gut wie nichts."² No definition of this tense is given by Larousse,³ though some "cautions" relating to this peculiar use of the so-called conditional are given on p. 487. But Ayer says explicitly: "En effet, le conditionnel désigne un avenir au point de vue du passé, comme le futur désigne un avenir au point de vue du présent [de la personne qui parle]."⁴ Lücking⁵ clearly defines this tense, though with the not very satisfactory designation of *Imperfekt des Futurs*, and the same designation had been used by Mätzner.⁶

On the whole, in elementary textbooks, even when no specific statement to that effect is made, the assumption appears to be that the past future is a tense of the indicative. Such, indeed, seems to be the prevailing opinion also of those who have devoted special attention to our verb-entity. Clédat says: "C'est donc à l'origine un temps de l'indicatif, et il a conservé cette valeur dans les propositions complétives qui dépendent d'un verbe principal à un temps du passé."⁷ Many years before him, Foth had written: "Vor allen Dingen muss man festhalten, dass es seiner Bildung sowie seiner ursprünglichen Bedeutung und Anwendung nach ein indikativisches Tempus der Vergangenheit ist und als solches in einer Reihe steht mit allen übrigen Tempora."⁸ Tobler should be quoted, even if he is less explicit in his statement:

"Wie nun aber wenn . . . das Geschehen oder Sein, von welchem aus ein Zweites als bevorstehend hingestellt werden soll, durch Perfektum oder Imperfektum ausgedrückt ist? Naturgemäß wird dann statt des Futurum Praesentis das Futurum Praeteriti, der sogenannte Konditionalis eintreten. In der Tat ist

¹ *Grammaire des Grammairies*, 1840.

² "Die Verschiebung lateinischer Tempora in den romanischen Sprachen," *Romanische Studien*, II, Heft 8 (1876), p. 257.

³ *Grammaire supérieure*, 1901.

⁴ *Grammaire comparée de la langue française* (1900), p. 242.

⁵ *Französische Sprache für den Schulgebrauch* (1889), p. 98.

⁶ *Französische Grammatik* (1885), p. 105.

⁷ *Revue de philologie française et provençale*, XI (1897), 274.

⁸ *Romanische Studien*, II, 257.

nichts häufiger als Beispiele dieser ursprünglichsten aller Verwendungen des Konditionalis. . . .”¹ And, p. 158: “so ist die Tempusform *je partiraïs*, ‘ich hatte aufzubrechen’ zur Modusform ‘*je partiraïs*’ ‘ich bräche auf’ geworden.” Whether it is safe to conclude that by *Tempusform* is meant a tense of the indicative, must be left to individual opinion.

Brunot,² on the contrary, can be quoted as distinctly accepting the indicative origin of this verb-entity. We find, p. 505: “Mais nous avons déjà vu, en parlant des formes du verbe, que la langue avait composé un nouveau temps pour marquer le futur dans le passé, et nous avons indiqué aussi en parlant de l’emploi de ce temps, qu’il avait surtout une valeur modale”; and farther on: “Il s’agirait premièrement d’expliquer comment un temps de l’indicatif a pu usurper la fonction qui appartenait à un temps du subjonctif.”

Ayer, p. 477, goes a step farther than any of the foregoing: “Le conditionnel,” he says, “appartient au mode indicatif, même lorsqu’il dépend d’une condition ou d’une supposition, car dans ce cas il marque également la réalité, soit la réalité supposée.”

The evidence quoted above, while by no means complete, is very fairly representative, and it appears safe to deduce from it that the consensus of opinion: (1) ascribes to the verb-entity composed of infinitive plus imperfect of verb *avoir* a temporal force as quite distinct from its modal force (in hypothetical sentences, etc.); (2) assigns this tense to the indicative mood; (3) considers this temporal use the primitive and original, and the modal the derived use of our verb-entity, though some diverging views on this last point are not lacking. Chief among these should be quoted Diez’s: “Au moyen de la même méthode on créa ensuite avec *habebam* un second temps qui pour le sens répond à peu près à l’imparfait du subjonctif latin.”³

Very pertinent to the discussion of the temporal and modal nature of our verb-entity would be a consideration of the essence and genesis of mood-force in general, though reasons of space and the limitations set by the necessity for unity and congruity in a short

¹ *Vermischte Beiträge zur französischen Grammatik*, II, 140.

² *Précis de grammaire historique de la langue française*.

³ *Grammaire des langues romanes*, II, 109.

study allow only a brief survey of the question here, a more thorough-going consideration being reserved for some future occasion.

There is nothing new in the statement that mood and tense are not distinct and separate phenomena, but merely related phases of one basal whole. The relation between mood and tense was studied by Tobler¹ in an article which, in spite of the time which has elapsed since it was written, still remains of paramount importance. The entire article throws light on our subject, though only a few of the most salient remarks can be quoted here. Tobler says, p. 33:

Im ganzen wird man mit der Ansicht der Wahrheit ziemlich nahe kommen, dass keines von beiden, weder Tempus noch Modus, ursprünglich für sich ausgebildet war, ehe noch vom anderen eine Spur keimte, sondern dass entweder in einer dem Hebräischen² ähnlichen Weise beide in einander lagen und sich allmählich von einander lösten, oder dass zwar eines von beiden vorherrschte, aber schon sehr früh zu Zwecken des andern verwandt, wohl gar formell umgebildet wurde.

And, p. 34:

Die Ansicht, dass die Tempora (doch wohl das Präsens ausgenommen) aus ursprünglichen Modi erwachsen seien, kann sich am ehesten auf das Futurum stützen, welches auch, wo es in relativ einfacher Form vorhanden ist, d.h. nicht überhaupt fehlt oder gar umschrieben wird, als spätere Bildung, aus dem Conjunctiv und Optativ entnommen, zu erkennen giebt. Dass das Futurum von den Zeiten die abstracteste ist, also dem ältesten Bedürfniss und Vermögen am entferntesten lag, wurde oben gemerkt, ebenfalls angedeutet, dass der Begriff des möglichen, wofür Conjunctiv und Optativ gelten, leicht in den des zukünftigen übergehen.

Also, p. 35:

Trotzdem wäre es übereilt, was vom Futurum gilt, diesen modalen Ursprung, aufs Präteritum übertragen zu wollen, dessen uralte Formen nichts von solcher Abhängigkeit verraten. . . . Wohl findet hier das umgekehrte statt, *modale Verwendung des ursprünglichen Tempus*. Schon oben war davon die Rede, wie fern die Vergangenheit an Nichtwirklichkeit und blosse Möglichkeit gränze.

In spite of this undeniable interrelation, however, mood and tense are on the whole, to the modern Romance mind, pretty clearly differentiated; moreover, this differentiation seems to be one of the characteristics of the Indo-European languages. Even in Semitic

¹ "Übergang zwischen Tempus und Modus," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, II (1862).

² Cf. quotation given farther on, p. 79.

languages¹ and more specifically in Hebrew, there still persists a very primitive lack of differentiation: Hebrew possesses only two verb-entities, which go respectively by the name of "first mood" or "perfect," and "second mood" or "imperfect":

Es sind also beides Haupttempora, aber weil ihnen zur genaueren Modifikation des Temporalen Neben-Tempora fehlen, schlagen sie, grade wegen dieser angeborenen Spröde zu blossen Rudimenta von Modi herab, denn wahre Modi (wie der daneben bestehende Imperativ und Infinitiv) können sie auch nicht wieder sein, weil diese deutlich ausgeprägte Tempora neben sich verlangen, um ganz rein ihrer Bestimmung zu dienen.

What then is this essential nature of mood as distinct from tense, this *Bestimmung*, this "function" which they are intended to perform? It is interesting to note the variety of the answers we get to this query. "Mood is the expression, through the form of the Verb, of certain *attitudes of mind* toward an act or state."² Since there is no limit to the possible "attitudes of mind," this definition allows theoretically of an unlimited number of moods, though the "attitudes of mind" specified are but four: attitude of commanding; attitude of wishing; attitude of fearing; attitude of recognizing a fact. However, the remark is added: "But many attitudes of mind can be expressed only by special words combined with an Infinitive, e.g., the attitude of hesitation, as in *dubito adesse*, I hesitate to be present." According to this definition, then, mood would be entirely subjective, depending altogether on the attitude of mind of the speaker and not at all on any inherent quality of the act or state expressed by the verb; there would also be no limit to the possible number of moods.

Very different is the opinion expressed by Brinkman:

Es liegt in der Natur der Sache, dass es nur drei Modusformen giebt, da eine Handlung nur unter den drei Gesichtspunkten der Wirklichkeit, der Möglichkeit, der Notwendigkeit gedacht werden kann: den Indikativ, Conjunktiv und Imperativ. Das Griechische kennt zwar ausserdem einen Optativ, das ist aber nur eine besondere Art des Konjunktivs. Der Indikativ ist der Modus der Wirklichkeit, d.h. der Ausdruck für dasjenige, was der Redende als wirklich, als eine Thatsache auffasst. Der Konjunktiv ist der Modus der Vorstellung, d.h. der Ausdruck für dasjenige, was der

¹ See Tobler, *Übergang zwischen Tempus und Modus*, p. 31.

² Hale and Buck, *A Latin Grammar*, p. 239.

Redende nur als möglich, als eine blosse Vorstellung auffasst. Der Imperativ ist der Modus der Nothwendigkeit, d.h. der Ausdruck für dasjenige, was der Redende für notwendig hält, und als seinen Willen, seinen Befehl einer anderen Person ausspricht. Es liegt hierin schon ausgesprochen, verdient aber noch hervorgehoben zu werden, dass die Modusformen einen *durchaus subjektiven* Charakter haben. Sie drücken daher nie etwas Objektives aus, d.h. sie zeigen niemals an wie eine Thätigkeitsäusserung in der Wirklichkeit beschaffen sei. . . .¹

According to Brinkman mood would be entirely subjective, but the number of moods limited.

Gille says, or rather quotes from Steinthal:²

Die Sprache ist die Erscheinung des Gedankens. Durch die Modi hat der Redende die Mittel in der Hand, die Beschaffenheit dieses Gedankens zu kennzeichnen. Um die Uebereinstimmung dieses Gedankens mit der Welt des ausser ihm bestehenden zu betonen, benutzt der Redende den Indikativ. Will er aber betonen, dass sein Gedanke wesentlich nur Gedanke ist, gleichviel ob er reales Fundament hat oder nicht, so gebraucht er den Konjunktiv. Darum steht dieser Modus hauptsächlich zum Ausdruck des Wunsches und der Ungewissheit, nach welchen Kategorien wir ihn behandeln.³

According to this definition the essence of mood would be the discrimination between *reality* and *thought*, and theoretically only two moods would exist.

Mr. Brunot in his discussion of mood says:

Des Modes. Ce sont les modifications subies suivant les rapports de la chose énoncée avec les vues de l'esprit ou les affections de l'âme de celui qui parle.⁴

And, p. 436:

Suivant les uns, et c'est là la vieille doctrine de l'orient, nous concevons tout comme réel ou comme possible. Suivant les autres, nous voyons les choses par intuition, par réflexion, ou comme des objets de notre activité. De là, dit-on, trois modes: l'indicatif, le subjonctif, l'impératif.

But, Mr. Brunot continues, the development and present complexity of French moods is such, "que la théorie s'en trouve démentie à chaque instant," and he consequently prefers to consider moods and their uses in the old traditional order.

¹ *Syntax des Französischen und Englischen* (1885), p. 782.

² Gill, "Der Konjunktiv im Französischen," *Herrig's Archiv*, LXXXII (1889), 426.

³ *Grammatik, Logik und Psychologie*, p. 385.

⁴ *Précis de grammaire historique de la langue française*, p. 384.

Even the traditional order is far, however, from eliminating complexity and contradiction; though its practical insufficiency is undoubtedly far more obvious to those who concern themselves with the teaching of French to foreigners, than to anyone who is studying French moods and tenses with native students, since the latter can rely on their *Sprachgefühl* for a practical knowledge of moods which will lead them safely around many a slough in which the foreigner flounders. It is not surprising, therefore, that attempts are not lacking to replace the traditional presentation of moods by something clearer and better.

Prominent among such attempts is the article by This¹ whose interesting conclusions are summarized here. If I have understood him, he tacitly assumes that mood is subjective and depends on some quality of the thought of the speaker, e.g. (p. 236), hearing a noise in the next room, we say: "Es ist jemand im Nebenzimmer wenn auch dieser Redeinhalt der Wirklichkeit nicht entspricht: wir stellen das gesagte als wahrgenommen hin, es ist als *wahrgenommen* gedacht ausgesprochen." Some exception could be taken to this example, for it appears to be a case of "substitution of mood" rather than a normal use of the indicative. A careful speaker would rather say under those circumstances: "Es muss jemand im Nebenzimmer sein," "There must be someone in the next room," "Il doit y avoir quelqu'un dans la chambre à côté," and less frequently in French, perhaps, than in Italian "il y aura"; "Ci sarà, ci deve essere, gente nella stanza accanto." But, p. 237, if we see heavy clouds we say: "Es wird regnen." "Wir sagen nicht 'es regnet' weil das Geschehen nicht wahrgenommen ist. Das 'Regnen-werden' ist gefolger, ist potential: die Aussage 'Es wird regnen' ist durch die Wahrnehmung des bewölkten Himmels u.s.w. bedingt." And, p. 238: "mit allen futurischen Sätzen wird demnach ein Geschehen als (durch ein oder mehrere als wahrgenommen gedachte Geschehen) bedingt gedacht hingestellt." It is undoubtedly true that all futurity implies an element of "condition," but this "condition" does not always so much depend on "wahrgenommen gedachtes Geschehen" as on unforeseen and unforeseeable contingencies. This is very obviously the case in examples like: "Tomorrow the sun will set at six-fifteen,"

¹ Zur Lehre der Tempora und Modi im Französischen. Gröber Festschrift.

in which the realization of the statement is confidently expected unless meanwhile the world comes to an end, which cannot be considered "ein wahrgenommen gedachtes Geschehen." The difference between mere futurity and conditioned statement comes out very clearly by the comparison of two sentences like: "If I earn enough, I shall pay you what I owe you," and "I have the money in the bank, and tomorrow I shall pay you what I owe you."

On p. 239 This says that verb-forms like *vienne, soit, parle* "drücken demnach einen Redeinhalt aus der *nicht* als wahrgenommen, nicht als bedingt gesetzt wird, also Gegensatz zu dem als wahrgenommen oder bedingt gedachten sein oder Geschehen. . . . Bei solcher Bezeichnung der Thätigkeit wird also ein Satzhinhalt als nur *vorgestellt* ausgesprochen."

For the present time-sphere This recognizes, therefore, four possible moods that denote the action or state expressed by the verb as (1) *wahrgenommen*—"il écrit"; (2) *bedingt*—"il écrira"; (3) *nur vorgestellt*—"je désire, il est temps, il est possible) qu'il écrive": (4) *als befohlen*—"écris."

For the past time-sphere there is no imperative; but (p. 249) This finds it necessary to create another mood, to which he has given no place in his mood-scheme: "Die Thätigkeitformen, vermittelst deren ein Sein oder Geschehen für die Zeitstufe der Vergangenheit als vollgeführt bezeichnet wird, wollen wir Modus narrativus, kurzweg Narrativ bezeichnen."

Another article that claims consideration is Sechehaye's "L'imparfait du subjonctif et ses concurrents dans les hypothétiques normales en français."¹ The strict limitation of his subject excludes a complete discussion or even a categorical definition of mood, which appears, however, to be promised for some future time. The gleanings on this subject are nevertheless of interest, especially the following statement, p. 324: "Pour la désignation des modes nous avons fait une innovation importante en créant le terme *fictionnel* pour désigner à la fois les modes logiques potentiel et irréel." Farther on we find the expression, "mode logique *réel* ou *objectif*," and it may not be too risky to conclude that the "mode *fictionnel*" is considered *subjective*.

¹ *Romanische Forschungen*, XIX (1906).

If from the foregoing survey we try to sum up the trend of thought, "the attitude of mind," of present-day scholarship with regard to *mood*, I think that we can safely say that the "subjectivity" of mood is pretty generally accepted; also, that all seem to be agreed on the existence of one mood, the indicative, denoting that which the speaker wishes to convey as a "reality," as something that is perceived, *wahrgenommen* (This), *réel ou objectif* (Sechephaye), etc.

Over against this one generally accepted mood-force are placed other mood-forces on whose definition and scope views vary considerably; as extremes one might compare the unlimited "attitudes of mind" (Hale-Buck), and the strictly limited three moods (Brinkman), two moods (Gille). But one more mood-force is either tacitly admitted or explicitly defined by almost all: the mood of *pure thought*: *Vorstellung* (Brinkman, This); *wesentlich nur Gedanke* (Gille); "something conceived in the mind of the speaker" (Armstrong); *fictionnel* (Sechephaye), etc. But a closer analysis shows that even Brinkman's third mood-force "the imperative," is after all only *Vorstellung*, and the same remark also applies to This's *Konditional* and *Imperatif*, etc. Restricting ourselves, for a minute, to French, it is safe to say that on the whole, with some restrictions and divergencies, the opinion prevails that the principal, if not the only, function of mood is to discriminate between *fact* and *thought*, between *perception* (*Wahrnehmung*) and *conception* (*Vorstellung*).

But if Tobler's suggestion with regard to future tense-force, i.e., that its "abstractness" militates against the primitiveness of its origin (cf. quotation given above, *ibid.*, p. 33), can be accepted as valid even with regard to mood-force (and it is right in line with the generally accepted philological "postulate" that the formation of language is a process of "evolution"), then there is the strongest possible presumption that this modern principal function of mood in French was not the original one; for the original function of mood must, in all likelihood, have had a more practical nature.

The historical evidence, without which all theory is idle, seems to be all in favor of this assumption, since expressions of wish, will, and commanding, the first to be differentiated by special moods¹ from other statements,¹ were practical necessities of common occurrence.

¹ Cf. Brugmann, *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, p. 578; and Hale-Buck, *A Latin Grammar*, p. 29.

Since expressions of will and wish bred true to type throughout the ages, and are even in Romance languages the least subject to fluctuation of mood, the question of the existence of an older, primitive mood-force, and of its possible survival in modern French, is of some importance for the teaching of moods; but it cannot be discussed here. It is enough to hold fast to the generally accepted fact, that "statement of thought" is an essential function of the subjunctive, while "statement of fact" is, on the whole, the characteristic function of the indicative, and to remember that future and past-future express "thought" (conception), not "fact" (perception), and are thus non-indicative by their nature, a view which is borne out by the very origin of Latin futures.

Lindsay says:

For verbs of the third and fourth Conjugations in Latin the I Sg. of the A-Subjunctive (see par. 55) is used for the I Sg. Future. . . . For the other Persons of the Future the E-subjunctive forms (see par. 55) are used. . . .¹

And, p. 492:

This *-bo* of the future tense . . . is clearly some part of the verb *bheu* (Lat. *fui*, etc.) of which we have seen *-bam* of the Imperfect tense to be a preterite. The future of Latin *sum, ero*, is a Subjunctive form, **es-o* with Future meaning: a meaning which seems to have attached itself to the I-Eur. Subjunctive (see par. 55).²

Logically, "futurity" did not change its nature when the old Latin futures were superseded in the Romance languages by the new formations which now go by the name of future and past future (or conditional). Now, if the "constructive," the "logical" indicative always expresses a fact, a reality, a *Wahrnehmung*, since futurity never expresses any of these things, there never was a reason to assign a future or past future tense to the indicative mood; indeed, since these two tenses strictly express a "concept" (not a percept), a logically indicative future and past future are nonsensical—an absurdity: their assumption would be justifiable only for formal or historical reasons, that is to say, if by chance, futurity, in spite of its "ideality," had originally been expressed, as certain conditions are, by a "formally" indicative tense. But this is not the case even with the new

¹ *The Latin Language*, chap. viii, p. 492.

² Cf. also Brugmann, *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, pars. 747, 754, 763, etc.; Tobler, *Übergang zwischen Tempus und Modus*, p. 34.

Romance formations. Diez came very near the truth in considering the past future, "à peu près," an imperfect subjunctive,¹ and even those writers who explicitly state that it is a tense of the indicative take more or less cognizance of the fact that the infinitive plus the verb *avoir* implied from the first a notion of obligation, necessity. My contention is that even if the origin of the past future had been purely temporal, expressing mere futurity, it still would not have been an indicative tense; but I have serious doubts whether originally these expressions regularly expressed "futurity"; in other words, whether even as futures to both present and past, they have not suffered a shift in temporal value.

There is no reason for us to believe that originally these new formations differed in meaning from similar expressions in which even today the verb "to have" is used with the force of a modal auxiliary. Taking a modern Italian example, when Malatestino² answers Francesca's inquiry: "Senti dolore?" by saying "Sassate di saccardi ghibellini non *hanno da dolere*," the implication is not, "they shall not hurt" (in future time), but "they must not hurt," even at the moment of speaking, and, therefore, he feels no pain.

Just so in English we can say: "I have to lie in bed," "I have to stay at home," when the speaker is actually lying in bed, or staying in the house.

Nor has the future quite lost this original modal and temporal force: it still retains it in certain imperative expressions: "Dieu en vain ne jureras" implies obligation at the moment of speaking as well as for future time. Such also is the temporal value of the future in expressions of probability or supposition: "La nef appartient au XII^e siècle, mais le chœur sera du XV^e,"³ which in Italian could be rendered "sarà," but also "ha da essere del quattrocento." This should also be the temporal value of the future in what Robert calls "une nécessité logique":⁴ "Si deux plans sont parallèles, toute droite perpendiculaire à l'une sera perpendiculaire à l'autre"—"has to be," not "to become."

¹ Cf. reference given, p. 77, and previous exposition.

² D'Annunzio, *Francesca da Rimini*, Act II, scene v.

³ Fraser and Squair, p. 185.

⁴ *Questions de grammaire*, p. 178.

On the whole, however, it is safe to say that both verb-entities have specialized the function of expressing futurity with regard to a standpoint in present or past time, and this temporal force must have been original with all perfective verbs (e.g., "he had to come," *aveva da venire*) in which the *Aktionsart* implied futurity by its very nature.

But the modal uses of the past future (and it appears to have more than are generally recognized in French grammars, but I hope to come back to this point at some later time) should all be considered as derived from its original modal rather than from the secondary temporal force.

The indicative has no claim to the past future even as a tense. Dr. This, in the article already quoted, had excellent reasons for separating the future and past future tenses from the other tenses of the indicative, though the name he chose for the new tense, *Konditional*, is not felicitous. Lücking (and others) took a step in the right direction when he divided indicative tenses into "real" and "ideal," though "ideal" and "indicative" are really mutually exclusive terms, and an "ideal indicative tense" is a logical absurdity.

There is no logical reason why these tenses should not be assigned to the subjunctive mood in French: but if the tradition of centuries makes it too hard to disconnect entirely the future from the indicative mood, would it not be possible at least to compromise by considering future and past future as a distinct mood, a kind of a "link-mood" between indicative and subjunctive, and so to define them, even in elementary teaching?

The gain in clarity and precision in the statement of the rules for the use of the different moods would certainly make it worth while.

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THÉOPHILE GAUTIER: *LE PAVILLON SUR L'EAU* SOURCES ET TRAITEMENT

. . . mais ce qui serait bien plus plaisant, ce serait de voir tous nos bons contes modernes pillés de la plus haute antiquité orientale.—Voltaire.

En septembre 1846, le *Musée des Familles* publiait une nouvelle de Th. Gautier: le *Pavillon sur l'eau*, laquelle était qualifiée de *nouvelle chinoise*. Ce n'était pas la première œuvre que l'auteur donnait à ce recueil. Dans le cours de 1840, il en avait paru deux autres: le *Chevalier double*, en juillet, et le *Pied de momie*, en septembre. Cette collaboration d'un écrivain qui tenait une place éminente dans l'école romantique dut être l'effet des mesures prises par la nouvelle administration pour élargir le champ des services rendus par ce périodique à la dissémination des connaissances.

J'ai sous les yeux l'année 1839-40 (octobre-septembre). La table méthodique des matières contient des articles répartis sous les rubriques suivantes: poésie, études, voyages, mœurs, littérature étrangère, histoires naïves, contemporains et magazine. Les études étaient de toutes sortes: historiques, morales, religieuses, chrétiennes, biographiques, rétrospectives, artistiques, héracliques, astronomiques, maritimes et militaires, archéologiques et aussi d'histoire naturelle. Parmi les rédacteurs, je lis les noms de Marceline Valmore, de Granier de Cassagnac, du Bibliophile Jacob et de Samuel Henry Berthoud, qui, appelé à la direction du *Musée* en 1834, l'avait quittée pour celle du *Mercure*, l'année suivante, mais n'en était pas moins resté le rédacteur en chef puisque les nouveaux propriétaires annoncent son maintien en date du 1^{er} juin 1840. La section de poésie était particulièrement favorisée: on y trouvait (N° de mai) des vers de Casimir Delavigne intitulés les *Deux soleils* qui précèdent la dédicace à l'Espagne de sa tragédie la *Fille du Cid* (représentée le 15 décembre 1839) et un poème extrait des *Ombres et Rayons*, le volume que Hugo venait de donner au public: *Que la musique date du XVI^e siècle*. Il faut avouer que le choix de cette dernière pièce honore la rédaction, car c'est une des plus belles d'un recueil qui

abonde en belles choses et l'une de celles que la postérité a distinguées dans tout l'œuvre du maître. Cet aperçu donne une idée de la valeur d'une publication qui semble avoir joué dans la littérature de l'époque un rôle assez marqué.¹

En effet, ce qui frappe dès l'abord dans la collaboration de Th. Gautier, c'est la nature de ses écrits. Le *Chevalier double* et le *Pied de momie* sont réunis sous le titre de *Contes étrangers* et, dans la table, viennent immédiatement après la littérature étrangère. En cette année 1839-40, il n'est pas sans intérêt de savoir quelles étaient les œuvres étrangères et exotiques que le *Musée des Familles* faisait connaître au public français par l'intermédiaire de la traduction. C'était les *Pièces d'or prêtées* de Henri Zschokke; l'*Ile magique* prise du *New Monthly Magazine*; le *Crime puni par le ciel* traduit de Bidpai; l'*Exilé*, improvisation de Giuseppe Regaldi (texte italien et traduction) et enfin le *Mort fiancé* emprunté au *Sketch Book* de Washington Irving. L'Allemagne, l'Angleterre, l'Italie et l'Amérique représentent le monde occidental et Bidpai, le monde oriental. Mais, d'une part, il est piquant de remarquer que le conte de Washington Irving est traduit par Ernest Feydeau, l'auteur de *Fanny*, et qu'il est donné comme représentant la littérature anglaise; et d'autre part, il est à noter que le récit de Bidpai, indiqué comme traduit de l'indien, fait partie de la collection des *Contes chinois* publiée en 1827 par Abel Rémusat, contes dont j'aurai amplement l'occasion de parler à propos du *Pavillon sur l'eau*.

Par les tableaux de mœurs (Gascogne et Irlande), les récits de voyages (Spitzberg et Amérique), et les traductions que renferme cette seule année du *Musée des Familles*, on peut se convaincre que cette publication contribuait pour sa part à répandre le goût des choses et des littératures étrangères, tout en ne négligeant pas l'archéologie (Bibliophile Jacob et S. H. Berthoud). Tout cela, bien entendu, était envisagé du point de vue littéraire; c'était de la vulgarisation à l'usage des gens du monde, comme on disait alors, et l'on ne se faisait pas faute d'avoir recours à l'imagination en l'absence

¹ Le *Musée des Familles*, recueil littéraire et illustré, fondé en 1833. Le premier article signé J. Janin est intitulé *les Magazines anglais*. La publication nouvelle était donc créée sur le patron des recueils mensuels qui existent de longue date en Angleterre. Elle se proposait de devenir l'*Encyclopédie* des gens du monde, de la jeunesse et des femmes, de développer un plan complet d'éducation contemporaine, de donner une instruction universelle sous une forme récréative.

des faits. Rien d'étonnant à ce que l'on se soit assuré le concours d'un esprit curieux, comme celui de Th. Gautier, qui savait comprendre, interpréter, au besoin deviner, son intuition étant, comme on sait, vraiment remarquable. Les traductions présentaient l'étranger tel qu'il était, ou à peu près, au public français; mais malgré le talent des traducteurs, et les déguisements qu'ils ne se faisaient pas faute d'imposer aux originaux, cette matière étrangère semblait toujours un peu crue ou préparée de telle sorte qu'elle était d'une digestion difficile. Le besoin s'imposait de la rendre appétissante et l'on pensa naturellement à l'artiste, à "l'homme de style," au seul romantique, avec Hugo, qui sut la langue à fond et dont le goût large pouvait rendre heureusement l'art des autres peuples.

Les deux contes, le *Chevalier double* et le *Pied de momie*, qui ne parurent que dans la seconde partie de l'année, étaient déjà écrits, sinon sous leur forme définitive, avant le 10 janvier 1840, comme la lettre suivante en fait foi. Elle est adressée par Th. Gautier à cet Henry Berthoud resté à la tête de la rédaction du *Musée des Familles*.

MON TRÈS CHER,

J'ai trouvé un autre sujet pour une troisième nouvelle. La chose s'appellera *Yeu-Tseu*, ou la *Fille de Hang*, si vous le préférez; c'est un conte chinois.

Si vous voulez avoir quelque chose de très ficelé, ayez la galanterie de me donner les cent livres demain et d'attendre ma copie jusqu'à mercredi ou jeudi de la semaine prochaine; j'ai à lire plusieurs volumes pour me barbouiller de couleur locale, et j'ai besoin de fourrer mon nez dans beaucoup de pots de Japon et autres.

Vous savez que je ne suis pas un blagueur littéraire; vous me rendriez un service qui ne vous dérangerait pas beaucoup et qui me servirait fort. Si par hasard vous aviez le livre de l'*Univers pittoresque* où il est question de la Chine, vous me feriez plaisir de me le prêter.

Envoyez les placards du *Pied de momie* et d'*Oluf le danois*, je les travaillerai jusqu'à perfection entière.

Je vous remercie d'avance.

THÉOPHILE GAUTIER

Ce 10 janvier 1840¹

Les deux contes étaient-ils déjà tels que nous les avous, ou furent-ils travaillés? Je ne puis le dire. Les termes de la lettre font supposer que le destinataire n'était pas satisfait de leur

¹ *Histoire des Œuvres de Th. Gautier*, par le V^e de Spoelberch de Lovenjoul, t. I, p. 338.

état. Toujours est-il qu'il ne se pressa pas de les faire paraître, puisque le second, sous le titre du *Chevalier double*, ne devait être publié que dans le N° de juillet et le premier dans celui de septembre. Quant au conte chinois, il ne parut qu'en septembre 1846, soit six ans plus tard, et le titre devait en être: le *Pavillon sur l'eau*. Rien ne prouve d'ailleurs que ce fût le sujet que l'auteur avait en tête quand il parle de *Yeu-Tseu*¹ ou la *Fille de Hang*.

Mais la collaboration de Th. Gautier au *Musée des Familles* ne devait pas cesser pendant cet intervalle. Dans le cours de l'année 1841, il y fait paraître trois pièces de vers: *Saint-Christophe d'Ecija* (avril), *Notre-Dame de Tolède* (juin) et *Sur un album* (octobre), toutes trois reproduites dans les *Poésies complètes*, les deux premières dans la collection intitulée *España 1845*. Avec ces poésies, paraît en juillet un morceau de prose: *Deux acteurs pour un rôle*, conte fantastique dont la scène se passe à Vienne. En 1842, il donne pour les études littéraires un article sur *Eugène Sue*, lequel était en grande partie une réimpression, et aussi la *Mille et deuxième nuit*. En 1843, il revient à l'Espagne avec la description d'une course de taureau: la *Tauromachie* (août). En mai 1844, c'est le *Berger*, petite histoire romanesque avec une fin édifiante où l'on voit un jeune pâtre devenir, non pas roi, mais grand peintre et épouser, non une princesse, mais une grande dame veuve. Au mois de juillet de la même année, paraît un article sur l'*Exposition de l'Industrie*. En juin 1845, un seul morceau: l'*Oreiller d'une jeune fille*, autre histoire morale où l'auteur de *Mlle de Maupin* semblait avoir pris la place de Marceline Valmore pour la rubrique: histoires naïves. Enfin, en septembre 1846, paraît le *Pavillon sur l'eau*, nouvelle chinoise.²

Nous avons vu que dès le début de l'année 1840, Th. Gautier songeait à tirer une inspiration de la littérature chinoise. Cette littérature avait précédemment attiré son attention. En effet, en 1833, à l'âge de vingt-deux ans, il publiait dans le *Sélam, morceaux choisis, inédits, de littérature contemporaine*, une nouvelle ayant pour

¹ Dans *Fortunio*, qui parut dans le *Figaro* en 1837 sous le titre: *l'Eldorado*, il est parlé des pantoufles d'une princesse chinoise qui s'appelle *Yeu-Tseu*: "Une charmante fille! dit le héros. Elle avait un anneau d'argent dans le nez et le front couvert de plaques d'or . . . Je lui disais qu'elle avait la peau comme du jade et les yeux comme des feuilles de saule" (cf. section 43). A cette époque, l'auteur ne s'était pas encore suffisamment "barbouillé de couleur locale" (*Nouvelles*, pp. 29, 30).

² *Romans et Contes*, pp. 353-69.

titre *Laquelle des deux? histoire perplexe*, dans laquelle il mentionnait le roman des *Deux cousins*, dont Abel Rémusat avait donné une traduction en 1826. Bien que la situation qui fait le sujet de *Laquelle des deux?* se retrouve dans le roman chinois, il ne faudrait pas conclure que celui-ci a nécessairement inspiré celle-là. Le sentiment qui pousse un homme à aimer deux femmes à la fois, n'est pas exclusivement chinois et ce qui fait l'intérêt de la nouvelle manque tout à fait dans le roman. Nos mœurs et lois n'autorisent l'union légitime qu'avec une seule femme, de sorte que le jeune Européen qui en aime deux à la fois, une blonde et une brune, d'un amour parfaitement égal, et qui est également aimé de chacune d'elles, soutient une lutte contre cette double passion. Laquelle des deux épousera-t-il puisqu'il est obligé de faire un choix? N'ayant pu décider laquelle l'emportait dans son cœur, il prend le seul parti que puisse prendre un homme honorable né sous nos climats, celui de n'épouser ni l'une ni l'autre. La polygamie étant permise en Chine, le héros, aimé de deux jeunes femmes charmantes, n'est en proie à aucune perplexité, d'autant plus que l'une des cousins s'offre de prendre la seconde place et qu'il n'existe aucune jalousie entre ces deux parentes qui s'aiment comme deux sœurs et qui sont heureuses d'être encore plus rapprochées l'une de l'autre par ce mariage. D'autre part, s'il faut en croire le V^{te} de Spoelberch de Lovenjoul (*Hist. des Œuv. de Th. G.*, I, 55), ce serait une gravure anglaise accompagnant la nouvelle, qui aurait inspiré le sujet. Et n'était-ce pas aussi dans l'essence du romantisme de traiter de préférence les situations anormales et scabreuses? Th. Gautier était assez païen et même turc, de son propre aveu, pour être en mesure d'écrire *Mlle de Maupin, double amour*, comme le porte la feuille de titre dans les deux éditions in-8°. Il y a eu rencontre, coïncidence, et c'est ce que paraît bien dire l'auteur dans le paragraphe qui commence: "En ce temps-là, il me tomba entre les mains un certain roman chinois, etc." Il y a aussi une différence qui a son importance. C'est que les deux héroïnes de *Laquelle des deux?* sont sœurs et jumelles, mais qu'elles n'avaient en commun qu'une seule chose, c'est qu'on ne pouvait les connaître sans les aimer, car c'était bien les deux plus charmantes et, en même temps, les deux plus dissemblables créatures qui se soient jamais rencontrées ensemble. S'il faut que la nouvelle de Th. Gautier ait une source

autre que la gravure anglaise dont il a été parlé et que cette source soit chinoise, je la trouverais dans le conte des *Deux jumelles* qui fait partie des *Contes chinois* mentionnés plus haut.

Une preuve plus convaincante de l'influence de la littérature chinoise, ou pour mieux dire, de la préoccupation des choses chinoises dans l'œuvre de Th. Gautier, c'est le poésie intitulée *Chinoiserie* qui parut dans le recueil des *Poésies diverses* (1833-38). Elle est composée de quatre quatrains et dans sa brièveté ne contient que deux allusions qui révèlent une connaissance moins que superficielle des œuvres littéraires chinoises. Ces allusions sont contenues dans les deux vers qui la terminent:

Et chaque soir, aussi bien qu'un poète,
Chante le saule et la fleur du pêcher.

C'est d'une belle jeune femme qu'il s'agit et l'on verra plus loin, à propos du *Pavillon sur l'eau*, que les œuvres littéraires chinoises offrent des exemples de charmantes jeunes femmes qui sont poètes et qu'elles louent dans leurs vers la beauté de ces arbres, de leur feuillage et de leurs fleurs.

A propos de cette pièce, le V^{te} de Spoelberch de Lovenjoul en cite une autre, malheureusement restée inachevée et sans date. Dans ses deux quatrains, elle aussi contient un vers où l'influence est plus manifeste:

Un saule inconsolable aux longs cheveux de soie.

Jusqu'alors, tout cela est bien mince. Il faut arriver au *Pavillon sur l'eau* pour trouver une preuve irrécusable d'imitation, une tentative d'acclimatation d'une œuvre chinoise.

La "nouvelle perplexe" *Laquelle des deux*, nous renseigne sur ce fait que Th. Gautier avait lu le roman des *Deux cousins* (en chinois: *Iu-Kiao-Li*).¹ Dans sa lettre à Henry Berthoud, il demande le volume de l'*Univers pittoresque* qui concerne la Chine. Cette publication prétendait donner l'histoire et la description de tous les peuples, et il avait paru un volume sur la Chine en 1837. C'est évidemment de celui-ci qu'il s'agit. Que le rédacteur en chef du *Musée des Familles* se soit rendu ou non à la demande du nouveau collaborateur, c'est ce qu'il importe peu de savoir, car je n'a

¹ Composé au XV^{ème} siècle.

trouvé dans ce volume que bien peu qui ait pu être utile à Th. Gautier et ce peu figure aussi dans les deux ouvrages dont Gautier s'est indubitablement servi, savoir: *Iu-Kiao-Li* et les *Contes chinois* publiés par Abel Rémusat, lesquels contes Th. Gautier ne mentionne nulle part, non plus que l'historien de ses œuvres, le V^e de Spoelberch de Lovenjoul.

Des dix contes que ce recueil renferme, celui que Th. Gautier a transposé en français est intitulé: *l'Ombre dans l'eau*¹ et seulement en partie. Il a pris des détails à d'autres, surtout à celui des *Trois étages consacrés* ainsi qu'au roman des *Deux cousins*. Voilà les trois sources principales du *Pavillon sur l'eau*.

Afin qu'on puisse apprécier l'étendue de l'emprunt que Th. Gautier a fait à ce conte, je vais en donner un résumé:

L'OMBRE DANS L'EAU

Deux fonctionnaires retirés, les Chinois Tou et Kouan, vivaient ensemble chez leur commun beau-père parce que celui-ci n'avait pas eu de fils. Si l'esprit et les connaissances étaient à peu près les mêmes chez eux, leurs caractères étaient très différents. Kouan était grave et sévère; Tou, enjoué et aimant le plaisir. Les deux sœurs avaient eu les mêmes goûts, mais la vie conjugale les fit peu à peu ressembler chacune à leurs maris. Ces deux hommes unis par l'amitié, et ces deux femmes par le sang, finirent donc par ne plus s'entendre; néanmoins ils continuèrent à vivre quelque temps ensemble. Mais après la mort de leurs beaux-parents, les deux ménages divisèrent la maison en deux parties par un mur assez haut pour qu'on ne pût voir de l'un chez l'autre.

Il y avait au milieu du jardin deux pavillons ou maisons d'été, qui étaient sur les bords opposés d'une petite pièce d'eau et chacun des deux beaux-frères en eut un. L'étang ne fut pas un obstacle et Kouan fit passer le mur en son milieu, au moyen de piliers de pierre. Quoique voisines, les deux familles purent donc vivre parfaitement étrangères l'une à l'autre.

Tou eut un fils qu'il nomma Tchin-Seng, et Kouan eut une fille qui s'appela Ju-Kiouan. Le nom du premier signifie la perle et celui de la seconde, le jaspe. Enfants des deux sœurs et à peu près du même âge, tous deux se ressemblaient tellement qu'il était difficile de distinguer la perle d'avec le jaspe. Les mères étaient belles, eux aussi étaient beaux. Quand ils furent en âge de comprendre, ils entendirent parler de cette ressemblance, mais la possibilité de se rencontrer leur était interdite par les usages, en

¹ Dans *Hyperion*, Longfellow fait allusion à ce conte: That very pleasing and fanciful Chinese romance, the *Shadow in the Water*, ends with the hero's marrying both the heroines (p. 214, Longfellow's Prose Works II, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1892). Je dois cette référence à M. Alfred Emerson de l'Art Institute de Chicago.

outre de la querelle qui divisait leurs familles. Ils en devinrent plus jaloux de cette beauté identique et réciproque. Néanmoins, le garçon, pensant que les querelles des parents ne concernent pas les enfants, tenta chez les voisins une visite qui échoua. Avec le temps, les deux cousins oublièrent cette ressemblance qui avait tant éveillé leur curiosité enfantine.

Mais un jour d'été, il arriva que les deux jeunes gens vinrent prendre le frais dans les deux pavillons. L'eau était tranquille et tout s'y reflétait distinctement. Quelle ne fut pas la surprise de la jeune fille de voir reflétée dans l'eau, au delà du mur, une image qui lui ressemblait au point d'être prise pour la sienne! Cela provenait de ce que son cousin avait ôté son bonnet. D'abord jalouse de cette beauté, elle finit par avoir de la sympathie pour un être si semblable à elle-même et l'amour se glissa dans son cœur.

Le jeune homme, de son côté, aperçut la réflexion sur le bord opposé et constata que si sa cousine lui ressemblait, elle le surpassait en beauté. Dès que Tchin-Seng eût vu Ju-Kiouan, il l'aima; et sa passion l'emportant sur la prudence, il sauta de joie et lui dit: "Vous êtes la contre-partie de moi-même: qu'est-ce qui nous empêche de nous rejoindre et de nous unir pour la vie?" Ces paroles ne firent qu'augmenter l'amour de Ju-Kiouan. Mais plus prudente et plus réservée que son cousin, elle ne lui répondit que par un sourire qui fut compris de Tchin-Seng.

Depuis ce moment, ils vinrent tous les jours aux pavillons sous prétexte que la chaleur était accablante; Tchin-Seng continua de parler et Ju-Kiouan se risqua à répondre par des signes (chap. i).

Mais ces entrevues par réflexion n'étaient pas de nature à satisfaire Tchin-Seng et un jour, il se jeta dans l'étang et se rendit à la nage au pavillon opposé où il arriva avant sa cousine. Ju-Kiouan, timide de nature, se retira effrayée, quand elle vit venir à elle, lui tendant les bras, la réalité au lieu de l'ombre. La peur ne la tint loin du balcon que peu de jours; décidée à renouer des relations si douces, elle écrivit quelques vers, les enveloppa dans une fleur qu'elle roula ensuite dans une feuille de nymphea-nélumbo, et la première fois qu'elle aperçut l'ombre de Tchin-Seng, elle jeta le rouleau dans l'eau en lui faisant signe de le ramasser. Elle lui disait que la surface agitée de l'eau était l'image de son âme et que ce qui avait causé sa fuite, lors de la visite de Tchin-Seng, était la crainte d'être punie si on les trouvait ensemble. On juge de la joie de Tchin-Seng qui se hâta d'écrire quelques vers en réponse et les envoya par le même chemin. Il disait que la manière actuelle de s'entretenir ne valait guère mieux que de cueillir des fleurs en songe et qu'il fallait s'efforcer de trouver un autre moyen qui présentât moins de gêne et plus d'intimité. A la lecture de cette proposition, Ju-Kiouan ne douta pas que son cousin fût prêt à commettre quelque imprudence qui pourrait être suivie d'une catastrophe, et elle répondit qu'ils devaient tous deux agir avec la plus grande circonspection. Tchin-Seng n'osa pas renouveler sa proposition et adressa à la jeune fille une demande formelle de mariage. Il déplorait les malheureuses circonstances qui s'opposaient présentement à leur union,

concluant qu'il fallait saisir la première occasion favorable qui s'offrirait. Il attendait un mot de réponse qui rendit leurs engagements inviolables pour la vie. Ju-Kiouan, tranquillisée, consentit avec joie à cette proposition et répondit par signes qu'elle acceptait et serait à lui jusqu'à la mort. Cette réponse fit prendre patience à Tchin-Seng et le consola d'être séparé de sa bien-aimée.

Les entrevues par réflexion continuèrent, ainsi que les envois de vers dont le refrain était constamment l'ombre dans l'eau, de sorte qu'en six mois, Tchin-Seng avait composé un petit poème intitulé *la Rencontre des ombres*. Ce poème laissé par hasard sur une table fut vu de ses parents qui connurent par là que leur fils n'avait pas dégénéré. Il ressemblait à son père par la direction de ses études et allait au-devant des désirs de sa mère.

Brouillés avec Kouan, ils choisirent un ami commun, Lou-Koung, pour porter au vindicatif beau-frère la proposition de mariage. Lou-Koung accepta volontiers et se rendit chez Kouan. Celui-ci l'écouta et sans faire de réponse, sourit et se mit à écrire ces mots sur une table près de laquelle ils étaient assis: "Puisque la mésintelligence et l'inimitié ont duré si long-temps entre mon beau-frère et moi, ce n'est pas une petite affaire que d'amener une réconciliation; mais l'idée d'un mariage n'est guère mieux qu'un songe."

Lou-Koung rendit compte à Tou du peu de succès de sa mission, mais ne luidit rien de ce que Kouan avait écrit sur la table. Tou et sa femme abandonnèrent donc l'idée de cette union et s'occupèrent de chercher un autre parti pour leur fils. Ils se rappelèrent que Lou-Koung lui-même avait une fille adoptive nommée Kin-Yun, qui ne cédait en rien à Ju-Kiouan, tant pour la figure que pour les qualités de l'esprit. Ils chargèrent donc une personne d'aller proposer ce mariage à Lou-Koung. En vrai Chinois, Lou-Koung considérait le mariage comme une chose de la plus haute importance et répondit qu'on ne devait pas seulement écouter ses propres désirs, mais qu'il fallait consulter les "pa tseu" ou huit caractères des deux personnes et que si, après les avoir comparés, les combinaisons ne présageaient aucun malheur, l'union aurait lieu. Les "pa tseu" étant favorables: "Il paraît évident, s'écria Lou-Koung, que cette union est arrêtée dans le ciel; ainsi, il n'appartient pas aux hommes de s'y opposer plus longtemps." L'entremetteur rapporta cette réponse aux parents qui s'en réjouirent et conclurent le mariage sans en parler à leur fils.

Absorbé par sa passion, Tchin-Seng ne s'aperçut de rien: il passait tout son temps sur le balcon, sans rien faire et ne permettant à personne de s'approcher de lui. Mais, il n'en fut pas de même de sa cousine qui entendit parler de ce projet de mariage et en conçut immédiatement la crainte que celui à qui elle ne faisait que penser jour et nuit, eût manqué à la foi qu'il lui avait jurée. Elle lui écrivit une lettre pleine d'amertume et de ressentiment. C'est par ce moyen que Tchin-Seng fut informé de ce qui se passait. Il se rendit sur-le-champ auprès de ses parents et les supplia de rompre leurs engagements avec Lou-Koung. Dans son dépit, il alla jusqu'à

accuser cet ami d'avoir rapporté le contraire de ce que lui avait dit Kouan. Tou, qui retrouvait ses propres passions dans son fils et qui l'avait gâté, ne pouvait exercer son autorité. Il se contenta de lui dire qu'il devait modérer son chagrin et lui laisser arranger cette affaire. Tchin-Seng insista pour qu'on ne donne pas suite au projet de mariage avec Kin-Yun et que l'on conclue son mariage avec Ju-Kiouan et jura que, s'il était trompé dans ses espérances, il trouverait un sûr moyen d'éteindre la postérité de sa famille. Tou fut obligé d'aller trouver Lou-Koung et de le prier de lui rendre sa parole. Mais ce dernier ne voulut rien entendre, alléguant que la rupture de cet engagement le plaçait dans une situation ridicule vis-à-vis de ses parents, amis et connaissances. Tou lui avoua que toutes les pensées de son fils étaient tournées vers la fille de Kouan et que, malgré le refus de celui-ci, il s'entêtait à espérer un heureux changement de fortune. C'est alors que Lou-Koung informa Tou de la réponse énergique que Kouan avait tracée sur la table. Le pauvre père en fut désespéré et expliqua à Lou-Koung que son fils et sa cousine étaient tombés amoureux de leurs ombres, et que leur attachement était si vif qu'il était impossible de le vaincre. Et pour prouver son dire, il montra la composition poétique que cet amour étrange avait inspirée. Certes, la chose était contrariante, mais Lou-Koung trouva cette passion si singulière qu'il la jugea digne de passer à la postérité. Il blâma les parents qui ne surveillent pas leurs enfants, mais puisque l'affaire était si avancée, il crut que le mieux était d'aviser, afin de la conduire à bien et il se chargea de l'entreprise. Quant à sa fille, il verrait à la pourvoir. Tou apprit à sa femme et à son fils la tournure que prenaient les choses, et Tchin-Seng fut si heureux de la promesse de Lou-Koung qu'il alla l'en remercier. L'ami généreux profita de cette visite pour conseiller au jeune homme de ne pas s'occuper de son mariage et de retourner à ses études.

Lou-Koung ne dit rien de ce qui avait eu lieu ni à sa famille ni à sa fille. Il assura que c'était lui qui avait rompu le mariage parce que le jeune homme ne répondait pas à son attente. Mais Kin-Yun trouva que la conduite de son père adoptif était pleine d'inconséquence et attribua le changement de ses projets au manque d'intérêt qu'il lui portait. Le désappointement qu'elle en ressentit la fit tomber malade (chap. ii).

Kouan était un homme sévère dans sa famille et son premier soin, après la proposition faite de la part de son beau-frère, fut de rendre la séparation encore plus complète; à cette fin il fit fermer l'espace qui restait sous le mur. Les ombres mêmes étaient maintenant séparées. Tchin-Seng, pour se consoler et prendre patience fit de nouveaux vers sur la cruauté de la séparation absolue. Ju-Kiouan apprit qu'il avait recherché une autre personne, sans savoir que ce mariage était rompu. Elle s'irrita contre l'infidélité de son amant et l'égoïsme de Lou-Koung qui s'accommodait d'un gendre qui avait été destiné à une autre. Elle pensa que le refus de son père provenait du manque de sincérité de la proposition de Lou-Koung faite au nom de Tou, et comme la malheureuse Kin-Yun, l'infortunée Ju-Kiouan tomba malade.

Ainsi, dit l'auteur, quoique leurs maladies provinssent de causes différentes, toutes deux avaient pour premier fondement une erreur. Tchin-Seng, de son côté, éprouva une indisposition qui ressemblait en partie à celle de Kin-Yun, et en partie à celle de Ju-Kiouan. En songeant à Ju-Kiouan, il envisageait Kin-Yun comme une ennemie; en songeant à Kin-Yun, il accusait Ju-Kiouan de perfidie et de fausseté et de ne pas avoir été étrangère à la fermeture complète du mur pour se donner le mérite d'une grande vertu et d'une sévérité remarquable.

Mais la maladie de Kin-Yun devint si grave qu'elle dut garder le lit. Lou-Koung commença à se repentir d'avoir rendu sa parole à Tou, mais ce qui est fait est fait. D'ailleurs, il avait promis ses bons offices à Tchin-Seng. La seule chose donc qu'il y ait à faire, c'est de convertir les deux mariages en un seul, et de réunir ainsi ces trois personnes. Mais Kouan était si sévère que Lou-Koung dut recourir à un stratagème et lui forcer la main. Il se rappela que Kouan, le voyant sans enfants, lui avait souvent conseillé d'adopter un fils. Il lui dirait donc qu'il venait de le faire et qu'il désirait beaucoup avoir Ju-Kiouan pour belle-fille. Il lui demanderait ensuite d'agrérer un projet de mariage entre Kin-Yun et Tchin-Seng. Il fit part de ses plans à Tou qui en loua hautement la sagesse. La maladie grave de Ju-Kiouan prédisposa son père en faveur d'un mariage avec le fils adoptif de Lou-Koung. Kin-Yun se chargea d'informer Ju-Kiouan de ce projet de double mariage, ayant bien soin d'ajouter que Ju-Kiouan serait la femme de premier rang, tandis qu'elle, Kin-Yun, ne serait que celle de second rang. Il n'y avait plus que le sévère Kouan qui ne fût pas dans le secret. Il va sans dire qu'une fois le mariage consommé, il accusa Lou-Koung de l'avoir trompé par des paroles ambiguës. Lou-Koung lui rappela alors la façon détournée dont il lui avait répondu en écrivant sur la table: l'idée d'un mariage n'est guère mieux qu'un songe. Et il ajouta: "C'est ainsi que vous avez jeté les racines de ce rêve, qui est devenu maintenant une réalité. Mais puisque la vie humaine n'est qu'un rêve, pourquoi y attacher tant d'importance?"

Après ces paroles, tous redevinrent bons amis et achevèrent la journée en festins et en réjouissances (chap. iii).

Voici maintenant un résumé du *Pavillon sur l'eau*. On y verra ce que l'auteur français a pris au conteur chinois, en ce qui concerne le sujet.

LE PAVILLON SUR L'EAU

Des deux épisodes du conte chinois: l'amour par le moyen de la réflexion et le double mariage, Th. Gautier n'a gardé que le premier et encore l'a-t-il beaucoup simplifié, comme on va le voir.

Les deux pères Tou et Kouan ne sont plus beaux-frères; des goûts communs, une parenté éloignée les ont réunis, mais à la longue, les années aidant, les défauts du caractère s'accentuent, l'indulgence disparaît, les plaisanteries

deviennent mordantes, et autant on désirait se voir, autant maintenant l'on tâche de s'éviter.

Il n'habitent plus la même maison, ils ne sont que voisins; et lorsque l'animosité a succédé aux bons rapports, chacun d'eux voudrait bien aller vivre plus loin. Toutefois, l'on s'attache aux lieux où l'on vit, il est dur de s'en éloigner et malgré les inconvénients de toutes sortes qui résultent de la proximité des gens qu'on ne veut plus voir, on reste où l'on est. Seulement, pour éviter tout rapport, on fait bâtir un mur qui séparera un jardin et une pièce d'eau que l'ancienne amitié avait voulu communs, et les deux pavillons construits sur les rives opposées avec l'intention de se faire vis-à-vis n'auront plus d'autre perspective que l'obstacle du mur ennemi. La séparation n'est cependant pas complète. L'étang est profond et le mur qui le traverse doit reposer sur pilotis: sous les arches, les eaux ignorantes des dissensions humaines passent avec insouciance de l'une à l'autre propriété et avec le ciel reflètent tout ce qui s'offre à leur miroir sans excepter les pavillons adverses.

Chacune de son côté du mur, Mesdames Tou et Kouan ont donné le jour à un enfant.

Mais dans la nouvelle française, c'est madame Tou qui est la mère d'une fille charmante et madame Kouan d'un garçon le plus joli du monde. Et contrairement aussi à ce qui a lieu dans le conte chinois, cet heureux événement est ignoré de part et d'autre, et le restera, car une tablette fixée par leurs propriétaires à chacune des maisons contiguës défend tout rapport entre les serviteurs sous la menace des peines les plus sévères. En passant d'une langue à l'autre, si les enfants ont changé de familles, ils ont gardé leurs noms, ou à peu près en ce qui regarde le garçon—Tchin-Sing au lieu de Tchin-Seng—et ils n'en sont pas moins réciprocement la perle et le jaspe.

Quand ils furent assez grands pour se rendre compte de la valeur des choses et de leur objet, ils s'enquirent de la présence de ce vilain mur qui obstruait le regard et on leur répondit que c'était pour se soustraire à la vue de gens bizarres, quinteux, revêches et de tous points insociables, pour se défendre de si méchants voisins.

Ju-Kiouan croissait en grâces et en perfections: elle brodait et écrivait on ne peut mieux et son père qui était lettré lui avait enseigné à comprendre les poètes, tâche d'autant plus facile que la jeune fille avait apporté en naissant un véritable talent d'écrivain.

Tchin-Sing, de son côté, avait de l'intelligence et de l'application et fut bientôt en mesure de se présenter aux examens où il réussit si brillamment que son nom figurait invariablement en tête de la liste des candidats heureux. Un superbe avenir s'ouvrait devant lui et sa famille pouvait prétendre à un beau mariage; mais Tchin-Sing voulait jouir de sa liberté le plus longtemps possible. Ce n'étaient cependant pas les occasions qui lui manquaient, toutes les mères qui l'avaient vu le désirant pour gendre. Beau et instruit, séduisant et brillant, il pouvait se montrer difficile et il le fut.

Ju-Kiouan, elle, voulait un mari parfait et critiquait sans merci tous les jeunes gens assez présomptueux pour désirer comme épouse une jolie femme doublée d'un poète.

Les parents commencèrent à s'inquiéter de cette persistance à repousser tous les partis, et les mères, soucieuses de l'avenir de leurs enfants, n'avaient plus d'autres préoccupations que ces idées de mariage, de sorte qu'elles continuaient dans leurs rêves de nuit leurs pensées de jour. Un des songes qu'elles firent les frappa particulièrement. Madame Kouan, mère de Tchin-Sing, rêva qu'elle voyait sur la poitrine de son fils une pierre de jaspe et Madame Tou, mère de Ju-Kiouan, rêva que sa fille portait au cou une perle du plus bel orient. Quelle signification pouvait avoir ces songes ? C'est ce que se demandaient chacune de son côté les deux excellentes femmes et d'un commun accord, comme si elles se fussent entendues, elles allèrent trouver le bonze du temple de Fô pour qu'il la leur révélât. Cet homme inspiré répondit à Mme Tou qu'il fallait le jaspe à la perle et à Mme Kouan la perle au jaspe.

Un jour que le temps était beau, l'air clair et l'eau paisible, Ju-Kiouan, accoudée au balcon du pavillon familial, aperçut la réflexion du pavillon opposé. Mais ce qui l'intéressa au plus haut degré, ce fut de voir accoudé aussi à l'autre balcon une figure qui lui ressemblait de telle façon que, si elle ne fût pas venue de l'autre côté du bassin, elle l'eût prise pour elle-même. Cette ressemblance surprenante ne surprind pas ceux qui ont lu l'original chinois, mais la surprise de ceux qui ne l'ont pas lu est bientôt dissipée, car là l'on trouve étrange que Tchin-Sing, qui est un garçon, puisse être pris pour une demoiselle, nous répondrons que l'adolescent, à cause de la chaleur, avait ôté son bonnet de licencié, qu'il était extrêmement jeune et n'avait pas encore de barbe, que ses traits délicats, son teint uni et ses yeux brillants pouvaient facilement prêter à l'illusion, illusion qui ne dura guère, Ju-Kiouan, aux mouvements de son cœur, ayant bien vite reconnu que ce n'était point une jeune fille dont l'eau répétait l'image.

Tchin-Sing, fit de son côté la même expérience. L'amour a des voies inconnues : le rêve de Ju-Kiouan avait pris corps, les désirs de Tchin-Sing s'étaient fixés. Effet merveilleux de la symétrie ! De cette entrevue par réflexion, il résulta que leurs refus des partis qu'on leur proposait fut plus obstiné que jamais.

Faut-il rapporter que les pavillons devinrent les retraites favorites des deux jeunes gens ? Les gestes passionnés de Tchin-Sing reçurent la bienvenue d'un sourire. Enhardi par cet accueil, il écrivit en vers une déclaration d'amour sur un carré de papier argenté et coloré, puis après l'avoir roulé il l'enveloppa dans une feuille de nénuphar que la brise complaisante et complice des amants poussa sur la surface lisse du bassin sous l'arche du mur jusqu'au pied du pavillon opposé où Ju-Kiouan n'eut qu'à se baisser pour la recueillir. La beauté de l'écriture, le choix des mots, l'exactitude des rimes, l'éclat des images confirmèrent le choix qu'avaient fait les yeux de Ju-Kiouan.

Mais quel enchantement quand elle lut la signature: la perle! Elle avait trop souvent entendu sa mère parler de son rêve pour ne pas être frappée par la coïncidence.

Le jour suivant, comme la brise avait changé, Ju-Kiouan profita de ce hasard pour envoyer par le même moyen une réponse aussi en vers, où ses sentiments, bien que voilés d'une extrême modestie, n'en laissaient pas moins voir leur ardeur. Mais quel nom y était attaché? le jaspe! la pierre précieuse que Mme Kouan avait vu étinceler sur la poitrine de son fils.

Tchin-Sing raconta tout à Mme Kouan et Ju-Kiouan rapporta tout à Mme Tou. Les noms de perle et de jaspe furent décisifs pour les deux dames. Interrogé par elles, le bonze du temple de Fô annonça que telle était bien la signification des deux rêves. Avec la complaisance qui caractérise les ecclésiastiques, il se chargea des démarches auprès des deux pères. De petits présents le rendirent si éloquent que Tou et Kouan se demandèrent comment ils avaient pu rester séparés si longtemps.

Les noces se firent. La perle et le jaspe purent enfin se parler librement et autrement que par l'intermédiaires d'un reflet. En furent-ils plus heureux? C'est ce que nous n'oserions affirmer, car le bonheur n'est souvent qu'une ombre dans l'eau.

Quiconque a le récit de Th. Gautier présent à la mémoire reconnaîtra qu'ici et là nous avons laissé parler l'auteur, car dans ces passages, on ne peut mieux dire qu'il ne l'a fait lui-même. Certes, le conte chinois est gracieux; mais il faut lire le *Pavillon sur l'eau* pour apprécier ce que le grand artiste français a su tirer de cette grâce et comment il a su l'orner d'un luxe de détails aussi intéressants que pittoresques. Ces détails, où les a-t-il empruntés, quel usage en a-t-il fait? C'est ce que nous allons maintenant examiner.

Dans ce qui suit, les initiales *DC* représentent le roman des *Deux cousines*, traduit par Abel Rémusat, 2 vol., 1826; les initiales *CC*, les *Contes chinois*, édités par le même, 3 vol., 1827. Parmi ces contes, celui des *Trois étages consacrés* est indiqué par les initiales *TEC*, les autres par leurs titres suivis de *CC* et de l'indication du tome et de la page. Tous les passages où la page seule est marquée proviennent de *l'Ombre dans l'eau*.¹

Les mots en italique dans la colonne de gauche sont ceux qui sont passés tels quels des sources dans le texte de Gautier. En plus de ceux-là, il y en a d'autres dont le radical suffit à indiquer la filiation ou dont la synonymie est si grande que la source est tout aussi

¹ Tome II, p. 7-64. Traduit par M. Davis.

évidente que dans les cas où les mêmes mots, lettre pour lettre, ont été employés. On verra, du reste, que si nous avons péché, c'est par excès de précaution.

1. *Dans la province de Canton, à quelque "li"¹ de la ville, demeuraient porte à porte deux riches Chinois retirés des affaires;*

Dans un district de la province de Canton, vivaient deux hommes qui, . . . s'étaient retirés des affaires; (p. 7)
ils firent plus de soixante-dix lis. Note: Il faut environ dix lis et demi pour faire une lieue de France (*les Tendres époux*, CC, I, 143).

Il (Pe) s'était retiré dans un village à soixante ou soixante-dix milles de la ville. Note: Les milles chinois sont très petits; il en faut dix pour faire une de nos lieues (DC, I, 85, et aussi Préface, p. 70).

2. L'un de ces Chinois s'appelait Tou, et l'autre Kouan;

ils s'appelaient Tou et Kouan: (p. 7)

3. Tou avait occupé de hautes fonctions scientifiques. Il était "hanlin" et lettré de la chambre de jaspe;² Kouan, dans des emplois moins relevés

après avoir occupé des emplois (p. 7)
et avait rempli les fonctions d'inspecteur-général d'une province (p. 7)
le premier avait obtenu les plus grandes distinctions littéraires . . . Kouan étant resté dans un rang moins élevé (p. 7)
hanlin (DC, Préface, p. 75).
et lettré de la salle de jaspe (DC, I, 98).

4. ils faisaient voltiger le pinceau chargé de noir

Il saisit le pinceau. Tels on voit les dragons voltiger en sautant (DC, III, 5).
le pinceau rempli d'encre est un nuage noir chargé de pluie (I, 117).

5. sur le treillis³ du papier à fleurs

il prit la feuille de papier à fleurs (DC, I, 117 et passim).

¹ Le *li* n'a donc pas tout à fait 400 mètres. D'après les passages cités, on ne voit pas pourquoi G. a employé le singulier: il serait plus courant de dire *quelques lis*, comme on dit *quelques milles*.

² Ces deux dignités conférées à Tou n'en sont qu'une, comme l'attestent les deux passages suivants des DC et les notes qui les expliquent (I, 92, et 98): (1) Gou, docteur de la grande Académie impériale. Note: *Hanlin*: Ce titre n'est pas plus honorable mais il est infiniment plus honoré que celui d'*académicien* parmi nous. (2) Le seigneur Gou est un lettré de la salle de Jaspe. Note: C'est-à-dire un membre de l'académie impériale. (*Voyez plus haut*, p. 92.) C'est donc comme si G. disait d'un écrivain français qu'il était académicien et avait aussi l'honneur de siéger sous la coupole. A. Rémusat ne dit rien de l'origine de ces deux expressions; on la trouvera dans la traduction de S. Julien (I, 67). *Voir note*, p. 107.

³ Par *treillis*, G. veut probablement dire les raies ou lignes poétiquement désignées par des fils de soie noire dans les passages dont il s'est inspiré pour les sections 5 et 30: Le papier rayé semble le fil d'un collier de perles et de pierres précieuses (I, 117). Déjà

6. tout en buvant de petites tasses de vin
7. mais leurs deux caractères qui ne présentaient d'abord que des différences presque insensibles devinrent, avec le temps, tout à fait opposés.
8. ils ne faisaient plus que des distiques moraux
9. quand le mot qu'il fallait enchâsser dans un vers avait été donné, sa main n'hésitait pas un seul instant.
10. (ils) firent pendre, chacun de son côté, à la façade de leurs maisons, une tablette portant la défense formelle qu'aucun des habitants du logis voisin, sous quelque prétexte que ce fût, en franchit jamais le seuil.
11. Tou essaya même de vendre sa propriété; mais il n'en put trouver un prix raisonnable, et d'ailleurs il en coûta toujours de quitter les lambris

les fils de soie noire sont remplis de perles, etc. (I, 64). Ce sont deux traductions du même passage. Dans sa préface, A. Rémusat explique que la *soie noire* est le nom qu'on donne au papier rayé (p. 64). Dans *Fortunio*, G. parle déjà "d'une feuille de papier de Chine, toute couverte de caractères bizarres, entrelacés en façon de treillage sur un fond de fleurs argentées" (p. 44). Ici, ce sont les lettres elles-mêmes qui forment le treillage, tandis que là le treillis est préparé pour les recevoir.

Après avoir bu quelques tasses. NOTE: La tasse dans laquelle les Chinois prennent leur vin chaud est très petite, et contient à peine une cuillerée (*DC*, I, 96).

mais ils différaient beaucoup par le caractère.... Les deux femmes avaient commencé par avoir les mêmes goûts; mais, après leur mariage, chacune d'elles se conforma à l'humeur de son mari, et peu à peu leurs inclinations devinrent de plus en plus différentes (p. 8).

Les réflexions morales dont le fond est généralement assez commun sont rejetées dans des distiques ou des quatrains (*DC*, I, 19, Préface).

le docteur Gou proposa à Yang un de ces jeux de société qui consistent à placer dans une phrase un mot convenu (*DC*, I, 156) les mots obligés (tels que *métal*, *pierre*, *corde*, *roseau*, *courge*, *terre*, *peau*, *bois*,) au commencement et à la fin des vers (rimant avec *rien* et *nid*) viennent s'y placer sans aucun effort (III, 4-11 et aussi IV, 72).

il trouve une affiche en gros caractères collée sur le mur, portant cette défense: 'Il n'est permis à aucun parent de se présenter ici; cette mesure ayant été jugée convenable, on prie les gens de la famille, quel que soit le degré de leur parenté, d'y avoir égard' (p. 14).

A chaque étage était une tablette portant des inscriptions (*TEC*, 35).

Vendre sa maison, cependant, n'est pas une affaire peu embarrassante, et on ne saurait s'y décider sans regrets (*TEC*, 9).

Dans la pièce du rez-de-chaussée étaient des lambris sculptés, des treillages, des sièges de bambou et des vases de fleurs (*ibid.*, 35).

sculptés, les *tables polies*,
les *fenêtres transparentes*,
les *treillis dorés*, les *sieges de bambou*, les *vases de porcelaine*,

12. les cartouches d'anciens poèmes,¹

13. le jardin qu'on a planté soi-même de *saules*, de *pêchers* et de *pruniers*,

14. la jolie *fleur de mēi*:

15. ils avaient fait éléver dans leur *jardin* chacun un pavillon sur le bord d'une pièce d'eau commune aux deux propriétés:

La chambre du milieu avait des tables polies et des croisées transparentes (*ibid.*, 35).

tous les vases étaient de porcelaine fine (*DC*, I, 91).

les lambeaux de vieux poèmes accrochés aux murailles (*TEC*, 8).

un ruisseau le traversait (le jardin) en serpentant; . . . ses rives étaient plantées de saules et de pêchers (*DC*, I, 85)

une habitation champêtre située au milieu d'une plantation de pêchers et de pruniers (II, 53-54).

les pins, les bambous et les fleurs de mēi sont compris dans le même marché. Note: La fleur Mēi est célèbre dans toutes les compositions chinoises; c'est celle d'une espèce d'amandier (*TEC*, 8).²

Il y avait au milieu du jardin deux pavillons . . . qui étaient sur les bords opposés d'une petite pièce d'eau et chacun des deux beaux-frères en eut un en partage (p. 9).

¹ "Il est d'usage, dans les maisons particulières, de suspendre aux murs des bandes de papier sur lesquelles sont écrites des sentences morales ou des vers tirés des anciens livres. Le sens en est ordinairement très obscur" (note de A. R. sur le passage cité). Cette coutume est aussi mentionnée dans le roman des *DC*: (Gou) invita ses trois hôtes à traverser le salon pour faire quelques tours de promenade dans un petit pavillon, lieu peu spacieux, mais dont les quatre murs étaient décorés d'inscriptions (I, 164). Gou, de son côté, s'arrêta à considérer les pièces de vers qui étaient attachées aux deux pans du mur: on voyait des morceaux composés par des hommes célèbres d'autrefois, par les auteurs du temps, d'anciennes poésies et des vers nouveaux (I, 222). G. y voyait une pratique digne d'être imitée. Dans un article sur l'Exposition universelle de Londres et intitulé *En Chine* (juin 1849), il écrivait: "Il ne nous restait plus à visiter que la cabine du milieu, espèce de salon entouré de sièges de bambou, tapissé de panneaux, etc., et de cartouches contenant des strophes ou des sentences d'auteurs illustres, écrites par des calligraphes en caractères ornés. Nous aimons beaucoup cet usage d'employer comme arabesques les beaux vers des poètes ou les maximes des sages; l'œil est réjoui par l'ornement, l'esprit par la pensée. Quelque chose d'intellectuel se mêle au luxe et l'empêche d'être bête. Nous voudrions bien lire, ainsi encadrés dans la décoration de nos appartements, des vers de Lamartine, de Victor Hugo, d'Alfred de Musset et autres auteurs chéris (*Caprices et Zigzags ou l'Orient*, I). Le poète aurait approuvé Montaigne d'avoir fait inscrire des citations latines et grecques sur les solives de sa "librairie." Cette pratique l'a frappé et séduit partout où il l'a rencontrée. A l'Exposition universelle de 1867, visitant le pavillon de la Perse, il s'arrêta à examiner les inscriptions dont une armure est historiée et qu'un Persan lui traduit: "C'étaient des vers du *Schah-Nahmeh*, de Firdouci.—N'est-ce pas une idée charmante, ajoute-t-il, que de décorer l'armure du guerrier avec les vers du poète?" (*La Perse dans l'Orient II*).

² S. Julien dit que c'est le prunier et non l'amandier. V. sa traduction des *DC*.

16. ils avaient fait bâtrir un mur qui séparait l'étang en deux portions égales; seulement, comme la profondeur du bassin était grande, le mur s'appuyait sur des pilotis formant des espèces d'arcades basses, dont les baies laissaient passer les eaux

17. Ces pavillons comptaient trois étages

18. aux parois des murailles des vers de Tou-chi et de Li-tai-pe¹ étaient écrits d'une main agile

19. sur leur rebord (des fenêtres), des pots de pivoine, d'orchis, de primevères de la Chine, d'érithrine à fleurs blanches, placés avec art, réjouissaient les yeux par leurs nuances délicates.

20. sur les tables, . . . on trouvait toujours des cure-dents,

On bâtit facilement un mur de séparation aussi loin que le terrain s'étendait; mais l'eau étant profonde, il devenait difficile d'y jeter des fondations. Cependant, on continua le mur par-dessus l'eau, au moyen de piliers en pierre placés au milieu du bassin, où on prolongea le mur d'un bout à l'autre (p. 10)
il (Kouan) fit aussitôt fermer l'espace qui restait sous le mur (p. 41)

la portion qu'il conserva était dans le style des pagodes, et consistait en trois étages (*TEC*, 35).

en passant dans une galerie voisine, il aperçut sur un mur de plâtre, une pièce de vers écrite avec la légèreté des dragons (*DC*, I, 222). C'est excellent, s'écria-t-il, c'est tout à fait la manière du vieux Tou-chi. Note: Poète célèbre du huitième siècle dont nous avons les œuvres (II, 55).

Lipe ou Lithaïpe, célèbre poète du VIII^e siècle de notre ère. . . . On a de lui trente livres de poésies auxquelles il est souvent fait des allusions dans les ouvrages des écrivains plus récents (I, 237, note. V. aussi la note à la section 13).

un des clients de Pe lui avait envoyé douze pots de reines-marguerites odorantes, et il les avait fait placer au bas des degrés de l'escalier de sa bibliothèque. Là étaient aussi rangées des amaranthes avec des rosiers et des orchis . . . leur feuillage présentait . . . douze têtes dorées. Pe trouvait un plaisir extrême à les considérer (*DC*, I, 91-92).

Et la pivoine dont l'œil ne peut compter les pétales, Et mille pierres précieuses recueillies dans le calice des fleurs (II, 113).

on y voyait (dans la chambre) des curedens (*TEC*, 36).

¹ Les deux plus célèbres poètes de la Chine sont Toufou et Litaïpe. Ils vécurent sous la dynastie des Thang (VIII^e siècle). Touchi vécut aussi au VIII^e siècle. On comprend aisément pourquoi G. a préféré Touchi à Toufou. L'ancien rapin écrivait pour le *Magasin des Familles!*

21. C'était . . . un coup d'œil charmant de voir *le saule précipiter du haut de ces roches vers la surface de l'eau ses filaments d'or et ses houppes de soie* . . . L'alisier et le saule ont rencontré la saison printanière; . . . on dirait . . . des fils d'or qui seraient attachés par en haut (*DC*, II, 56). Vers la surface de l'eau, du haut du toit, le saule laisse tomber ses branches. . . . Le prince d'Orient satisfait notre amour pour la douce verdure, en faisant naître au printemps ce feuillage semblable à de longues touffes de soie (II, 61-62, 63).
22. les larges *feuilles du nymphæa-nelumbo* s'étaient paresseusement elle roula ensuite (les vers) dans une feuille de *nymphæa-nelumbo* (p. 23)
23. les deux Chinois vivaient aussi étrangers l'un à l'autre que s'ils eussent été séparés par le *fleuve Jaune* quoique l'étang seul fût une barrière aussi efficace que la rivière jaune elle-même (p. 10)
24. Le garçon *s'appelait Tchin-Sing*, et la fille *Ju-Kiouan*, c'est-à-dire, *la perle et le jaspe*;¹ leur *parfaite beauté* justifiait le choix de ces noms. Tou eut un fils qu'il nomma Tchin-Seng, et Kouan eut une fille qui s'appelait Ju-Kiouan leurs mères, . . . étaient parfaitement belles. Leurs enfants n'avaient pas dégénéré à cet égard, on pouvait difficilement distinguer la perle d'avec le jaspe. NOTE: allusion à leurs noms qui, en chinois, signifient ces objets (pp. 10-11)
25. Ju-Kiouan croissait en grâces et en perfections,² le seigneur Pe avait une fille la plus accomplie du monde pour la figure et pour le talent (*DC*, I, 138). ma nièce a une très jolie figure, beaucoup de grâces . . . dans le maintien (II, 30-31).

¹ Littéralement: le *jaspe ou jade rouge*. Le mot rouge est en Chinois synonyme de beau. Le jaspe et la perle sont synonymes de beauté, comme le prouve cette métaphore: "Je désirerais que vous voulussiez en composer une pièce (de vers) ou deux en ma présence. Je me flatte que vous ne serez point avare du jaspe et des perles qui charmeront ma vieille imagination" (*DC*, II, 108). Le jaspe (jade) est pour les Chinois l'emblème de la pureté, de l'excellence, de la perfection au physique et au moral. On dit une *personne de jaspe*, comme nous dirions *un homme d'or*. Cette expression désigne un ami, un amant et même une maîtresse (*DC*, I, 86). C'est exactement le *jade* et non le *jaspé*.

² Dans le texte de G. comme dans les passages des *DC* où il s'agit de Houngiu et de Lo Mengli, tout ce qui est dit des talents de Ju-Kiouan est cité dans le même ordre: beauté, adresse à manier l'aiguille, connaissance des auteurs, habileté à écrire, don pour la poésie. Il y a certainement là une gamme ascendante, mais qui n'en est pas moins digne de remarque. La comparaison d'un auteur avec lui-même étant toujours instructive, on rapprochera ce que l'auteur dit de Ju-Kiouan en 1846 de ce qu'il disait de Mahmoud-Ben-Ahmed en 1842 dans une autre nouvelle publiée aussi dans le même périodique: *La mille et deuxième nuit*. "Mahmoud-Ben-Ahmed avait reçu une bonne éducation: il lisait couramment dans les livres les plus anciens, possédait une belle écriture, savait

26. elle était habile à *tous les travaux de son sexe, elle maniait l'aiguille avec une adresse incomparable.*
27. Les papillons qu'elle *brodait . . . semblaient vivre plus d'un nez abusé se colla sur ses tapisseries pour respirer le parfum des fleurs* qu'elle y *se-mait.*
28. Les *talents* de Ju-Kiouan ne se bornaient pas là, elle savait *par cœur le livre des Odes*¹
29. jamais *main* plus légère ne jeta sur le papier de soie des *caractères* plus *hardis* et plus nets
30. *Les dragons* ne sont pas plus rapides dans leur *vol*, que son *poignet* lorsqu'il *fait pleuvoir la pluie noire du pinceau.*

elle savait à merveille les ouvrages à l'aiguille et tous les travaux de son sexe (*DC*, I, 87). elle excelle à manier le pinceau et l'aiguille (*II*, 50-51).

Elle s'entend assez bien à tout ce qui tient à la broderie, à la tapisserie et aux autres travaux de l'aiguille (*DC*, II, 30-31).

Souï-houng excellait à exécuter à l'aiguille toutes sortes de broderies et de fleurs (*L'héroïsme de la piété filiale*, *CC*, I, 6).

et pour ne pas vanter non plus ses talents (*DC*, II, 50-51).

Les lettrés sont nourris de leurs livres classiques comme nous le sommes des auteurs latins. Il faut qu'ils en apprenent au moins un par cœur, et qu'ils aient dans la mémoire les principaux passages des autres. . . . L'inscription étant prise du livre des vers, un licencié, un homme voué à l'étude, doit l'entendre à première vue (*I*, 165).

Ces trois caractères sont de la main de Ouiupi, les traits en sont fermes et hardis (*DC*, I, 164-65).

Un nuage noir chargé de pluie arrive en un instant. Les dragons poursuivis par le démon du poignet s'envolent au même moment (*DC*, I, 63). Le pinceau rempli d'encre est un nuage noir chargé de pluie (*I*, 117).

Vous l'eussiez vu faire pleuvoir sur le papier l'encre recueillie sur l'écritoire (*II*, 136).

Il se saisit d'un pinceau . . . et l'on eût dit le vol des dragons (*III*, 138).

par cœur les versets du Coran, les remarques des commentateurs, et eût récité sans se tromper d'un vers les Moallakats des fameux poètes affichés aux portes des mosquées; il était un peu poète lui-même et composait volontiers des vers assonants et rimés, qu'il déclamait sur des airs de sa façon avec beaucoup de grâce et de charme (p. 326 de *Romans et Contes*).

Les Chinois ne paraissent pas avoir tenu la femme dans l'ignorance, les romans et les pièces de théâtre présentent fréquemment des femmes instruites. Dans le drame du *Cercle de craie*, une mère dit: "Ma fille s'appelle Hai-tang. Je n'ai pas besoin de dire qu'elle se distingue autant par sa beauté que par la finesse et l'étendue de son esprit. Elle connaît l'écriture, le dessin, la flûte, la danse, la musique vocale, et sait s'accompagner en chantant des sons de la guitare."

¹ C'est le livre des vers (*Chi-king*), le troisième des cinq livres canoniques.

31. Elle connaissait tous les modes de *poésies*, le Tardif, le Hâté, *l'Elevé et le Rentrant*, elle a acquis des talents distingués en tout genre de poésie (*DC*, I, 253; II, 50-51). dans une chanson, il faut marquer les quatre tons, l'égal, l'élevé, le prolongé et le rentrant (II, 132).
32. et composait des *pièces* pleines de mérite Ces jours derniers, étant à dîner chez le seigneur Pe, nous nous mêmes, après le dîner, à composer des vers. Le seigneur Pe, un peu étourdi par les fumées du vin, ne put faire les siens. Sa fille a aussitôt pris sa place et secrètement composé pour lui une pièce de vers les plus beaux et les plus agréables qu'on puisse imaginer (*DC*, I, 138; II, 30-31, 50-51).
33. sur le *retour des hirondelles* C'est le temps précis (fin du printemps) du départ des grues et du retour des hirondelles. Mais le sens métaphorique qu'elle donne à cet *adieu à la grue* tient au désir qu'elle a de congédier le seigneur Tchang, et celui du *salut à l'hirondelle*, c'est qu'elle veut bien me recevoir (*DC*, III, 2-3).
34. *les saules printaniers* La pièce que j'ai entendue de là-bas est destinée à célébrer les saules printaniers (*DC*, II, 58).
35. Plus d'un *lettré* qui se croit digne *d'enfourcher le cheval d'or* n'eût pas improvisé avec autant de facilité il doit posséder un mérite peu commun parmi les lettrés, et devenir un jour un homme du premier ordre, entrer dans la salle de jaspe ou monter le cheval d'or (*DC*, I, 146).¹
- Une jeune fille aurait tenu son rang parmi les premiers lettrés de l'empire (I, 88, aussi 124, 125, 127). Sa fille a composé une pièce de vers . . . de sorte que nous autres vieux poètes n'avons pas eu la force de continuer (I, 138; II, 50-51).

¹ Comme la *salle de jaspe*, le *cheval d'or* est une expression figurée pour désigner la grande Académie Impériale, l'Institut chinois (note de A. R.). S. Julien traduit par *salle de jade et cheval de bronze*. Quant à l'origine de ces expressions, la voici: L'empereur Wen-ti, de la dynastie des Han (140-133 av. J.-C.), ayant obtenu des chevaux renommés de Ta-Wan (Fergana), fit fondre leur image en bronze et la fit placer dans le palais de Wei-yang. Sous le règne de Thaï-tseng, de la dynastie des Song (627-649), Sou-i-kien ayant continué l'histoire des Hân-lin (académiciens), la présenta à l'empereur qui, pour lui témoigner sa satisfaction, lui donna deux pièces de vers qu'il avait composés lui-même et où se trouvaient les mots *Yu-thang*, salle de jade, et lui ordonna de les placer sur une tablette dans la salle de l'Académie. Dans cette note de S. Julien, il y a plusieurs erreurs relevées par le Dr. B. Laufer. Il faut lire: Wou-ti, 140-87, Thaï-tsong (627-649) de la dynastie des Thang. Sur ces métaphores voir aussi: P. C. Pétillon, *Allusions littéraires*, p. 483.

36. son *nom* se trouvait être des premiers sur la *liste des examens*

C'était son premier examen (à See Yeoupe), et les listes n'ont pas encore paru . . . son domestique (à Gou) en rapporta la liste générale: Gou la déploya et vit que le nom de See Yeoupe était le premier sur le tableau de collège de la ville (DC, I, 229-30).

37. Quoiqu'il fût bien jeune, il eût pu se coiffer du *bonnet noir*

On vit arriver un jeune bachelier. . . . Il avait un habit de soie violet, et un bonnet noir, etc. NOTE: Bonnet que portent les jeunes lettrés (*la Matrone du pays de Soung*, CC, III, 169; aussi DC, I, 97-98).

38. toutes les mères pensaient qu'un garçon si avancé dans les sciences ferait un excellent *gendre*

Tous ceux qui avaient des filles auraient désiré qu'il (See Yeoupe) devint leur *gendre* (DC, II, 2).

39. et parviendrait bientôt aux *plus hautes dignités littéraires*

(Tou) avait obtenu les plus grandes distinctions littéraires (p. 7)

40. Il refusa successivement *Hon-Giu*, *Lo-Men-Gli*, *Oma*, *Po-Fo*

Houngiu (qui signifie *le jaspe ou le jade rouge*) est le nom de l'héroïne du roman de *IU-KIAO-LI* (les Deux cousines). *Lo Mengli* (*Songer à un poirier*) est celui de l'autre cousine qui se déguise en jeune homme. *Oma* est le nom de la mère de l'héroïne dans le conte des *Tendres époux* (CC, I, 214). Quant à *Po-Fo*, c'est un nom d'homme dans le conte de *l'Héroïsme de la piété filiale* (I, 44).

41. Jamais, sans excepter le beau *Fan-Gan*, dont les *dames remplissaient la voiture* d'oranges et de sucreries, lorsqu'il revenait de *tirer de l'arc*, jeune homme ne fut plus choyé et ne reçut plus d'avances;

Il (Soung) surpassait de beaucoup Fan-Gan par les agréments de sa personne. NOTE: Fan-Gan, qui vivait sous la dynastie des Tsin, était regardé comme un très bel homme et fort aimé des dames. On raconte que lorsqu'il sortait de Lo-Yang, pour s'exercer à tirer de l'arc, les dames avaient coutume de prendre des fruits et d'en jeter dans sa voiture jusqu'à ce qu'elle en fût remplie. (*Les Tendres époux*, CC, I, 180.)

42. on eût dit qu'il se souvenait d'une image connue dans une *existence antérieure* (cf. section 80).

Il (Gou) en a été charmé (des vers), au point de vouloir . . . faire de vous son gendre. C'est un effet de votre heureuse destinée, un bonheur que vous avez apporté en naissant, reste de celui qui vous était promis dans une existence antérieure (DC, I, 241).¹

¹ Idée prise du dogme de la métémpsychose, et d'après laquelle les vertus et les mérites qu'on s'est acquis durant une première vie sont portés en compte sur le bonheur dont on

43. On avait beau lui vanter les *sourcils de feuilles de saule*. Ses sourcils (à Houngiu) étaient comme la feuille du saule printanier (*DC*, I, 87).
44. Celui-ci *saluait sans grâce*, en saluant, il (l'astrologue) se jetait le corps en avant, et reculait précipitamment, sans grâce, et avec l'air de la plus profonde humilité (*DC*, I, 132).
45. l'un *avait une écriture lourde et commune*, Mais il a une bien mauvaise écriture, la main bien lourde et bien commune (*DC*, II, 95).
46. l'autre ne savait pas le *livre des vers* *V. plus haut la section 28 et aussi:* ne sachant pas qu'il était pris d'un passage emprunté du livre des vers (*DC*, I, 165-66).
47. ou s'était trompé sur la *rime* "Mais les deux caractères **FE-KAO** sont divinement écrits." Et en parlant ainsi, il (Yang-Fang) donna à ce dernier mot la prononciation vulgaire ne sachant pas qu'il était pris d'un passage . . . ou, pour la rime, il faut prononcer *kou* (*DC*, I, 165-66).
48. le pauvre aspirant qui croyait déjà poser le pied sur le seuil du *pavillon oriental*¹ Je pourrais l'inviter à venir demeurer chez moi.
NOTE: Littéralement à *occuper le pavillon occidental*, c'est-à-dire l'appartement des hôtes, quoiqu'il puisse être placé dans un endroit quelconque de la maison; lui donner l'*appartement oriental*, serait en faire un gendre (*DC*, II, 118). un sage destiné aux faveurs du pavillon oriental (II, 163).
49. Madame Kouan *rêva* qu'elle *voyait* sur la poitrine de son fils Tchin-Sing une pierre de *jaspe* si merveilleusement polie qu'elle *jetait des rayons* comme une escarboucle.
- La nuit de sa naissance (à Houngiu), Pe crut voir en songe un personnage divin qui lui faisait don d'un morceau de jaspe du rouge le plus vif et éclatant comme le soleil (*DC*, I, 86).

doit jouir dans quelques vie subséquente (*note de l'éditeur*, *DC*, I, 241). G. y croyait. A propos de la musique turque, il fait cette remarque que "le motif de thème, ramené invariablement après quelques ondulations, finissait par s'emparer de l'âme avec une impérieuse sympathie. . . Des souvenirs d'existence antérieure me revenaient en foule, des physionomies connues et que cependant je n'avais jamais rencontrées dans ce monde me souriaient avec une expression indéfinissable de reproche et d'amour . . ." (*les Derviches tourneurs* dans *Constantinople*, p. 137).

¹ L'orient, ainsi que l'atteste maint passage des *DC* est toujours l'emblème du mariage. Pour donner une fille en mariage à un prétendant, on dit: attirer celui-ci dans la partie orientale de la maison. Le vent d'orient, le soleil à l'orient, le mur oriental, un hôte d'orient, sont toutes des expressions formées d'après cette idée, et qui, de la poésie, ont passé dans le langage le plus ordinaire de la conversation (*DC*, I, 254; II, 135).

50. Les deux femmes allèrent, chacune de son côté, consulter le bonze du temple de Fo

Après avoir brûlé du papier doré et des parfums

51. *il arriva qu'un jour Ju-Kiouan était accoudée à la balustrade du pavillon champêtre précisément à l'heure où Tchin-Sing en faisait autant de son côté*

52. *pas une ride ne moirait la surface de l'étang*

53. *les arbres de la rive s'y réfléchissaient si exactement . . . elle aperçut le reflet du pavillon opposé*

54. *Mais ce qui l'étonna au plus haut degré, ce fut de voir . . . une figure qui lui ressemblait d'une telle façon, que si elle ne fût pas venue de l'autre côté du bassin, elle l'eût prise pour elle-même: c'était l'ombre de Tchin-Sing, et si l'on trouve étrange qu'un garçon puisse être pris pour une demoiselle, nous répondrons que Tchin-Sing, à cause de la chaleur, avait ôté son bonnet de licencié, qu'il était extrêmement jeune et n'avait pas encore de barbe²*

Sa première femme allait en tous lieux adresser des prières aux dieux, adorer les génies, brûler des parfums et faire des vœux (*DC*, I, 86). elle est allée brûler des parfums dans le temple (II, 60).

Après qu'on avait brûlé l'encens, ces objets (le pou-fou, un pou-tai pour contenir *le cheval de Fo*,¹ et autres offrandes dorées) étaient suspendus dans le temple de famille consacré au dieu Fo. (*Les Tendres époux*, *CC*, I, 139.)

(ils) prirent chacun leur pou-fou, où ils mirent le papier doré destiné aux offrandes (*ibid.*, 144) après avoir brûlé les offrandes de papier (*ibid.*, 145).

il arriva que le jeune homme et la demoiselle vinrent tous deux en même temps à leur maison d'été (le pavillon) pour respirer la fraîcheur (p. 16)

Tchin-Seng était assis appuyé contre la balustrade (p. 17)

la surface de l'eau était tranquille (p. 16)

les deux pavillons s'y réfléchissaient distinctement (p. 16)

tout à coup elle tressaillit et s'écria: "Comment se fait-il que mon image paraisse de l'autre côté de l'eau, tandis que je suis de ce côté-ci ? (elle) convint que c'était véritablement son portrait

(elle) reconnut que ce devait être l'ombre de son cousin

(elle) le prenait pour une femme lorsque la chaleur était accablante ne lui voyant pas de bonnet il y avait à peine la plus légère différence entre eux (pp. 16-17)

¹ Papier découpé en forme de cheval (*CC*, I, 142).

² Dans *les Deux cousins*, Lo-Mengli, l'une des cousines, se déguise en homme afin de pouvoir juger par elle-même du caractère de See-Yeoupe. Il n'est pas impossible que

55. elle avait souhaité d'avoir à sa disposition un des chevaux de *Fargana* qui font *mille lieues par jour* pour le chercher dans les espaces imaginaires
56. Elle s'imaginait . . . qu'elle *ne connaîtrait jamais la douceur de l'union des sarcelles.*¹
57. Jamais, se disait-elle, je ne consacrerai *la lentille d'eau et l'alisma* sur l'autel des ancêtres
58. *J'entrerai seule parmi les mûriers et les ormes.*
59. En voyant cette *ombre* dans l'eau, elle comprit que sa *beauté avait une sœur ou plutôt un frère.* Loin d'en être fâchée, elle se trouva tout heureuse; l'orgueil de se croire unique céda bien vite à l'*amour* car dès cet instant, *le cœur de Ju-Kiouan fut liée à jamais*
60. *Tchin-Sing avait aussi aperçu cette beauté merveilleuse*
- Vous avez là un coursier capable de parcourir mille milles. NOTE: Cent lieues: on attribue la force de parcourir cent lieues par jour aux chevaux de *Fargana* qui sont issus d'un cheval céleste (*DC*, I, 155).
- Le vulgaire seul ignore toujours les douceurs de l'union des sarcelles (*DC*, IV, 51; I, 219; III, 37; IV, 57).
- j'aspirais à devenir possesseur de la lentille d'eau et de l'alisma. NOTE: Pin et fan; deux plantes que les jeunes filles sont représentées occupées à cueillir, dans le livre des vers, seconde partie, ode 2 et 4. L'une de ces plantes était ramassée par celles qui étaient sur le point de se marier; elles la déposaient en offrande à la chapelle des ancêtres. C'est à cet usage que See Yeoupe fait allusion ici (*DC*, IV, 10).
- Je sens que je commence à approcher du tombeau. NOTE: Je vais entrer parmi les mûriers et les ormes. Ce sont les arbres que l'on plante au-dessus des sépultures (*DC*, II, 26).
- Elle reconnaît que ce devait être l'ombre de son cousin . . . obligée de renoncer au droit exclusif à la beauté, elle éprouva une sorte de sympathie pour ce qui était si semblable à elle-même, et peu à peu en vint à concevoir du ressentiment contre les pères qui séparaient ainsi de si proches parents (p. 17)
- Le nœud d'amour était déjà serré pour ces deux amants par l'intermédiaire de leurs ombres (p. 19)
- Tchin-Seng . . . aperçut aussi la réflexion. Il reconnut . . . que ce qu'il avait entendu dire était la vérité, et qu'il n'était pas à comparer à sa cousine (pp. 17-18).

G. se soit souvenu de la façon dont l'auteur chinois décrit le prétendu jeune homme à son entrée en scène: "Il vit cette porte s'ouvrir, et il en sortit un jeune adolescent qui pouvait avoir quinze ou seize ans, la tête couverte d'un bonnet léger, vêtu d'un habit de couleur violette. Ses lèvres vermeilles, ses dents éclatantes de blancheur, ses yeux brillants, et ses sourcils bien dessinés, lui donnaient l'air d'une fille charmante." Après le passage dont il est ici question, G. écrit: "Ses traits délicats, son teint uni et ses yeux brillants pouvaient facilement prêter à l'illusion," Or, ces détails manquent dans *l'Ombre dans l'eau*; il n'y est dit que ceci: il y avait à peine la plus légère différence entre eux deux (p. 17).

¹ Il s'agit de certains oiseaux d'eau qui nagent toujours par couples, en se répondant par un chant que le Chikling (livre des vers) exprime ainsi *Kouan-Kouan*, et qui est regardé comme très-harmonieux. Les Sarcelles, à cause de cela, passent pour l'emblème du bonheur et de la fidélité conjugale (*DC*, IV, 183).

61. Cette charmante figure doit être formée des rayons argentés de la lune par une nuit de printemps et du plus subtil arôme des fleurs;

62. Tchin-Sing, tout occupé de l'aventure du pavillon, et brûlant d'amour pour l'image entrevue dans l'eau,

63. Le lendemain, à la même heure, il se rendit au pavillon champêtre, et, comme la veille, se pencha en dehors de la balustrade

64. Un sourire joyeux s'épanouit comme un bouton de grenade dans la transparence de l'eau et prouva à Tchin-Sing qu'il n'était pas désagréable à la belle inconnue;

65. il fit signe qu'il allait écrire

66. une déclaration d'amour en vers de sept syllabes¹

Bien que Lo Mengli soit déguisée en jeune homme, elle a l'air d'une jeune fille charmante; on eût pu dire avec vérité: Qui oserait porter envie à cette intelligence formée de l'essence des fleurs? Pourrait-on ne pas s'attacher à cette âme émanée de la lune? (DC, III, 146) et aussi: Sa figure effacerait le disque de la lune et ferait rougir les fleurs (II, 50).

du premier moment que ce jeune homme (Tchin-Seng) avait aperçu Ju-Kiouan, il semblait avoir cédé son âme à l'ombre qu'il avait vue dans l'eau, et il paraissait plutôt mort que vif. Si on l'appelait, il ne répondait pas; et quand on lui adressait la parole, il n'entendait pas. Il passait tout son temps dans la maison d'été, assis, appuyé contre le balcon, sans rien faire et ne voulant permettre à personne de s'approcher de lui (p. 31)

Depuis ce moment, ils vinrent tous les jours régulièrement au même endroit, préférant être seuls pour regarder par-dessus les balustrades (p. 19)

Elle se contenta de faire connaître les sentiments de son cœur par un sourire.

Tchin-Seng . . . savait fort bien qu'il suffisait à un homme d'un sourire, pour juger si une femme est favorablement disposée pour lui (pp. 18-19)

en lui faisant signe de le ramasser (p. 23)

Chaque strophe doit être composée de vers de sept syllabes (DC, III, 2).

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[To be concluded]

¹ Le grand vers chinois a sept syllabes (DC, II, 109).

ROUSSEAUISM IN TWO EARLY WORKS OF MME DE STAËL

The term Rousseauism is much too comprehensive if used to mean indifferently a *Contrat social* or a *Nouvelle Héloïse*. There are at least two Rousseaus, a rationalist and a sentimentalist.¹ Some restriction in connotation is especially desirable in a discussion of his influence, for only certain aspects of Rousseauism are then generally in question. The term is here employed to denote an emphasis on feeling, imagination, and enthusiasm, the elements that the romantics took from the *Nouvelle Héloïse*.

One might almost say that of the works of her master Mme de Staël remembers only the *Nouvelle Héloïse* and the *Confessions*. Their part among influences that made *Delphine*, *Corinne*, or *De l'Allemagne* is quite large, as any reader could testify; their dominant influence is no less apparent in the authoress' youthful criticism and fiction. Although these first efforts show little beyond an enthusiasm for Rousseau's ideas, still the enthusiasm is significant; there is indeed some development even thus early. An analysis of this initial stage of Rousseauism is what we purpose in this study. The object will be to ascertain what ideas have been assimilated or rejected. The works analyzed are the *Lettres sur les écrits et le caractère de J.-J. Rousseau*, which, as Sainte-Beuve remarks,² are the first serious work of Mme de Staël, and the *Essai sur les fictions*, which is added to obtain a complete view of her literary ideas when she began writing.³ The thesis will be that Rousseau leads Mme de Staël to become absorbed in her feelings.

¹ Cf. A. Schinz, "Rousseau romantique et Rousseau calviniste," *La Revue du mois*, June, 1912; "Rousseau devant l'érudition moderne," *Modern Philology*, December, 1912; "la Notion de vertu dans le premier discours de J.-J. Rousseau," *Mercure de France*, June 1, 1912; *Annales J.-J. Rousseau*, 1911, p. 156.

² *Portraits de femmes*, Paris, 1880, p. 92.

³ The stories *Mirza*, *Pauline*, and *Adelaïde et Théodore* have been carefully studied by Caro, with reference to Rousseauistic elements, in his *Fin du 18me siècle*, Vol. II, chap. v, "la Jeunesse de Mme de Staël."

- I. The *Lettres sur les écrits et le caractère de J.-J. Rousseau. Lettre première. Du style de Rousseau, et de ses premiers discours sur les sciences, l'inégalité des conditions, et le danger des spectacles.*

To plunge at once *in medias res*, Mme de Staël's primary impression of Rousseau shows how well she discerns the nature of his genius: "Il rêvait plutôt qu'il n'existaient, et les évènements de sa vie se passaient dans sa tête plutôt qu'au-dehors de lui."¹ This apt criticism goes to the root of the matter and grasps the fact that his influence will work toward the restoration of feeling and imagination to literature and art.

The *Discours sur les arts et les sciences* is condemned as being paradoxical; and the dream of bringing man back to Arcadia is chimerical.² Nevertheless in the effort to find Arcadia, Rousseau discovered some important truths, and "l'âme n'a toute sa force qu'en s'abandonnant."³ The enthusiasm of a writer interests our critic as much as his rightness of judgment.

The *Discours sur l'inégalité* calls for some similar remarks on the regret for lost Arcadia. The belief in the goodness of nature is mentioned, but not discussed.⁴ The authoress is aware that most of Rousseau's sorrows grew out of his inadaptability to the highly socialized life of the eighteenth century. But why, she asks, should he wish to reduce man to a state approaching brutishness? Because his own experience had taught him that unusual gifts of mind and heart may be purchased at the expense of happiness.⁵

The source of Rousseau's fascination over Mme de Staël has been his appealing and expressive eloquence; his sensibility awakens her own: "il agit sur l'âme et remonte à la première source."⁶ His merit and charm lie, not in perfection of style, but in soulfulness.⁷ Perfection, it is asserted, is a negative excellence; it is the avoidance of faults rather than the creation of beauty, poise rather than abandon. This is to look at perfection through the eyes of the pseudo-classicist. But Mme de Staël prefers soulfulness and *élan*.

The violation of good taste in the use of low words, though offensive, is excused on account of Rousseau's republican sentiments.

¹ All references to Mme de Staël are to the edition entitled, *les Ouvrages de Madame la baronne de Staël-Holstein*, 3 vols., Paris, 1858, Lefèvre. This reference is to Vol. I, p. 38.

² I, 4.

³ I, 5.

⁴ I, 5.

⁵ I, 6.

⁶ I, 6.

⁷ I, 6, 7.

He rebelled at a hierarchy in words. There are abundant examples to prove that he could write with the strictest conformity to good taste when he so wished.¹

The *Lettre sur les spectacles* is warmly commended. But so zealous a devotee of the drama as Mme de Staël is not interested in the moral question; she is attracted rather to the statements about woman. Rousseau's recognition of woman's sensibility is gratefully noted: "Comme il les adore quand elles se présentent à lui avec les charmes, les faiblesses, les vertus et les torts de leur sexe! . . . Il croit à l'amour; sa grâce est obtenue."² Several such phrases indicate how Rousseau's influence channeled a course for the sensibilities of Mme de Staël, and made her an advocate of feeling.

Lettre II, d'Héloïse

In this letter Mme de Staël does not allow herself to write as she would wish. She has undoubtedly felt the appeal of Rousseau's romance of passion, but she dares not confess her liking for such a portrayal of love. Literature permeated with such tense feeling is too delicious to be good. Therefore "j'écrirai sur *Héloïse* comme je le ferais, je crois, si le temps avait vieilli mon cœur."³ So every page of her critique suggests the moral earnestness of the Swiss Protestant. However, "puisqu'il faut intéresser l'âme par les sentiments pour fixer l'esprit sur les pensées; puisqu'il faut mêler la passion à la vertu pour forcer à les écouter toutes deux, est-ce Rousseau qu'on doit blâmer?"⁴

Though she chooses to affirm that the *Nouvelle Héloïse* exemplifies a great moral idea and contains an incentive to virtue, Mme de Staël has to meet the objection that an interest in Julie is dangerous: "C'est répandre du charme sur le crime."⁵ The justice of the criticism is recognized and doubt is expressed whether a psychology is good that disregards the actual moral fall of the heroine: "L'indulgence est la seule vertu qu'il est dangereux de prêcher. . . . Le crime doit exciter à l'indignation."⁶ But the ardent Rousseauist is not inclined to linger over the objection. Conceding its validity, she hastens to the defense of the novel. Other novels, such as *Clarissa Harlowe*, may have a more praiseworthy subject, but the

¹ I, 7.

² I, 8.

³ I, 10.

⁴ I, 12.

⁵ I, 10.

⁶ I, 10.

true aim of fiction is in the sentiments inspired rather than in the events narrated.¹ Rousseau creates an enthusiasm for virtue and stirs the heart with his story of a great passion.

But considering the romantic nature of her early tales and the depiction of love in *Delphine* and *Corinne*, one may ask, Does Mme de Staël say how she had really been affected? Was she impressed chiefly with the moral lesson of the *Nouvelle Héloïse*? At the beginning of the letter she makes the statement, "je tâcherai surtout de me défendre d'un enthousiasme qu'on pourrait attribuer à la disposition de mon caractère."² So she confines herself to Rousseau's moral ideas on love and interweaves her own. Love brings almost every good: "Quand l'objet de son culte est vertueux, on le devient soi-même . . . involontairement on fait ce qu'il devoit ordonne: enfin cet abandon de soi-même, ce mépris pour tout ce que la vanité fait rechercher, prépare l'âme à la vertu: lorsque l'amour sera éteint, elle y régnera seule."³ This recalls Rousseau's enthusiasm for virtue and his cult of the beautiful soul.

The strictures in the *Nouvelle Héloïse* on cynical Paris and on corrupting literature have been read with a kindly eye: "Le tableau d'une passion violente est sans doute dangereux, mais l'indifférence et la légèreté avec laquelle d'autres auteurs ont traité les principes supposent bien plus de corruption de mœurs et y contribuent davantage."⁴ Mme de Staël has begun to think about those ideas on society that will partly be the basis of her criticism.

The social experience of Mme de Staël prompts a criticism of the pleasantries of Claire: "Il faut, pour atteindre à la perfection de ce genre, avoir acquis à Paris cette espèce d'instinct qui rejette, sans s'en rendre même raison, tout ce que l'examen le plus fin condamnerait."⁵ The idea is that the melancholy and solitary man should write only such literature as expresses himself. Mme de Staël makes thus early the distinction between a literature that reflects the *esprit de société* and one that reflects the individual. Wit is "peu digne d'admiration" compared with Rousseau's ability to "communiquer les plus violents mouvements de l'âme."⁶

This letter contains also a hint of the division of literature into antique and chivalrous.⁷ Mme de Staël remarks that the ideas of inevitable fate and divine wrath lessen the interest of *Phèdre*; the

¹ I, 11.

² I, 10.

³ I, 12.

⁴ I, 13.

⁵ I, 18.

⁶ I, 19.

⁷ I, 19.

interest of our romances lies in the depiction of chivalrous conduct. Rousseau is given a separate classification, for he first painted the "sentiment qui naît du libre penchant du cœur, le sentiment à la fois ardent et tendre, délicat et passionné."¹

Nothing is said about nature except that towering rocks, great lakes, and rapid torrents accord admirably with passion.²

Lettre III, d'Emile

The estimate of Rousseau's romance of education is that of all sensible people: "C'est ainsi qu'on doit éléver l'homme; c'est l'éducation de l'espèce plutôt que celle de l'individu. Mais il faut l'étudier comme ces modèles de proportion que les sculpteurs ont toujours devant les yeux, quelque soient les statues qu'ils veulent faire."³ The value of the plan is that it conserves for the child the imprint of nature and gives him to society with his inborn characteristics developed; an enlightened and orderly society ought to be composed of such individuals. But from time to time society drifts away from this ideal built upon nature; an *Emile* then becomes needful.⁴

Mme de Staël never wavers in her belief that our natural self is our best self, and therefore heartily indorses the idea that education should be a natural awakening of the inner goodly man.⁵ She is not sure that the long delay of formal study is advisable;⁶ yet she entertains no doubt that the pupil can master the program proposed.⁷

An attractive feature of this scheme of education is the avoidance of deceit and tyranny. It is a phase of the Rousseauistic concern for the individual.⁸ Mme de Staël objects to any infringement on the right of the individual: "Comme j'aime . . . cette éducation . . . qui le force à l'obéissance non en le faisant plier sous la volonté d'un gouverneur ou d'un père dont il ne connaîttrait pas les droits et dont il haïrait l'empire. . . ."⁹ This championship of the individual will be of the first importance in her future criticism, fiction, and political writings.

Scant attention is given to the argument that the child must be kept ignorant of vice till maturity. Mme de Staël is content to

¹ I, 19.

² I, 24.

³ I, 21, 22.

⁷ I, 21.

⁹ I, 21.

² I, 19.

⁴ I, 20, 21.

⁶ I, 21.

⁸ I, 21.

say a few commonplaces. Another idea without much attraction for her is physical education.¹ Yet how much more important this is than the troubled romance of Emile and Sophie!

The passage on motherhood shows a warm sympathy with Rousseau's ideas: "Il fit connaître . . . ce bonheur . . . il interdit les serviles respects des valets . . . mais il permit les tendres soins d'une mère."² *Bonheur* is what Mme de Staël is grateful for. *Bonheur* and *sensible* are from the first the words she uses oftenest.

The poetry that Rousseau wove about childhood has little appeal for the authoress. Her own childhood had been that of a precocious girl whose delight was to talk to the witty encyclopedists of her mother's salon, or to read novels destitute of interest to most children. She could hardly respond to the impassioned recollections of Rousseau. She writes merely: "Il a su rendre à cet âge son bonheur naturel . . . cet âge où l'imagination ne craint rien de l'avenir, où le moment présent compose toute la vie, où le cœur aime sans inquiétude."³ This sounds more like a sentence in a textbook of psychology than romancing. However profound the influence of Rousseau, he could not endow Mme de Staël with his own richly poetic temperament. He could deepen, not broaden, her personality.

The ardent admirer of the *Nouvelle Héloïse* naturally devotes considerable space to the education of Sophie and to her relations with Emile. The neglect of Sophie is a disappointment; her character is left undeveloped and even represented as essentially weak. Women ought rather to be encouraged to the superior virtues she is capable of; her affections should determine her attitude toward her husband.⁴ The part Sophie plays in *Emile* is most regrettable: "Pourquoi flétrir le cœur par la triste fin de l'histoire d'Emile et de Sophie?"⁵ How can the creator of Julie have imagined Sophie as the typical woman? Had he not above all others taught the ideal of happiness in love? The explanation offered is that "il a condamné lui-même l'éducation qu'elle avait reçue; il l'a sacrifiée au désir de faire valoir celle d'Emile, en donnant le spectacle de son courage dans la plus violente situation du cœur."⁶ Mme de Staël fails to recognize that Rousseau's view of woman was epicurean.

¹ I, 23.

² I, 24.

³ I, 24.

⁴ I, 26.

⁵ I, 26.

⁶ I, 26.

Relative to the manner in which *Emile* had influenced her, Mme de Staël informs us it was through her feelings: "C'est par les sentiments de son âme que Rousseau captive l'intérêt."¹ And again: "Comment ne pas adorer son amour pour la vertu, sa passion pour la nature? Il ne l'a pas peinte comme Virgile, mais il l'a gravée dans le cœur."² Now Mme de Staël's ideas on virtue were vague, and she had as yet no feeling for nature; eloquence straight from the heart is what moves her: "Elle fait naître dans l'âme ces mouvements qui décident instantanément du parti que l'on prend."³

In discussing the profession of faith by the Savoyard vicar Mme de Staël willingly accepts the belief in a kindly Providence. Rousseau is praised for consulting man's natural instinct and for respecting "les pieuses pensées dont nous avons tant de besoin."⁴ But the curious reader will remark a lack of interest, certainly of enthusiasm, for this part of the *Emile*. Mme de Staël subscribes to the creed and agrees that religion springs from human needs; that is all. When the theme is the love of Julie she adopts quite a different tone. Till the death of Necker, her father, Mme de Staël gave only a nominal adherence to Christianity; she was never a religiously minded person.

Lettre IV, Sur les ouvrages politiques de Rousseau

Though Mme de Staël preferred a scheme of government based on the English constitution rather than on the political theories of Rousseau, this letter shows the power and variety of his influence. She follows Montesquieu with respect to the origin and working of political institutions, but sometimes sees truth in the abstract doctrines of Rousseau. She realizes that there was never a social contract in history, still the idea of a contract resides in society as a moral force.⁵ Montesquieu is on the whole responsible for her ideas, Rousseau for her enthusiasm: "Ce n'était pas assez d'avoir démontré les droits des hommes, il fallait, et c'était surtout là le talent de Rousseau, il fallait, dans tous ses ouvrages, leur faire sentir le prix qu'ils doivent y attacher."⁶ As for the ideas of Rousseau, Mme de Staël says there are arguments in the *Contrat social* so logical that they are irrefutable.

¹ I, 27.

² I, 28.

³ I, 28.

⁴ I, 29.

⁵ I, 31.

⁶ I, 32.

The principle of equality is accepted for an ideal: Je l'aime aussi, de toute la force et de toute la vivacité de mes premiers sentiments, cette liberté qui ne met entre les hommes d'autre distinction que celles marquées par la nature."¹ After full reflection she has made the principle her political faith.² However, Montesquieu is more useful for men considering a society already formed.³

Lettre V, Sur le goût de Rousseau pour la musique et la botanique

Mme de Staël seemingly did not care much for music; her interest in Julie or the sensibility of Rousseau fills many a page, but music can claim only a paragraph. This is really surprising, for it is upon her emotional nature that Rousseau has greatest influence. But art was a closed door to her.

Like Rousseau she desires in music an appeal to the heart; she speaks of certain airs "simples et sensibles . . . qui s'allient si bien avec la situation de l'âme."⁴ One likes to sing them when one is unhappy on account of their melancholy.⁵ Indeed the charm of music is its invitation to a dreamy melancholy.

Relative to his penchant for botany Mme de Staël says that Rousseau disliked to consider plants with reference to their utility; such an idea spoiled the pleasure he found in the science. He wished to exclude from nature anything that recalled the ills or necessities of man.⁶ The incident of the periwinkle is mentioned: "Comme elle lui retracait tout ce qu'il avait éprouvé jadis."⁷

Lettre VI, Sur le caractère de Rousseau

This letter is an apology for Rousseau. Mme de Staël defends her master with feeling and is not often willing to make concessions to his critics. From the defense one may judge how fully she has accepted his gospel of feeling.

First of all, are the *Confessions* trustworthy? Proof of sincerity may be found in those passages that do not redound to the credit of the writer: "On cache plutôt qu'on n'invente les aveux que les *Confessions* contiennent. Les événements qui y sont racontés paraissent vrais dans tous leurs détails. Il y a des circonstances que

¹ I, 33.

² I, 31.

³ I, 34.

⁴ I, 36.

² I, 33.

⁴ I, 34.

⁵ I, 36.

l'imagination ne saurait créer.”¹ But Mme de Staël does not seek out objectionable passages to assure impartiality of judgment; she is writing a brief for a client.

The analysis deals with temperament rather than with character. Morality is discussed, but in a manner far different from that of a critic like Vinet. Vinet examines carefully and presents a clear and suggestive statement of genius tainted with moral disease. For Mme de Staël a cool diagnosis is apathy. Should not a character be studied for inspiration and enthusiasm? Should not ugly traits be passed over? Not much is said therefore about the spineless morality of Rousseau, still less about his criminal actions.

The contrast between the inner and the outer man is noted. Rousseau was common in appearance, but his life within was rich.² As to personality, *sauvagerie* was a dominant trait.³ His extreme shyness is not called a defect: “Il était né pour la société de la nature, et non pour celle d'institution. . . . Il ne lui fut possible ni de la comprendre ni de la supporter.”⁴ These are the kindly words of the genial hostess of Coppet, adept and tactful in the management of persons so antipathetic as Benjamin Constant, Sismondi, and Schlegel. Broad sympathy generally determined her attitude toward others. In the case of Rousseau the idea of a diseased personality is hardly present. His experiences increased his shyness, that is the sum and substance of the matter for Mme de Staël: “Rappelez-vous combien dans sa jeunesse il aimait les hommes! S'il a plus changé qu'un autre, c'est qu'il s'attendait moins aux tristes lumières qu'il fut forcé d'acquérir.”⁵ There is no hint that the Elysian years spent with Mme de Warens unfitted him for understanding his equals and profiting from their company.

The inclination to reverie and melancholy is mentioned: “Il était né contemplatif, et la rêverie faisait son bonheur suprême; son esprit et son cœur tour à tour s'emparaient de lui. Il vivait dans son imagination; le monde passait doucement devant ses yeux: la religion, les hommes, l'amour, la politique l'occupaient successivement.”⁶ Rousseau *rêveur* will become Mme de Staël's idea of genius; genius will dream and thus be frankly self: “Celui que le transport de son imagination et de son âme élève au-dessus de lui-même . . .

¹ I, 37.

² I, 37.

³ I, 39.

⁴ I, 39.

⁵ I, 43.

⁶ I, 39.

celui que son élan emporte et qui sent un moment ce qu'il n'aura peut-être pas la force de sentir toujours, est-ce que c'est cet homme-là qu'on peut croire hypocrite?"¹ *Elan* is then a primary quality of genius. The idea recurs often; a still better wording is: "Cette exaltation est le délice du génie."²

Another trait chosen for discussion is the love of solitude. Mme de Staël finds in solitude a source of happiness rather than a means of communion with nature. The necessity of a life spent apart from society is to become one of the articles of her literary creed. Of course fertile reverie and solitude go together.³

Rousseau's many pages about nature have not been read with deeply aesthetic or emotional satisfaction. Mme de Staël has been too absorbed in his imaginative depiction of character, in his melancholy, sensibility, and social troubles to dwell on his love of nature. The lack of response to this passion of Rousseau is quite evident from the following typical passage: "Un jour ils [he and a friend] se promenaient ensemble sur les montagnes de la Suisse; ils arrivèrent enfin dans un séjour enchanteur; un espace immense se découvrait à leurs yeux; ils respiraient à cette hauteur cet air pur de la nature auquel le souffle des hommes ne s'est pas encore mêlé. Le compagnon de Rousseau espérait alors que l'influence de ce lieu animerait son génie . . . mais Rousseau se mit tout à coup à jouer sur l'herbe . . . heureux d'être libre de ses sentiments et de ses pensées."⁴ What word is there about nature? Are we told anything more than that Rousseau was happy? When the theme is nature Mme de Staël generally drifts into something about man.⁵ She understands only the consolation that nature offers a troubled heart. All that can be affirmed for the present—she was twenty-two when she composed these letters—is that Rousseau has made her aware that there is a world of nature.

The term imagination is used with reference to reverie rather than visualization. This Rousseauistic trait seems to have struck Mme de Staël almost more than any other: "Je crois que l'imagination était la première de ses facultés, et qu'elle absorbait même toutes

¹ I, 40. The statement is in connection with the charge of hypocrisy, but is none the less applicable here.

² I, 40.

³ I, 44, 45.

⁴ I, 41.

⁵ I, 42, "Comme son séjour aux Charmettes," etc.

les autres."¹ This turning of the eyes inward attracts Mme de Staël, but she is not blind to its evil possibilities: "L'imagination était en démence; il avait une grande puissance de raison . . . sur les objets qui n'ont de réalité que dans la pensée, et une extravagance absolue sur tout ce qui tient à la connaissance du monde."² One might ask whether, if he did not understand life and could not view it objectively, we should accept his teaching. Mme de Staël does not look for a depicter of cold reality in Rousseau; she seeks an enthusiast and a champion of virtue.³ Read Rousseau, she advises, and you will have the right feelings about life.

Rousseau the lover is given his due share of discussion. There is no attempt to make of him a romantic lover: "C'était à l'amour qu'il songeait; ses sentiments ne le tourmentaient pas; il n'étudiait pas dans les regards de sa maîtresse le degré de passion qu'il lui inspirait; c'était une personne à aimer qu'il lui fallait."⁴ The letter on the *Nouvelle Héloïse* informs us to what extent Rousseau's ideas of passion are accepted; here we see that the man is not regarded as an exponent of his teaching. The point to note is that Mme de Staël is sympathetic in her judgment. That Rousseau loved only in his imagination calls forth no satire. A follower of Voltaire would have laughed.

With respect to the moral conduct of Rousseau the verdict is that he was good. The bad aspects of his character are explained as "actes de folie," "absences de tête."⁵ Because his sentiments are so noble, because his work breathes the spirit of truth, one owes him an explanation: "Les hommes se jugent eux-mêmes par leurs intentions plutôt que par leurs actions, et il n'y a que ce moyen de connaître un cœur susceptible d'erreur et de folie."⁶ To the explanation that he abandoned his children from fear of future evil for them, Mme de Staël adds for further extenuation, "ce même homme eût été cependant capable de donner les plus grands exemples d'amour paternel."⁷ Like Rousseau, she forgets that true virtue does not leave the will untouched; she is willing to overlook much, much indeed, if the plaintiff is *sensible*.⁸

¹ I, 38. ² I, 39. ³ I, 48. ⁴ I, 43. ⁵ I, 42. ⁶ I, 41. ⁷ I, 38.

⁸ On the other hand, Mme de Staël remarks against Rousseau: "On ne peut pas cependant dire que Rousseau était vertueux, parce qu'il faut des actions et de la suite dans les actions pour mériter cet éloge," I, 39.

Warm sympathy is expressed for Rousseau's morbid suspicion of his associates and his conviction that he was persecuted. He was not understood; his friends should have taken pains to make known their kindly feelings.¹ That he might have been unreasonable or blamable does not occur to the authoress.

She accepts the theory that Rousseau committed suicide, her argument being that he could no longer endure to live unloved; weary of his loneliness and troubles he ends them. The theory is not based on facts or evidence, but on an idea of inner necessity.²

In conclusion one may say that the principal Rousseauistic element of these letters is sensibility. The very frequent use of the word tells how the temperament of Mme de Staël has been influenced; sensibility pervades her thought; it is the bond of kinship between herself and her master. The result is a deepening and increase in feeling. An emphasis on feeling leads to the idea that genius must be *élan*, that it must express its individual reaction, that it must seek solitude and give free rein to reverie. An emphasis on feeling leads to approval of passion as portrayed in the *Nouvelle Héloïse*, and to a certain tendency to overlook immorality. An emphasis on feeling means also the acceptance of the Rousseauistic conception of virtue, viz., sentiment and enthusiasm about virtue instead of an exercise of the will.

Mme de Staël is inclined to adopt Rousseau's strictures on the *esprit de société*. She has decided that great and profound literature receives dubious benefit from this spirit. In matters of taste and literary expression she has grown suspicious of artful polish and tradition when compared with freshness and personality.

The influence of Rousseau has not yet brought her to appreciate what she did not have a temperamental liking for. Hence she has no passion for music, though she is *sensible*; she cares little for poetry, and less for nature.

II. The Essai sur les Fictions

Three main points stand out in this essay: first, the imagination, which creates a new world to console us for the loss of happiness in

¹ I, 39..

² I, 47.

this; secondly, the heart, which must be the theme of literature; thirdly, the avoidance of all that is artificial and untrue to life. The essay shows definitely how Mme de Staël is developing Rousseau's ideas. She is a daughter of the materialistic and intellectual eighteenth century, and cannot appreciate poetry, yet Rousseauistic sensibility has made her realize the desirability of imagination: "Il n'est point de faculté plus précieuse à l'homme que son imagination."¹ Two reasons are assigned, one derivable from Rousseau and driven home by the tragical experience of the Revolution: "Ce n'est qu'à l'aide de quelques créations, de quelques images du choix heureux de nos souvenirs, qu'on peut rassembler des plaisirs épars sur la terre et lutter;"² the other idea is that "le petit nombre des vérités nécessaires et évidentes ne suffira jamais à l'esprit ni au cœur de l'homme."³ This also smacks of Rousseau; no encyclopedist could ever have spoken of the *small* number of necessary truths. The two ideas together mean simply that the imagination must furnish an escape from the pains and sorrows of life. Possible objection is dismissed with the statement that only the mediocre or the over-rational would demur—the pseudo-classicists.⁴ Men desire above all else to have their interest stirred: in literature the way to interest is through a *talent d'émouvoir*.⁵ When Mme de Staël speaks of the imagination she really means the emotions excited by a portrayal of life. This present estimate of the imagination as comprehending every faculty of man except his reason will not be the usual point of view of the authoress.

She speaks at length against the imaginative aspects of the epics of Greece and Rome, the romances of chivalry, and the historical novel (as also later in *La Littérature*). These types of fiction do not offer proper models for imitation: "J'ai voulu . . . prouver que les romans qui prendraient la vie telle qu'elle est, avec finesse, éloquence, profondeur et moralité seraient les plus utiles de tous les genres de fictions."⁶ She means that novels like *Clarissa Harlowe* or the *Nouvelle Héloïse* can alone satisfy the present generation (of the time of Mme de Staël). No objection can be raised to this criticism, but the authoress proceeds to pass judgment on the *Iliad*, the *Aeneid*, the *Orlando furioso*, the *Faerie Queene*, as if they had been

¹ I, 127.² I, 127.³ I, 127.⁴ I, 127.⁵ I, 127.

129.

written for her generation. She is too much interested in her feelings to fancy types of fiction that do not satisfy her tastes and emotional needs. What she dislikes she condemns. The gods of Homer and Vergil, for instance, are vexing in serious fiction and serve only to spoil the analysis of the characters; it is a mistake to center the interest in these divine personages instead of in the characters. In the romances of chivalry the marvelous adventures of the knights and ladies may be diverting, but this mingling of the marvelous and the real is to the detriment of psychology. In a word, Mme de Staël does not as yet practice relativity in criticism. She is, however, aware that a historical sense is necessary for the appreciation of these creations of bygone times: "Cependant, il faut dans le jugement des choses humaines exclure toutes les idées absolues; je suis donc bien loin de ne pas admirer le génie créateur de ces fictions poétiques sur lesquelles l'esprit vit depuis si longtemps, et qui ont servi à tant de comparaisons heureuses et brillantes. Mais on peut désirer que le talent à naître suive une autre route."¹

Rousseau is largely responsible for this condemnation of the marvelous and allegorical. In the *Nouvelle Héloïse* Mme de Staël had learned how a writer may be imaginative, poetical, and *sensible* and yet keep strictly within the bounds of nature. She had seen how Rousseau turns our eyes upon the inner man and yet invests this inner man with a glamor that enchant. This vesture of passion, this elaborate analysis of the heart, prejudiced Mme de Staël against other forms of fiction than the *Nouvelle Héloïse*.² It accorded so well with her feeling and thought that it became her model for the exposition of the heart. She seeks a *Nouvelle Héloïse* in whatever she reads. This accounts for the inability to appreciate Homer, Vergil, Ariosto, and Spenser. Anything that detracts from the engrossing study of the heart is objectionable: "J'aime qu'en s'adressant à l'homme on tire tous les grands effets du caractère de l'homme."³

Complete illusion is what the Rousseauist desires in literature. This may be seen in Rousseau's criticism of classical French drama:

¹ I, 131.

² The influence of Richardson and Fielding need hardly be separated from that of Rousseau. See Texte, J.-J. Rousseau et les origines du cosmopolitisme littéraire, livre II, chapitre iii.

³ I, 131.

"Le Français ne cherche point sur la scène le naturel et l'illusion, et n'y veut que de l'esprit et des pensées; il fait cas de l'agrément et de l'imitation, et ne se soucie pas d'être séduit, pourvu qu'on l'amuse."¹ Illusion in literature is a part of the gospel of nature. If we emphasize the natural in man as contrasted with the acquired and artificial, we seek in literature the same impressions and sensations that life itself gives. We desire illusion in order that our hearts may be moved. The best means of attaining this fascinating quality is to depict the heart alone: "C'est là qu'est la source inépuisable dont le talent doit faire sortir les émotions profondes ou terribles."² Let the novelist refrain from describing strange experiences; let him keep his plot within the humanly possible; let him avoid palpably false allegory.

A thoroughly Rousseauistic note occurs in the passage on the predominant place given to love by the novelists: "Il n'y a point d'enthousiasme dans l'amitié, de dévouement au malheur, de culte envers ses parents, de passion pour ses enfants dans les cœurs qui n'ont pas connu ou pardonné l'amour."³ The affections and passions interest Mme de Staël above all else; they are about all she sees in humanity. Any school of literature makes the passions its principal study; the distinction of the romanticist is that he is obsessed by them.

The Rousseauistic argument used in justification of the *Nouvelle Héloïse* is repeated: "La moralité des romans tient plutôt au développement des mouvements intérieurs de l'âme qu'aux événements qu'on raconte."⁴ History is therefore inferior to the novel as a depiction of man; memoirs also: "Le don d'émouvoir est la grande puissance des fictions; on peut rendre sensibles presque toutes les vérités morales en les mettant en action."⁵

In conclusion, again we find that an emphasis on sensibility is what Mme de Staël has taken from Rousseau. He has led her to value the imagination (as she understands the word, viz., reverie and a depiction of life that will move the heart profoundly), because it is necessary if the writer is to give us the feeling we crave. He has led

¹ *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, ed. of Garnier, p. 201.

² I, 131.

³ I, 140.

⁴ I, 141.

⁵ I, 143.

her to insist on a portrayal of the inner life alone, of the heart, in order that literature may offer us the same impressions and sensations that life does.

Such is the somewhat undeveloped Rousseauism of Mme de Staël when she began writing. It is an emphasis on temperamental inclinations rather than a ripened criticism. A continuation of this study would show how in her mature and original work Mme de Staël gradually thought out to definite literary and philosophical tenets those ideas of Rousseau to which she was so strongly attracted; it would show also how Rousseauism guided and controlled her opinions and literary *procédés*.

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SYR GAWAYN AND THE GRENE KNYȝT¹

I. THE BEHEADING GAME

Most readers of the Middle English poem *Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyȝt* have probably felt that its action consists of two plots—the beheading game and the loyalty test. Though at the end it seems clear that the story has but one aim, to test Gawain's bravery and his loyalty, the entire difference in the form of the tests and the curious way in which the second is placed inside the first would probably lead any casual reader to assume that originally the plots were separate, and that the Gawain poet arbitrarily united them for his own purposes. In fact, scholars have analyzed the action in this way. Sir Frederick Madden in his *Sir Gawayne* remarked: "It is highly probable that the author may have mingled together several narratives for the purpose of rendering his own more attractive" (p. 305). Later Miss Thomas in her dissertation attempted to show that *GGK* was built by its author from two entirely separate stories—the Carados story (with influence of the *Perlesvaus*) for the first plot, and the Gawain-Guigambresil story for the second. Gaston Paris, though he rejects these sources, seems to analyze the story into the same two distinct parts. He says, for example: "Le *GK* mêle à

¹ In the preparation of this article I have been greatly helped by several of my friends at the University of Chicago. Professor Nitze called my attention to Professor Brown's discussion of the *Fled Bricrend*, and suggested the idea which I have tried to develop in the first section. Professor Pietsch gave me references on the pentangle. Professor Cross read the article, and offered some corrections and references. My debt to Professor Manly is more extensive and more difficult to state, because before the writing of the article we had discussed in many conversations the bulk of the matters considered in it.

l'histoire du coup donné et reçu une autre aventure";¹ and he discusses separately "l'épisode principal"² and "l'épisode de la dame."³ Finally he writes: "Il est difficile de dire si cet épisode des trois journées d'épreuve a été ajouté au premier récit, avec lequel il est ici habilement entrelacé, par le poète anglais ou par le poète français qu'il suivait." So also Professor Schofield states: "This romance is made up of two distinct parts nowhere else so connected—the beheading incident and the chastity test."⁴

Is this analysis correct? An analogous case may perhaps suggest that logical independence of the plots does not necessarily imply independence in history. Earlier critics supposed that in the *Beowulf* the fight with Grendel and that with Grendel's mother were originally independent, because logically they are independent. But scholars familiar with folk-tales have come to realize that the two actions are one plot and that they are regularly joined together in stories of a certain type; and recently Professor Panzer, by the study of some two hundred analogues of the story, has proved this to be so. Now, as in the *Beowulf*, so in *GGK*, perhaps appearances are deceptive; at any rate the evidence should be studied. If the two parts of *GGK* were originally distinct, we should expect to find the beheading story in its other occurrences connected with plots and used for purposes different from those of *GGK*. On the other hand, if we find in several cases that the beheading story is connected with an action similar to the latter part of *GGK*, we must suppose that the two parts are not separable. Further, if a study of these cases shows that they can be referred to a definite, established type of story, we may be able to understand more clearly the exact nature of *GGK* and get some idea of how it reached its present form. Thus, by making a study of all stories in which the beheading game appears, we may be able to determine two important points: the original connection or lack of connection between the two parts of *GGK*, and the original nature of the story.

Now there are six or seven stories containing a beheading game similar to that of *GGK*. Some had been pointed out by Sir Frederick

¹ *Romania*, XII, 378.

² *Histoire littéraire*, XXX, 75.

³ *Ibid.*, 78.

⁴ *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, p. 217. As to the pertinence of "chastity" here, see section II of this article.

Madden, but the entire number was first given by Gaston Paris in the thirtieth volume of the *Histoire littéraire*. The list comprises: the *Fled Bricrend*, the Carados story (in the first continuation of Chrétien's *Perceval*), *Perlesvaus, la Mule sanz Frain, Diu Krône, Gawain and Humbaut*,¹ and the ballads *The Green Knight*, and *The Turke and Gowin*. The oldest of these is doubtless the *Fled Bricrend*, which is preserved in a manuscript dated about 1100 and shows evidences of much earlier origin—perhaps as early as the ninth century.² The story is as follows:³

Brieriu of the Evil Tongue invites Conchobar and the Ultonians to a feast in a great house which he has built. Before the guests reach his house, Brieriu confers separately with the three heroes, Loigaire, Conall, and Cuchulainn, inciting them to contend for the champion's portion⁴ of his house—a great cauldron full of wine, and a seven-year-old boar. As soon as the feast is started, a fight over the champion's portion arises. Conchobar intervenes and brings about a truce, but some days later the trouble breaks out again. Then Conchobar interposes and advises them to seek Curoi mac Dairi as arbiter. First Loigaire goes until he is enveloped in a heavy mist which confuses him and compels him to stop. While he and his servant are waiting for the mist to clear away, they are attacked by a giant. Loigaire is defeated and compelled to flee, leaving his horses, his arms, and his servant. Conall then passes through the same experiences. Finally Cuchulainn sets forth, encounters the magical mist, and is attacked by the giant. He defeats the giant, however, and brings back his comrades' horses, charioteers, and armor to Brieriu's house. Brieriu tries to award the champion's portion to Cuchulainn, but the others object. Then they are sent to another arbiter, but when his decision is rendered they refuse to abide by it. They are then sent to the ford of Yellow, son of Fair, for judgment. Yellow knows that the judgment rendered by the preceding umpire has not been accepted, and he does not wish to involve himself by giving a decision. So he sends them to Terror, son of Great Fear, who, the author states, "used to shift his form into what shape he pleased," and was "called wizard from the extent to which he changed his divers shapes." When they arrive at Terror's loch, he proposes the head-cutting game as a test. "I have an axe, and the man into

¹ Ed. J. Stürzinger and H. Breuer, Halle, 1914. As the book has not yet arrived in Chicago I am unable to consider this poem at present.

² Ed. George Henderson, Irish Texts Society, II. See Henderson's Introduction, p. xliv. See Zimmer, *Zs. f. d. Alt.*, XXXII, 197 and n. 2; and Nutt, *Pop. Studies in Myth.*, VIII, 30.

³ In the early part of the story I omit many details which deal with the stirring up of the strife and have no relevance here.

⁴ On the significance of the champion's portion, see Henderson's Introduction, pp. xiii-xv.

whose hands it shall be put is to cut off my head today, I to cut off his tomorrow." There are two versions as to the actions of Loigaire and Conall: according to one they refuse to submit to the test; according to the other they cut off the giant's head but will not submit themselves to the beheading. Cuchulainn, however, agrees to accept the test. He cuts off the giant's head, and next day lays his head upon a stone. Terror "draws down thrice on Cuchulainn's neck," and then awards him the sovereignty of the heroes of Erin without harming him. But Loigaire and Conall dispute the verdict, and again the Ultonians advise the three to seek Curoi. At Fort Curoi, Bláthnat, Mind's daughter and Curoi's wife, welcomes them. Curoi is not at home, but knowing that they will come, he has instructed his wife regarding their entertainment. "When bedtime was come, she told them that each was to take his night watching the fort until Curoi should return. . . . In what airt soever of the globe Curoi should happen to be, every night o'er the fort he chanted a spell, till the fort revolved as swiftly as a mill-stone." The first night Loigaire watches. A giant comes, hurls tree trunks at Loigaire, and finally seizes him in his hands and throws him out over the fort into the *fosse*. On the second night Conall fares in the same way. On the third night Cuchulainn is attacked by three groups of nine; he kills them all and piles them in a heap. Then the monster of the loch rises up and springs into the fort. Cuchulainn kills it. Finally the giant comes. Cuchulainn overcomes him and makes him promise to grant three wishes—the sovereignty over the heroes, the champion's portion, and precedence for his wife over the other ladies. Upon his re-entering the house he meets Bláthnat, and almost at once Curoi appears. Curoi adjudges the championship to Cuchulainn. Upon the return of the three warriors to Brieriu's house, however, the championship is not definitely awarded.

One day while the three heroes are absent from the court, a great giant enters Conchobar's palace. He carries a huge stock in his left hand and an axe in his right. He proposes the beheading game: "that I may cut off his head tonight, he mine tomorrow night."¹ Fat-neck accepts the challenge, but on the following day refuses to let his head be cut off. On succeeding days Loigaire and Conall fail in the same way. Finally on a night when Cuchulainn is present, the giant appears and accuses the warriors of cowardice. Cuchulainn cuts off his head, and submits to beheading on the next day. He stretches out his neck and blames the giant for not beheading him quickly. The giant lifts the axe and lets it fall on Cuchulainn's neck with the blunt side below. He awards Cuchulainn the champion's portion, and vanishes. "It was Curoi mac Dairi who in that guise had come to fulfil the promise he had given to Cuchulainn."

There the story ends.²

¹ Here the twelfth-century MS ends.

² It is obvious that in this work we have a compilation made from different versions of the story, and at times containing two versions of the same episode. So, for example, the

Professor A. C. L. Brown in his *Iwain* considers this story at considerable length. In addition to printing a summary of the *Fled Bricrend* he gives the following account from the *Dinnshenchas*:¹

Curoi mac Dairi's wife Bláthnat, daughter of Menn, king of Falga, loved Cuchulinn and urged him to come to take her from Curoi. Cuchulinn did so. At an appointed signal, he stormed the fort, slew its owner, and married Bláthnat. Together with her he secured the famous cows and cauldron belonging to Curoi.

Several more detailed versions of this story occur in early sources. One of these, which Professor Kuno Meyer dates in the tenth century, gives the story in the form of a vision seen by Curoi's poet. Another, called "The Tragic Death of Curoi Mac Dari," gives a still more detailed account.² Reference to Curoi and his strife with Cuchulainn occurs also in Welsh.³ The best version for our purposes is that given by Keating. It is as follows:

The heroes of the Red Branch are going to ravage Mana, a sea-girt isle not far from Scotland, where there is a great store of riches and a beautiful damsel, Bláthnat, daughter of the lord of that island. Curoi, hearing of the adventure, transforms himself into a false shape and joins the company. Curoi offers to take the fortress in which the maiden is, provided he is given his choice of the jewels in it. He stops the motion of an enchanted wheel that is placed in the gate of the rath, and thus lets the others in. After the winning of the castle, he claims Bláthnat as his reward, and carries her away. Later Cuchulainn meets Bláthnat, learns that she loves him, and they plan to overcome Curoi. As a signal Bláthnat pours milk into the stream which flows from the castle down to Cuchulainn's ambush. Cuchulainn storms the castle and kills Curoi. After the death of Curoi, the latter's poet, Ferchertne, goes to find Bláthnat. He comes upon her standing on the edge of a cliff. Clasping his arms about her, he plunges with her down the precipice.⁴

Professor Brown shows that Falga is a synonym for the Other World—a fact also pointed out by Henderson (p. 142). Menn is king of the Isle of Man (or Fairyland), and hence his daughter

two beheading incidents are clearly variants of the same incident. See Henderson's Introduction; Thurneysen, *Sagen aus dem alten Irland*; and Brown, *Iwain*, pp. 53, 55. Brown argues that the giant of the mist and Terror are Curoi in disguise.

¹ *Iwain*, p. 51. Also printed by O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, I, 530 and II, 482.

² Ed. K. Meyer, *Zs. f. celt. Phil.*, II, 40.

³ Skene, *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, I, 254–55.

⁴ *History of Ireland*, trans. O'Mahoney, pp. 282–84.

Bláthnat is a *fée*. "Curoi, her husband, is an exactly parallel figure to Manannán mac Lir. He is a magician and a shape-shifter. . . . He knew beforehand of their coming (as is always the case in the Other World journey) and arranged for them a warm reception." The giant whom Cuchulainn overcomes at Curoi's fort is undoubtedly Curoi. The kind words bestowed by Bláthnat when he conquers her husband are significant. Finally Brown says: "Keeping clear of theory it is plain . . . that Cuchulinn was credited with an Other World Journey, in which he slew a giant who dwelt in a revolving castle, and married the giant's fairy wife."¹

In a later part of his work Professor Brown argues that the form in which fairy-mistress stories are preserved to us has been much changed by rationalizers

"who have modified the original relations of the supernatural actors to make them conform to ordinary human relations. All the Celtic fairy stories, with the exception of the *Echtra Consla*, show traces of having been influenced by a general tendency to represent the fairy folk as merely human beings living in a marvellous or distant land. Fairy relationships are interpreted after a strictly human pattern."²

He then outlines the primitive form of such a tale:

"The *fée* was probably always represented as supreme. She falls in love with a mortal and sends one of her maidens to invite him to her land. Several adventurers thereupon set out, but the *fée* appoints one of her creatures to guard the passage. Naturally, no one overcomes this opposing warrior but the destined hero, who is rewarded by the possession of the *fée*."

The action of Pwyll in offering his wife to Arawn, and the "ruthless way . . . in which Bláthnat marries Cuchulinn after the death of her husband" are most naturally explained on the hypothesis that "the giant was originally only a creature of the *fée*." Further, the opposing warrior originally could not be slain because, like the *fée*, he was an Other-World being. And all of them—Manannán, Arawn, Curoi—are shape-shifters. "The combat was in origin only a test

¹ It is curious to notice that, from an entirely different point of view, Professor Zimmer arrives at the conclusion that the author of the *Fled Bricrend* suppressed the account of Bláthnat and Cuchulainn's love. After outlining the story as told by Keating, he says: "Es liegt daher nahe, dass der Erzähler der Episode von dem Abenteuer der Helden bei Curois Stadt im 9. Jahrhundert [i.e., the narrator of the *Fled Bricrend*] einige kurze Sätzchen dezent unterdrückt hat" (*Sitzungsberichte der königl. preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1911, p. 205).

² *Iwain*, p. 97.

of valor. Its object was to give the hero a chance to prove that he was worthy of the love of a fée."

Of course it is impossible for me to do justice to the force of Professor Brown's presentation, since he arrives at these results through the analysis of many stories and an extensive discussion. If his reasoning is correct (and it seems to me unquestionable), we have in the tale of Curoi the beheading game in connection with a fairy-mistress story as a test which the hero must meet in order to win the fairy, and we also have the proposer of the test (Curoi), established as a shape-shifter.

Though the next three analogues cannot be dated with exactness, I shall discuss them in what is probably the chronological order: the continuation of Chrétien's *Perceval*, the *Perlesvaus*, and the *Mule sanz Frain*. The Carados episode in the *Perceval*¹ runs as follows:

On the day after Pentecost Kay announces to King Arthur that dinner is ready. The king refuses to eat until some strange novelty or other adventure has happened, for he has observed that custom all his life. Just then a tall knight, carrying a long sword, enters the hall. He rides on his horse up to the dais and greets the king. He demands a gift from the king, and when the latter has promised it in advance, he asks one stroke on the neck for another:

Le don est colée reçoivre
Por un autre colée prendre (Mpl. MS).

The king asks him what he means, and he answers that if any knight will cut off his head at one stroke of his sword, he will return a year later and give to that knight a stroke in return. The knights are afraid to attempt the adventure, and the stranger taunts them with their cowardice:

Or puet véoir li rois Artus
Que sa cours n'est mie si rice
Comme cascuns dist et afice.

Carados then volunteers. (In the Mpl. MS the knight asks him whether he is one of the most eminent of Arthur's court. He answers, "No, but one of the most worthless.") Arthur tries to dissuade Carados from the task. But Carados pays no attention, and cuts off the stranger's head. The knight picks up his head, puts it in its place, reminds Carados of the agreement to be there a year from that day, and departs. The court is very much oppressed at the thought of Carados' danger.

A year from that day, Carados leaves his father's palace and goes joyously to Arthur's court. When all the members of the court are assembled, the strange knight enters as before and calls for Carados. Arthur asks the

¹ *Perceval le Gallois*, ed. Ch. Potvin, Vol. III, ll. 12625 ff.

stranger for mercy and offers treasure. But the knight refuses. (According to the Mpl. MS, Carados reproaches the knight for his slowness:

De .II. maux me ferez morir
Qui tant aësmés sans férir.)

The chevalier raises the sword, and prepares to strike the blow. But he strikes Carados only with the flat of the sword. He tells Carados to arise, draws him aside, and explains that he is the real father of Carados.

Sir Frederick Madden first called attention to this analogue, suggesting that it was the source of *GGK*. Miss Thomas carried out his suggestion in detail, trying to prove that this version, with some influence from the *Perlesvaus*, was the source of the first episode of *GGK*. This view was sufficiently refuted by Gaston Paris, who pointed out that the axe of *GGK* was much more probably original than the sword of *Perceval*, and that the form of the challenge—you cut off my head and I'll cut off yours—was certainly not so nearly original as in *GGK*, “a strok for an oper” (l. 287). As the view that the Carados story is a source for *GGK* is not now held, so far as I know, by anyone, I shall not discuss it further.¹ It is to be noted, however, that in the story as we have it here, there are no clearly primitive features except the beheading game itself. There is no fairy talisman, as in *GGK* and *Mule sanz Frain*; no turning castle, as in *Fled Bricrend* and *MSF*; no emphasis upon a fairy color, as in *GGK*. In this story the beheading game is used by a father as a test of the valor of his son. This purpose is unlike the purpose of the test in any other version. Consequently we have three possibilities: the beheading game was originally used as a father's test of his son's courage and has been altered in all other stories; or it was not originally connected with any one story and could be used freely; or it was isolated from its connection in some other kind of story and transferred to this magician-father story.

In the *Perlesvaus*,² the beheading story is involved with a mass of other adventures. After Gawain's sight of the Grail and failure to ask the question in the castle of King Fisherman, he rides until he comes to a castle full of people making merry. As no one offers to entertain him there, he departs,

¹ See Miss Weston's *The Legend of Sir Gawain*, p. 87; and *Cambridge History*, I, 366. Miss Weston's summary of the *Perceval* episode is not entirely correct. The statement “at the prayer of the queen and her ladies he forbears the blow” cannot be derived from the text given by Potvin.

² *Perceval le Gallois*, ed. Ch. Potvin, Vol. I.

riding until he comes to a poor castle. An ill-dressed knight meets him at the entrance and bids him welcome. In the hall he sees two maidens clad in mean garments. A wounded knight then enters and tells him that Lancelot is fighting a short distance away against four knights. Gawain rides forth, finds Lancelot, and, after the defeat of the assailants, returns to the castle. Gawain and Lancelot bring the three horses of their enemies and give them to the indigent lord of the castle. The knight says that these make him a rich man. Gawain and Lancelot spend the night in the castle, and depart on the morrow. The story follows Lancelot, who passes through an adventure of a perilous passage and a lady in a castle, which seems to be an adaptation of a fairy-mistress story. Then he comes to a waste city in which he finds a palace that seems inhabited. He hears knights and ladies lamenting because a certain knight has been condemned to death. Then a knight approaches him and offers the beheading game. Lancelot must cut off his head or have his own cut off. Under protest Lancelot accepts, promising to return a year from that day and put his head in the same jeopardy. He cuts off the knight's head, and departs amid the lamentation of the people (pp. 103 ff.). At the appointed time Lancelot goes toward the waste city, but on his way he meets the poor knight of the waste castle. The knight tells him that he is given respite until forty days after the achievement of the Grail. He says that he must remain poor until Lancelot returns. Finally on the proper day Lancelot goes to the waste city. He finds the ladies there lamenting that the knight who slew their knight has betrayed them, by failing to keep his promise. As soon as Lancelot appears, a knight comes bearing the axe. This knight is the brother of the one whom Lancelot slew. Lancelot prepares to die. When he hears the blow coming he bends his head and the axe misses. The knight reproves him for having moved. As the knight is aiming a second blow, two ladies appear at the palace windows, and one of them cries out to him that if he is to have her love, he must not harm Lancelot. The knight throws down his axe and asks Lancelot's forgiveness. Then the two maidens explain that they are the two whom he saw at the waste castle, and that the waste city would never have been repeopled, nor should they have regained their estates, unless a knight as loyal as he had come. Other knights have cut off the heads of brothers and relatives, but they have failed to return. Lancelot sees and hears the joy of the people who are now able to come back to the city (pp. 230 ff.).

This story is certainly very far from clear or intelligible. As M. Orłowski remarks: "On s'efforce en vain de trouver un sens à ce conte."¹ Who put the enchantment upon the poor knight and the two ladies, and why it was done, are never suggested. The ending is also inconsistent: if this is a test to release somebody from

¹ In his edition of *la Damoisele à la Mule*, p. 103.

enchantment, the knight never meant to cut off Lancelot's head. Yet here he seems to mean it seriously (Lancelot is apparently saved from the first blow only by the movement of his head), and desists only at the entreaty of the damsel. In one respect this story is certainly less primitive than most other instances of the beheading game—its entire rationalization of that incident. In nearly all other cases we are dealing with a supernatural creature whose head can be cut off and put on again without harm to him. Here we have a human being who dies when his head is cut off, and the second part of the "game" is carried out by a brother.

A great deal has been made of the fact that in this version Lancelot recoils slightly at the first blow, much as Gawain does in *GGK*. Such a similarity does not seem to me evidence of close connection between the versions. A certain amount of development at the point where the stranger returns the blow to the hero is inevitable for purposes of suspense. Most of the versions have details to prolong the reader's anxiety at this point, e.g., the hero's complaint, in Carados and *GGK*, that the stranger is too slow ("Wy Presch on, Pou Pro man, Pou Pretez to longe"), and the three blows in *Fled Bricrend* and *GGK*. Such a resemblance, like the remark in both *MSF* and *Fled Bricrend* that the castle turned like a mill-stone, is merely a natural development of a circumstance common to two stories. The dissimilarities between this version and all others are: that the beheading incident is here connected with a story unlike any that occurs elsewhere, and that the incident has been completely rationalized. This story may, however, be merely a bungling attempt to make something new out of a fairy-mistress story. At the end the poor knight who figures elsewhere does not appear. Instead the two beautiful damsels apparently rule the palace, and one of them commands the beheader to release Gawain. The deserted city is much like the deserted castle which we shall find later in *MSF*, and in this latter case the deserted castle may be explained as an outgrowth from a fairy-mistress story. Upon the success of the hero both become repopulated (for a definite reason in the latter case) by a throng of people who are happy over their release. It is conceivable then that the beheading game in the *Perlesvaus* was a test for the winning of a fairy mistress as it certainly is in *MSF*.

There are several respects in which the stories in *Perceval* and *Perlesvaus* join in being unlike the other analogues: both give the adventure to a hero not elsewhere connected with a beheading story; both connect the beheading game with a plot not elsewhere found in this connection;¹ and both show especially modern features—the sword instead of the axe in *Perceval*, and the complete rationalization of the beheading game in *Perlesvaus*. These facts are evidence that these two sources contain more modern and more altered versions than the other documents, and they tend to discredit the testimony of these versions when in conflict with the others.

The next version, that of the *MSF*,² may be summarized as follows:

King Arthur is holding court at Cardoil at Pentecost. As the lords and ladies are amusing themselves after dinner, they chance to look out of a window and see a maiden approaching on a mule without a bridle. The lady is brought courteously to the king. She tells him that she is sad and will never be happy until her bridle is returned to her,

Qui mauvaiselement m'est toluz,
Don perdu ai tote ma joie.

If some knight will go to a certain place and get it for her, she will become his. She offers to lend such an adventurer her mule, which will lead him to a certain castle. Kex undertakes the adventure. He seeks to kiss the lady before departing, but is denied by her until he shall have brought the bridle. She seems also to promise him the castle:

Mès quant li frains sera renduz,
Lors vos iert li chastiax renduz,
Et li baisiers et l'autre chose.

Kex departs riding the mule. The maiden knows that he will not succeed. Kex enters into a great forest infested with wild animals—lions, tigers, and leopards. Kex is greatly frightened, but the animals, running up, recognize the mule and kneel before it on the ground. Passing through the forest the mule enters upon a small path and finally comes to a valley—a frightful place containing serpents, adders, and beasts which send out fire from their heads. Kex is nearly frightened out of his wits. Finally he comes out upon a plain with a fountain and a river in it. He goes on until he comes to

¹ Unless *Perlesvaus* be regarded as at bottom a fairy-mistress story.

²Editions: M. Méon, *Nouveau Recueil de Fabliaux*, 1823, I, 1; *la Mule sanz Frain*, ed. R. T. Hill, 1911; *la Damoisele à la Mule*, ed. B. Orlowski, 1911. I use the old title despite Orlowski's comment, because it is the one used in other discussions of *GGK*. Aside from the discussion of it in the *Histoire littéraire*, the poem has been summarized by Professor W. P. Ker, *Folk Lore*, 1898, p. 268 (reprinted by Henderson, *Fleg Bricrend*, p. 205), and by Professor Brown, *Iwain*, p. 80.

a great river. He finds no way of crossing it except a narrow plank of iron. He is afraid to attempt the passage, and determines to return. He goes back as he had come, through the valley and the forest.

When the courtiers see Kex returning, they inform the maiden, saying that Kex is certainly bringing the bridle. She knows that he could not have got it so soon, and becomes despondent. Gauvain, smiling, asks her to cease weeping, and promises to bring her the bridle himself. Kex's failure becomes known, and the damsel, going to the king, tells him that Gauvain has promised to go. Gauvain desires to kiss her, and she permits him to do so. Gauvain mounts the mule, goes through the forest and valley, and comes to the river and the narrow iron plank. He rides the mule over this bridge, but it is certain that if the mule had not known the way it would have fallen. It goes then along a little path to a castle. The castle is strongly fortified, surrounded by a wide river, and entirely inclosed with great sharp pikes, on each of which, except one, is placed a knight's head. The castle is turning like a millstone or a whipped top. Gauvain is at a loss as to how to get in, but finally, when a door comes opposite him, jumps through it. The mule takes him through the streets of the castle, which are entirely empty of people. Finally he comes to a house, and is on the point of dismounting, when a dwarf comes along the street and greets him. "Gauvain bien veingnant," he says. Gauvain asks him who he is and who his lord and lady are, but the dwarf departs without answering. After dismounting, Gauvain sees under an arch a great cave which goes deep into the earth. Up from this cave comes a shaggy *vilain*. He is taller than St. Marcel, and carries over his shoulder a great axe. The *vilain* warns Gauvain that the bridle which he seeks is well guarded, and that he will have to fight many combats for it. The *vilain* has the mule cared for, gives Gauvain a meal, and prepares a large bed for him.

Then the *vilain* proposes the head-cutting game: Gauvain to cut off the *vilain's* head that evening, and the latter to cut off Gauvain's the next morning. Gauvain agrees. The giant puts his neck upon a block, and Gauvain cuts it off at one stroke. The *vilain* then jumps up, takes his head and goes into the cave. Gauvain goes to bed. Next morning after Gauvain has arisen, the *vilain* appears whole and sound, bearing the axe. He reminds Gauvain of his agreement, and the latter replies that he has no intention of avoiding it. The *vilain* raises the axe, but he has no real desire to harm the hero, because he has been loyal and has held to his promise. Gauvain asks him how he can gain the bridle. The *vilain* answers that before midday Gauvain must fight two chained lions who could defeat ten knights. Gauvain meets the lions separately and kills them. The *vilain* then leads him to a chamber where lies a wounded knight. The latter says that Gauvain must fight him. It is a custom there that when a knight "*d'autre terre*" comes to seek the bridle for the damsel he has to fight this champion, and if he is killed, his head is placed on one of the pikes. The *vilain* arms them;

they mount and fight. Gauvain conquers the other knight, but in response to the latter's pleading does not kill him.

Gauvain again asks the *vilain* how he is to get the bridle. The latter says he must fight two serpents. Gauvain fights and kills them. Before he is disarmed from this fight, the dwarf, on the part of his lady, invites Gauvain to dine with his mistress and to receive the bridle. The *vilain* conducts Gauvain to the lady. She greets him courteously. She says that great harm and loss have come to her through him because he has killed her savage beasts. The lady and Gauvain sit down; the *vilain* gives them basins of gold in which they wash their hands, and then they dine. After eating, Gauvain is eager to depart. Then the lady says that the maiden who desires the bridle is her sister, and offers to Gauvain, if he will stay there, herself and her possessions. Gauvain answers that he must return to Arthur's court, and asks for the bridle. He thanks her for her offer. The lady indicates the bridle hanging on a silver nail. Having at last obtained it, he takes his leave of the lady. The castle stops turning until Gauvain has left it. After he has departed he sees the streets crowded with people who are extremely joyous. He asks the *vilain* how the streets have become thus suddenly filled. The latter explains that the people have been concealed in caves because of the ravages of the beasts which Gauvain has killed. Gauvain returns as he had come. When he arrives at the castle the damsels kisses him more than a hundred times. She offers herself to him. Gauvain tells his adventure. When Gauvain has finished his story, the girl asks leave to depart. The king, Queen Genievre, and the knights try to persuade her to remain, but she says she cannot. She rides away on her mule.

There are certainly inconsistencies in this story. Why does the maiden appeal to Arthur's court for her bridle when her sister has it? Why does the lady of the castle keep the lions and dragons to the harm of her people? Why, if the bridle is so important as the difficulties of attaining it suggest, does she give it up so readily? Perhaps these points can be explained by a little analysis. In the first place, in the various difficulties set up for the seeker of the bridle there is no effort to prevent *every* adventurer from getting it. The difficulties are so arranged that they will eliminate most seekers, but still be surmountable by *one*. The iron plank is there as a means of deterring the faint-hearted (like Kay) but of assisting the courageous. The *vilain* proposes the beheading game only as a test; he does not desire to carry out the second part, though by doing so he could prevent every seeker from attaining the bridle. He helps the knight through all the later tests, and presents them one

by one so that the knight can succeed in them. When the hero has accomplished the last feat, he is entertained by the lady and given the bridle without protest. It is clear that the lady has not arranged these tests in order to keep the bridle. It is meant that someone shall win that object. Therefore the bridle is only a pretext, not the real point of the story. Though entirely unemphasized in the poem, the lady's offer of her love to the hero who overcomes all difficulties is obviously the real purpose of the story. There are, moreover, certain details in this poem which are definitely connected with the Other-World journey plus the fairy-mistress type of story. The forest, filled with animals who recognize the mule and bow to it, is much like the forest guarded by the giant herdsman in *Iwain* and *The Lady of the Fountain*,¹ the "perilous passage,"² various feats performed by the knight at the instance of a servitor of the lady of the castle, and finally, when the knight has accomplished every requirement, the offer of the lady that he become her husband—all these are regular elements in fairy-mistress stories. It is notable also that they are preserved in a primitive form: neither the *vilain* nor the wounded knight is represented as related in any way to the lady; she is absolute mistress. There are furthermore many other primitive features in the story; the fountain before the castle, the turning castle, the heads on pikes,³ are commonplaces in old Celtic and modern folklore. If most of the story is definitely of the fairy-mistress type, is it not probable that the rest has been altered slightly? If we assume, as Professor Brown would probably do, that the maiden who comes to Arthur's court is not a sister but a servant of the lady of the castle, we do away at once with one of the chief inconsistencies of the story. Then the request of the damsels for assistance in getting her bridle is merely a device for luring the mortal hero to the fairy who loves him. The difficulties put in the way are intended to prevent any but the destined knight from reaching the fairy mistress.⁴ They do prevent Kay, but do not hinder Gawain. The

¹ Pointed out by Orlowski, p. 113.

² See Nitze, *PMLA*, XXIV, 375 and n. 5.

³ See Professor Schofield's *Studies on the Libeaus Desconus*, pp. 175 ff. The turning castle has been so definitely established as a feature of Other-World stories that I do not need to discuss it here. See Sypherd, *Studies in Chaucer's House of Fame*, pp. 138 ff.; Nitze, *Elliott Studies*, I, 26, note.

⁴ See Brown's summary of the primitive form of the fairy-mistress story, above, p. 54.

friendliness of the *vilain* is then understandable because he knows that Gawain is the right knight, and wishes to see him win the lady. The idea that the animals harmed the people would be a natural development by a late story-teller who did not understand the purpose of their presence in the story—as a test of the valor of the knight. In fact, we have in *MSF* a fairy-mistress story with very slight alterations and decidedly primitive characteristics. Hence here again, as in the *Fled Bricrend*, we have the head-cutting episode used as a test for the achievement of a fairy mistress. Furthermore, the notably primitive elements in the story give it much greater weight as evidence than the *Perceval* and *Perlesvaus* versions.

The next analogue, *Diu Krône*,¹ brings with it a rather complex problem of relationship to the poem just considered. In part it is almost identical with *MSF*: that part I pass over very briefly in the following summary.

A maiden comes riding to Arthur's court. She says she has been sent by her lady Amurfina to bring Gwein. The knight says he will go, and he rides away with the maiden. The writer explains what the adventure was. A king, dying, had left two daughters. To them he gave a bridle, saying that while they had it they should retain their possessions. The elder of the sisters, Amurfina, seized the bridle, and exiled the younger, Sgoidamur. The younger started for King Arthur's court to ask for aid. The elder, learning of this, feared the sister might get Gwein's help, and so used this device to prevent her. At length Gwein and the messenger reach the castle; there a dwarf welcomes Sir Gwein. After some time he is introduced into a beautiful room where he finds the lady sitting on a bed. After dining and conversing they go to bed. The bed is protected by a dream sword which coils itself about Gwein as he is about to draw near the lady. He has to swear to be constant to her; then the sword releases him. He drinks a potion which deprives him of knowledge of his identity; he supposes that he has always been in that country and has been married to Amurfina for thirty years. No one calls him Gwein. For fifteen days he remains in this condition. Then he happens to see a picture of himself fighting with another knight (actually the father of Amurfina), remembers his past life, recalls that he must go to free a certain king from a giant, demands his armor, and takes his departure (ll. 7647 ff.).

On the day of Pentecost, Sgoidamur reaches Arthur's court, complains of the injustice of her sister, and offers her love to anyone who will get the bridle for her. From this point the story is practically identical with

*just now
an import
copy*

¹ *Diu Crône*, ed. G. F. H. Scholl, *Bibl. des litt. Vereins*, XXVII (1852).

MSF. When Keii returns without the bridle Launcelot offers to go, but the maid requests that Gawein be sent. Gawein departs, arrives at the enchanted castle, and, after seeing the dwarf, meets the magician Gangsuoter, who is the uncle of Amurfina and Sgoidamur.¹ He takes the place of the *vilain* in *MSF*. He proposes that Gawein cut off his head, on condition that on the following day Gawein will permit his own to be struck off. When it comes the magician's turn to cut off Gawein's head, he makes two feints, but does not harm the knight, because he merely desires to test Gawein's courage. After having killed lions, overcome a wounded knight, and slain dragons, Gawein hears a noise of merry-making, and is informed that the maidens of Amurfina are rejoicing at his success: they had been afraid that he would be hurt. The magician explains that Amurfina is sister of Sgoidamur, tells what relation he is to them, and expresses great delight that Gawein has won. The dwarf appears and invites Gawein to meet his lady. When the people of the castle learn that Gawein has freed them from the animals, they come from places under the earth where they had been concealed. Gawein takes Amurfina and the bridle to Arthur's court. He gives Sgoidamur the bridle, and presents her as bride to Gasozein de Dragoz (ll. 12600 ff.).

Because of the very close resemblance of part of the story in *Diu Krône* with *MSF* it has been commonly supposed that the former was derived from the latter. More recently M. Orłowski has contested this view, declaring that there are no verbal resemblances between the two, and, in particular, that *Diu Krône* offers a more logical version of the story. He points out that the idea of a sister deprived of her patrimony explains the action of the damsels in appealing to Arthur's court. He tries to establish a "Disinherited Sister" type of story, by referring to an episode in the *Iwain*,² which is in substance as follows:

On the death of the lord of Noire Espine, the elder of his daughters seizes the estates. The other says she will appeal to Arthur's court. The elder sister reaches Arthur's court first, presents her case to Gawain, and gains his assistance. When the younger arrives she is unable to get Gawain's help. Arthur gives her forty days to secure a champion. She starts out to find Iwain, falls ill, and a friend of hers continues the search. This other maiden at length comes upon Iwain and gains his consent to help the younger sister. Meanwhile Gawain has concealed himself at a short distance from court, and when he returns he is so armed as to be unrecognizable. On the

¹ There is nothing about the cave which Gawain saw in *MSF*.

² Ed. W. Foerster, 1906, ll. 4703–5106 and 5810–6459. See Orłowski's discussion, pp. 39 ff.

last of the forty days Iwain and the younger sister appear. The two champions fight until nearly exhausted; then they learn each other's names. At once they engage in a friendly rivalry, each asserting that he has been defeated. The king forces the elder sister to give the younger her share in the inheritance.

Now obviously the only resemblances here are the situation of one sister deprived of her inheritance by another, and the younger's appeal to Arthur. These resemblances are true only of *Iwain* and *Diu Krône*, for in *MSF* there is no word of unfriendliness between the two sisters, or of any disinheritance.¹ Further, the elements in common between the episode in *Iwain* and that in *Diu Krône* are too slight to establish a "Disinherited Sister" type. They have to do only with the first parts of the stories; the latter parts are totally unlike. Such similarity as there is, is much more likely to be due to borrowing by Heinrich from Chrétien than to a common source for both. Moreover, on the basis of M. Orłowski's supposition, there is no means of explaining the large number of elements in *MSF* which are connected with the fairy-mistress type. In fact, the theory of a "Disinherited Sister" type falls to the ground because of its failure to explain the chief features of this story.

In his attempt to give greater authority to *Diu Krône* than to *MSF*, M. Orłowski argues that Heinrich von dem Türlin was rather a translator than an original *trouleur*, and tries to establish for him a character for conservatism (p. 61). Hence he thinks that there is a common source for *Diu Krône*, *MSF*, and *Iwain*; and the suggestion is that this source would have told the twofold story much as it stands in *Diu Krône* (p. 63). Now such a supposition is by no means the only way of interpreting the facts, nor are the evidences which M. Orłowski gives for it sufficient. As I have shown, the evidences for the derivation of the story from a "Disinherited Sister" theme are extremely slight. As to Heinrich's conservatism, one can grant that, and still suppose that he drew from an immediate source which at this point expanded the story of *MSF* or of its immediate predecessor.

The positive arguments which may be made against the priority of Heinrich's version are as follows. If the story was originally

¹ Orłowski's table on p. 51 is incorrect in suggesting that "la sœur puinée chassée du patrimoine par l'autre" occurs in *MSF*.

like his, Paien (the author of *MSF*) must either have had as source a mutilated copy of the story, or he must have knowingly told an incomplete story, leaving the relation of the sisters obscure and illogical and not explaining the meaning of the bridle. Heinrich's version seems to be much less primitive, particularly in making the man who proposes the head-cutting a magician instead of a mere servant of the lady, and in its elaborate series of relationships—Gansguoter the husband of Arthur's mother and uncle of the two damsels, Gawein the husband of Amurfina, and Gasozein the husband of Sgoidamur. Paien's version, with but slight alteration, can be connected with a primitive type of story; Heinrich's cannot be connected with any, and has in its earlier part incidents from various sources.¹ Finally, in Heinrich's story there is no meaning in the head-cutting incident or the other feats which Gawain must perform, because if the "Disinherited Sister" theme is original, Amurfina was not trying to test knights, but actually to prevent anyone's taking away the bridle.² Other inconsistencies might be pointed out. For example, why does Amurfina give up the bridle so willingly at the end? Why does Gansguoter favor one sister rather than the other? On the other hand, it is quite easy to see how the story as told by Heinrich was developed from *MSF*. Finding in his source the suggestion that the damsel messenger and the lady of the castle were sisters, and seeing that their functions in the story were not clear, Heinrich or his predecessor prefixed the obvious story of disinheritance, perhaps deriving it from M. Orłowski's passage in the *Iwain*, or, as it is a commonplace, from no definite source. In developing it he rationalized the relations of the story and added an explanation of the significance of the bridle. It seems to me that the action of Heinrich or his predecessor is much more natural than either of the assumptions with regard to Paien made above, and the

¹ Professor Armstrong, in his edition of the *Chevalier à l'Épée*, after examining all analogues of the story of the enchanted bed, concludes that Heinrich borrowed his version directly from the *Chevalier*. See pp. 59 and 60.

² Professor Jenkins, in a review of Dr. Hill's edition of *MSF*, in *MLN*, XXVI (1911), 150, has given a bit of evidence which seems to indicate that *Diu Krōne* was derived directly from *MSF*. *MSF*, l. 713, tells of a lion that fights with its tail (*coe*) and *Diu Krōne* in the corresponding passage (l. 13262) reads *Zagel*. "Did the archetype have *poe* instead of *coe*? The second lion, a few lines below, strikes with his claws as we should expect." Such an error would be unlikely to date very far back: at any rate Heinrich had either *MSF* as his source or some version very close to it.

development of the story is quite a simple matter. In any case, *MSF* certainly is more primitive than *Diu Krône*, and all the evidence seems to lead us back to the standard opinion which M. Orłowski seeks to upset: namely, that in *MSF* and *Diu Krône*, we have, as in the *Fled Bricrend*, the beheading incident used as a test in the winning of a fairy mistress.

We come now to *Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyžt*.¹

King Arthur held feast at Camylot during Christmas. On New Year's Day the feast is prepared, but Arthur refuses to eat until some adventure has happened, for such was his custom. Scarcely is the first course served when in at the hall door enters a fearful creature, half a giant and all clad in green. His horse and all its trappings are green. He is unarmed, but carries in one hand a holly branch and in the other a great axe. He asks for the ruler of the company. Meanwhile everyone looks long at the man, eager to know what it might mean

þat a haſel & a horse myžt such a hwe lach,
As growe grene as þe gres & grener hit semed [ll. 234-35].

The folk deem it "phantom and fairy" (l. 240), and are afraid to answer his question. Arthur welcomes the man, saying that he is "head of this hostel." The stranger says he has come because of the great reputation of Arthur's knights for courtesy and deeds of arms. He says that the holly branch may show that he comes in peace, for if he had desired fighting he has plenty of armor at home. He asks a sport (*gomen*): if any is so brave that he "dar stifyly strike a strok for an oþer" (l. 287), he will give him the axe, and bide the first blow. The other shall have respite of a year and a day. No one replies, and the Green Knight taunts Arthur's warriors with cowardice. Ashamed and angry, Arthur accepts the offer. Gawain, however, at once asks that he be allowed to relieve the king of the task. Arthur grants the request. The Green Knight asks Gawain's name, and, when he learns it, says he is glad that Gawain is the one to give the blow. He reminds Gawain that the latter must seek him a year from that day. The Green Knight kneels and uncovers his neck. Seizing the axe, Gawain strikes off his head. The knight starts up, grasps his head, which has rolled along the floor, and lifts it up. Holding his head by the hair, he steps into his stirrups and mounts. The head lifts up its eyelids and speaks, reminding Gawain of his promise, and instructing him to seek out the Green Chapel a year from that time. He then rides out of the hall. King Arthur, troubled though he is, tries to reassure the queen, and the court again sits to the feast.

The morning after All Hallows Gawain prepares to seek the Green Knight. He arms himself properly, takes his shield with the pentangle

¹ Ed. Sir F. Madden in *Syr Gawayne* (Bannatyne Club), 1839; R. Morris, E.E.T.S., IV, 1864.

painted on it, and rides away on his steed Gryngolet. All that see him sigh in their hearts and say it is a shame that he should die at the hands of "an aluisch mon." He rides through England into North Wales and apparently from thence into Wirral. He asks the people that he meets if they can tell him about a Green Knight, but gets no information. At every ford he passes over he finds a foe. He fights with serpents, wolves, wild men, bulls, bears, boars, and giants. The winter and snow, however, are worse than his fighting. Thus he rides until Christmas. He prays to Christ and Mary for some lodging where he may hear mass. Almost immediately he comes upon a castle, "with a pyked palays, pyned full pik" (l. 769).¹ The drawbridge is up, but when he calls a porter answers and bids him welcome. The bridge is let down, the gate is opened, and Gawain is brought courteously into the castle. The lord of the castle welcomes him, leads him to a chamber, and orders a servant to be sent to him. Gawain takes off his armor, and puts on the rich robes which are brought to him. He has dinner in the hall, and while there tells his host who he is. After dinner they go to chapel, and there Gawain meets the lord's wife, who seems to him more beautiful than Guinevere. With her is an old lady. After dinner they have refreshments and enjoy themselves with sports. Next day at the meal Gawain sits with the lady, the lord of the castle sitting with the "auncian wyf."

For three days the company remains together, and then some of the guests depart. Gawain says that he also must go, and when asked by the knight he explains the purpose of his journey. The knight smiles, says that the Green Chapel is not two miles thence, and so induces Gawain to stay with him until the appointed day. Then the lord of the castle proposes that next day Gawain stay in bed until meal time, and meanwhile he himself will go hunting. Further, whatever each wins he shall exchange with the other. Gawain agrees to this arrangement. In the morning the lord arises early and goes off to hunt. While he is thus engaged Gawain sleeps. While Gawain is still in bed, the lady enters his room, comes to the bed, and sits on the bedside. Gawain pretends to be asleep, but as she continues to stay there he decides to speak to her. The lady makes love to Gawain, but he only replies to her in a respectful and courteous fashion. Finally she kisses him and leaves him alone. Meanwhile the knight has killed many deer, which his men "break" and bring back to the castle. When the host has returned he gives the deer to Gawain, and receives from Gawain a kiss. When he asks where his guest won this weal, Gawain refuses to tell because that was not in the agreement. They renew their agreement for the next day. The knight hunts and kills a boar; the lady visits Gawain again and kisses him; Gawain resists her temptations; and in the evening the two men exchange their winnings, renewing their covenant for the following day. On this third morning, the knight kills a fox, and the lady visits Gawain as

¹ Can this line be a reminiscence of the pikes with human heads placed on them? See above, pp. 60 and 62, and Professor Schofield's article.

before. Again Gawain resists her temptation, but finally accepts from her her green girdle, which she says will protect him from being wounded or slain. Thinking of the danger he is soon to be in, Gawain naturally accepts the "lace" and promises to conceal it. When the host returns he gives Gawain the fox skin, and receives from him three kisses. Gawain asks for a man to show him the way to the Green Chapel, and the knight assigns one to him.

On New Year's morning Gawain arms himself, places the "lace" twice about his loins in hope of saving himself, and rides away on Gryngole under guidance of his man. The servant tries to dissuade Gawain from going to the Green Chapel, because the man who dwells there is the worst upon earth. Gawain insists upon going forward. Then the man tells him to ride down a certain path till he comes to the bottom of a valley; there on his left on a "launde" he will see the chapel. He bids Gawain farewell and leaves him. Gawain pushes his way along the shore of a brook through the woods and comes into a valley. Looking about, he sees a wilderness, no sign of a habitation, but high steep cliffs on both sides, and rough "knokled knarreȝ." He sees no chapel, but soon notices in a clearing a flat-topped (*balȝ*) hill near the ford of the stream. He goes to the hill, fastens his horse to a tree, and walks about the hill. It has a hole in the end and on each side, and is hollow within, "nobot an olde caue." Gawain wonders whether this could be the Green Chapel. Feeling its uncanniness, he says: "He[re] myȝt aboute myd-nyȝt, [þ]e dele his matynnes telle," and later "Hit is þe corsedest kyrk, þat euer I com inne." Then he hears a noise beyond the brook as of someone grinding a scythe on a grindstone. He calls out, and the man in green, carrying his axe, comes out of a hole in the cliff beyond the stream, walks to the brook, hops over on his axe, and greets Gawain. The hero bends his neck for the blow. The Green Knight lifts the axe, but as he brings it down, Gawain shrinks aside. The knight reproves him; Gawain tells him to hurry up. The knight aims at him, but withholds his hand. Gawain says he thinks the man is afraid of himself. Then the knight strikes Gawain a blow which wounds him slightly. Gawain refuses to abide another, saying that he has fulfilled his compact. Then the knight reveals himself as the host of the castle, and explains that he menaced Gawain three times in accordance with the three agreements they made. The third time he wounded him slightly because he had concealed the "lace" and was in this respect disloyal. He knew all about the wooing of his wife because he sent her to test Gawain. Angered, Gawain takes off the girdle and returns it to the knight. The latter gives the girdle back to Gawain as a remembrance of his adventure. Gawain says he will wear it in remembrance of his fault. The Green Knight says that his name is Bernlak de Hautdesert. The ancient lady was Morgne la Faye, and she sent him to Arthur's court to test his knights, and cause Guinevere to grieve and die of fright at the sight of the ghostly speaker with his head in his hand. Gawain refuses an invitation to return to the castle, and rides back to Arthur's court wearing the belt as a baldric. He shows

the "lace" to the king, and tells him the story. The lords and ladies of the Round Table agree to wear a baldric of bright green "for sake of þat segge."

Now it is obvious enough that this is a much better constructed tale than *MSF* or the episodes in *Perlesvaus* and *Diu Krône*. Yet even here there is one element of feebleness and inconsistency—the explanation of the test given by the Green Knight at the end. He says that Morgan sent him

For to assay þe surquidre, ȝif hit soth were,
þat rennes of þe grete renoun of þe Rounde Table:
Ho wayued¹ me þis wonder, your wytteȝ to reue,
For to haf greued Gaynour, & gart hir to dyȝe,
With g[ll]opnyng of þat ilke gomen, þat gostlych spekere,
With his hede in his honde, bifore þe hyȝe table [ll. 2457 ff.].

The enmity of Morgain to Arthur and his court is well known,² and it seems to have suggested this explanation. By means of the horn and mantle tests she did bring humiliation upon Guinevere and Arthur.³ But this test is quite a different matter; by it Gawain gains only greater glory, and Arthur's court a better reputation. Being an enchantress, she of course knew what would be the outcome of her scheme. Why should she then plan a test which Gawain could meet? Further, if she was inspired by enmity, why was she so just in carrying out the tests? She tests him with perfect justice: had he proved disloyal to the lord of the castle, he would have been killed. What was her motive? What could she gain by this test? The explanation is one that seems to be sensible superficially but is inherently unreasonable. It was almost certainly added by some late redactor familiar with Morgain's horn and mantle tests.⁴

Before attempting to decide what the real purpose of the beheading game in *GGK* was, I wish to point out first two distinctively primitive features of the story. The most striking of these is the

¹ For "wayued," instead of "wayned," see Skeat, *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1885-87, pp. 365, 366.

² Cf. Miss Paton, *Fairy Mythology*, particularly chap. ii, pp. 13 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, 105 ff. This is not entirely clear, because in most extant stories in which Morgain is mentioned with the horn, the horn was taken to King Mark's court. Miss Paton, however, argues that in an early form in which Arthur tried the horn, Morgain was the sender.

⁴ Note that the poem itself is not consistent on the point. In ll. 2361 ff. the Green Knight states that *he* caused his wife to test Gawain: "I wroȝt hit myseluen | I sende hir to assay þe."

insistence upon the color green. The author could scarcely have emphasized the color more than he did. In the initial description of the knight as he enters the hall we are told in ll. 150, 151, 157, 161, 167, 170, 172, 175, 179, 189, 192, 216, 220, and 235 that his clothes, his horse, his armor, and his axe were green. It is clear that we are meant to understand that even his complexion was green—cf. ll. 149–50, “He ferde as freke were fade, | & ouer-al enker grene”; l. 151, “Ande al grayþed in grene þis gome & his wedes”; l. 305 “[he] Bende his bresed broȝez, blycande grene”; and ll. 234 and 235, quoted above.¹ The only attempt to explain this emphasis upon green has been made by Miss Thomas. She supposes that the poet applied this color to the strange knight by analogy with red knights and various other colored knights (pp. 39 ff.). Yet she knows in a general way that green is a fairy color. “Green is undoubtedly a more unnatural colour even than blood-red; and is moreover extended to the knight’s own person—but it is a fairy colour and apt for wonders—found also as the hue of hair in many kinds of myths and legends and in no wise so amazing as would have been, for instance, blue or purple” (p. 43). Now anyone who has read the poem must realize at once that this explanation is entirely unsatisfactory; there is too much emphasis on the green knight, the green horse, the green chapel, the green “lace.” Of course the green horse is impossible from Miss Thomas’ point of view. The real explanation is that green is a color worn by Other-World beings.² Green and red are the two special colors that distinguish them. In *Cuchulinn’s Sick Bed*, Cuchulinn meets two women—one in green and one in a fivefold crimson cloak. They are Other-World people. Later he sees the one in green again, and is induced by her to visit the Other World.³ In the *Conception of Mongan* an Other-World knight appears in a green cloak.⁴ In the story of Ciaban, voyagers see “a horseman on a dark green steed with a golden bridle, riding over the waves.” It is Manannán, king of the Underworld, whom Rhŷs compares with

¹ Note also ll. 2227–28:

& þe gome in þe grene gered as fyrist
Boþe þe lyre & þe leggeȝ, lokkeȝ, & berde.

² See Professor Cross’s note in *Mod. Phil.*, XII, 595, n. 3.

³ *Voyage of Bran*, I, 153.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 72.

Curoi.¹ Green is a fairy color in the ballads; in *Thomas Rhymer*, it is said:

The meist of them [ghosts] was clad in green
To shew that death they had been in.²

Reginald Scot says that fairies were clothed in green; Bourne says that fairies are always clad in green; and in a story told by William of Newburgh we read of the finding of two fairy children in Suffolk—"the whole surface of their skin was tinged of a green color."³ In modern Celtic folklore green is frequently associated with Other-World creatures. In one story, for example, Guinevere (who was originally an Other-World being) rides on a green horse.⁴ Another story, told by the Welsh gypsies, deals with "the Green Man of No Man's Land," who is a sort of magician.⁵ Wentz says that green is worn by nearly all the fairy folk of Britain and Ireland.⁶ Examples are given by Rhŷs and Lady Wilde, and could be multiplied indefinitely.⁷ It seems hardly worth while to give further

¹ O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, II, 198; Brown, *Iwain*, p. 96.

² Cf. Rudiger, *Zaubern u. Aberglauben in eng.-schot. Volksballaden*, p. 42.

³ These references are from Keightley's *Fairy Mythology*, pp. 281, 290, 297.

⁴ W. Y. Evans Wentz, *The Fairy Faith*, p. 314.

⁵ F. H. Groome, *Gypsy Folk Tales*, p. 254. This story is probably a modern descendant of *GGK*. Jack, a young miller, plays with a stranger and loses; the latter tells the youth that his name is the Green Man of No Man's Land, and that Jack must find his castle in a year and a day or be beheaded. When the time to go to the castle draws near, Jack starts out to search for it. He comes upon an old woman who aids him by summoning a quarter of all the men in the world and asking them if they know the Green Man. As they do not know him she summons the birds and asks them. When they are unable to answer, she sends Jack to her elder sister. The latter calls together half the world but cannot learn who the Green Man is. She sends Jack to her eldest sister. The third sister calls all the people in the world, and then all the birds. At last the Eagle says he has just come from the Green Man. Having been instructed specifically, Jack goes to a certain pool and steals the feathers of a white bird. The bird (the Green Man's daughter) cries out, but Jack refuses to give her the feathers until she agrees to carry him to the Green Man's castle. The Green Man sets Jack impossible tasks, which the daughter performs. Finally Jack marries the daughter.

The bare skeleton of this is much like *GGK*: within a year and a day the hero must reach the Green Man's castle; there he undergoes tests and finally wins a bride. Most of the details of the old story have been replaced, however, by more common folklore motifs: e.g., the inquiries of the birds (cf. Dasent's *Three Princesses of Whiteland*), the Swan Maiden, and the helpful maiden (cf. Dasent's *Master Maid*), whose function is much like that of the Turk in *The Turke and Gowin*. The most significant fact about this variant is that it is a Welsh story, and hence probably derived from Celtic sources.

⁶ Wentz, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

⁷ For other examples of green associated with Other-World beings, see *The Courtship of Etain*, in Leahy, *Heroic Romances*, I, 12; *Táin Bó Cúalnge*, Ir. Texte, Extra Band, p. 28; *Aidead Muirchertaig*, Rev. Celt., XXIII, 397; *Echtra mac Echdach Muigmedon*, Eriu, IV, 105; *Agallamh na Senorach*, *Silva Gadelica*, II, 120, 187, 196, 202, 220, etc. I owe these references to Miss Elizabeth Willson of the University of Chicago. On fairies dressed in green, cf. Campbell, *Tales of the West Highlands*, IV, 313.

details: from the examples given above, among which, it will be noticed, are instances of green as color of clothing, complexion, and horses, it is certain that the use of green here indicates that the knight is an Other-World creature. Further it is to be observed that, like Curoi, Manannán, and other guardians of *fées*, he is a shape-shifter, for as lord of the castle he appears in so different a form that Gawain does not recognize him.

Another primitive feature is the description of the Green Chapel.

Sone a lyttel on a launde, a lawe as hit we[re]; (2171)

A balȝ berȝ, bi a bonke, þe brymme by-syde,
bi a forȝ of a flode, þat ferked þare;

· · · · ·
Pen[n]e he boȝeȝ to þe berȝe, aboute hit he walkeȝ, (2178)

D[e]batande with hym-self, quat hit be myȝt.

Hit hade a hole on þe ende, & on ayþer syde,
& ouer-grownen with gresse in glodes ay where,
& al watȝ holȝ in-with, nobot an olde caue,

Or a creuisse of an olde cragge, he couȝe hit noȝt deme.

This is a surprising place for an appointment, and Gawain does not know what to make of it. It is not a romantic convention; the poet himself seems to be rather surprised by it. But it is found in primitive stories and in modern folk-tales; it is in fact a fairy mound.

"In tales dating from the eighth century at the very latest, tales the incidents, personages, and spirit of which animate Irish legend for the thousand years that follow, and still form one of the staples of Irish peasant belief, we find a tribe of superhuman beings whose abiding dwelling-place is the fairy mound, the hollow hill. . . . They are the Tuatha De Danann of the annals. . . . Manannán and Fann and Lug, the father of Cuchulinn, are of this race. They are the "fairies" of the modern Irish peasant, who calls them by the same name as did the story-teller of Connla a thousand years ago: (*aes*) *side*, the folk of the mound."¹

One of the mounds supposed to have been inhabited by the *side* is described as a hill over three hundred feet in diameter and seventy feet high. Its top is a platform one hundred and twenty feet across. It is entered by a square doorway which leads to a stone passage more

¹ *Voyage of Bran*, I, 174-75. See the references in the index of Wentz's *Fairy Faith*. See also Zimmer, *Zs. f. d. Alt.*, XXXIII, 262; Borlase, *The Dolmens of Ireland*, pp. 853-54; MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts*, pp. 63 ff.; W. Johnson, *Folk Memory*, pp. 150 ff.

than sixty feet long and finally a domed interior twenty feet high.¹ The general character of this is obviously similar to that of the *berž* described in *GGK*. The description of the Green Chapel, therefore, is a primitive element, part of the original tale.²

Now both of these features—the emphasis on green, and the description of the Green Chapel—point to a story involving Other-World beings, in the course of which the hero is tested by a shape-shifter. If the purpose of the test is not a desire on the part of Morgain la Faye to humiliate Guinevere, what is it? The fact that in the *Fled Bricrend* and *MSF* the beheading game is used as a test for the winning of a fairy mistress suggests that such may be its purpose here. Let us test the theory. In the first place, an Other-World being lures Gawain from Arthur's court through a long and difficult journey to a strange castle. There a lady offers herself to him and pretends to love him. This is of course the fairy-mistress type. Further, the proposer of the test is a shape-shifter and the husband of the lady—like Curoi and Manannán. These two great resemblances seem to me enough to establish a probability that *GGK* is a fairy-mistress story. But there are two features which are not part of this type: first, the lady acts as she does merely to *test* Gawain, not

¹ New Grange. See Squire, *Mythology of British Isles*, pp. 135 ff.; Rolleston, *Myths and Legends of the Celtic Race*, p. 69; *Trans. RIA*, XXX, 1-94.

² It is probable that the holly bough which the Green Knight carried was in the original story; cf. ll. 203 ff. (especially 206-7). The Green Knight had no helmet or hauberk,

Bot in his on honde he hade a holyn bobbe
Pat is grattest in grene, when greuež ar bare.

He says:

þe may be seker bi þis braunch pat I bere here
Pat I passe as in pes, & no plyȝt seche [ll. 265-66].

It is clear that the greenness of the branch is supposed to be connected with the color of the knight. Mr. A. B. Cook in his article on "The European Sky-God" (*Folk Lore*, XVII, 338 ff.) argues that the Green Knight was originally a tree-god and his holly branch a sort of emblem. He shows that the mining population of Dean swear by a stick of holly, and discusses examples of heroes who carry boughs (especially from Wolfram's *Parzival*). Whether one accept all his theory or not, one must conclude, I think, that there is some meaning in the holly stick. The holly is said to be dear to the fairies, and a story is told of a man who brought their wrath down upon him because he cleaned a chimney with a branch of holly (*Enc. Brit.*, X, 134). In Campbell's *Tales of the West Highlands*, I, 306, a character who is a sort of magician uses a holly branch to overcome a number of people. (The story is far from clear or coherent.) Dean Stanley is quoted as saying that the heathen hung holly in their houses that the fairies might find shelter under it (*Notes and Queries*, 4th Series, X, 492).

Probably some features of the description of the castle are also original. See above, p. 68, note. The shining white appearance of the castle ("hit schemered & schon," ll. 772, and had "chalk whyt chymnees" upon roofs "pat blenked ful quyte," ll. 798-99) is characteristic of Other-World castles. Cf. Brown, *Romanic Review*, III, 158.

from real love; secondly, the hero submits to the head-cutting *after*, not *before*, the lady offers him her love. To understand these exceptional features we must study certain other facts of the *GGK*. In the first place, it is to be noted that if the Green Chapel is a fairy mound, Gawain never entered it, and hence never reached the Other World. What then is the castle in which he stayed from Christmas to New Year's? Now Professor Brown has shown that "in an earlier and more complete form of the type of story which they [the *Erec* and *Iwain*] represent the hero must have been entertained by a hospitable host, who in the morning led him to the adventure of the Other World."¹ He thinks that this hospitable host must originally have been a different appearance of the Other-World being, the "shape-shifter commissioned by the *fée* to guide the hero to her land." All this coincides curiously with the story of the castle in *GGK*: Gawain is entertained by a hospitable host, who is the shape-shifter, and he is guided by a servant of the host to the entrance of the mound. It seems to me that what has happened here is obvious. The story originally was much like that reconstructed by Professor Brown for the *Gilla Decair*. A *fée* loved Gawain, and sent an emissary to lure him to her. He traveled for a long time until he came to a hospitable castle where he was entertained until the appointed day by a shape-shifter, the same who had enticed him from court; then he was conveyed to the entrance to the Other World. There he had to submit to the beheading test; when he succeeded in that he was admitted to the Other World, and led to the fairy. Probably he stayed with her some time, and then after having been given a magic talisman—the green lace—he was allowed to return to his own land. Now at some time, a story-teller conceived the idea of making this story a poetic explanation of the founding of an order, probably because the green lace reminded him of the badge of that order. Wishing to associate with the order the idea of loyalty, he altered the nature of the material slightly by having Gawain resist the love of the lady, and he transferred the incident of Gawain and the lady to the hospitable castle, so as to bring the beheading test after it and make the test an evidence of Gawain's loyalty.

¹ *Iwain*, p. 138.

Probably the foregoing seems very violent and arbitrary handling of material, but I would remind the reader that the only two analogues of *GGK* that show primitive features are fairy-mistress stories, that in *GGK* we have an Other-World creature luring the hero to a distant journey and finally bringing him to a lady who offers him her love, and that as in other fairy-mistress stories the emissary of the *fee* is a shape-shifter. Surely such facts deserve attention. Furthermore, part of my reasoning can be confirmed by the evidence of documents later than *GGK*. In the *Percy Folio Manuscript*¹ occurs a ballad called *The Grene Knight*, which, though well known, has never been considered in discussions of *GGK*. It presents some interesting variations from the older romance.

Arthur's knights gather at court on Christmas Day and hold feast. Leaving Arthur, the poet tells us about Sir Bredbeddle, a knight of the west country.² He has a beautiful wife:

because Sir Gawaine was stiffe in stowre
shee loued him priuily paramour,
& shee neuer him see.

Her mother, who is a witch, named Agostes, transposes the shape of Sir Bredbeddle and sends him to King Arthur's court.

all was for her daughters sake,
that which she soe sadlye spake
to her sonne-in-law the Knight
because Sir Gawaine was bold and hardye,
& therto full of curstesye
to bring him into her sight.

¹ Ed. Hales and Furnivall, II, 56 ff.

² A knight called Sir Bredbeddle is an important figure in the ballad *King Arthur and King Cornwall* (*PPM*, I, 61; Sargent and Kittredge, *Ballads*, p. 50; etc.). Arthur, informed by his queen that there is a king somewhere who has a round table worth three of his own, sets forth with four knights to find this king. He comes to the king's palace, is received there, and he and his knights make certain boasts of what they will accomplish. Sir Bredbeddle (not named until stanza 40) assists Arthur in carrying these out, and overcomes a certain "lody feend." In stanzas 53, 55, 59, 68, and 74 he is called "the Greene Knight." His function throughout the story is much like that of the Turk in his assistance of Gawain, in the *Turke and Gowin*, more remotely like that of the *vilain* in *MSF*. He performs magic deeds. (His power is explained as due to the possession of a book written by our Lord.) The king tells Arthur that he has been a lover of Guinevere's and that he has a marvelously beautiful daughter (stanzas 24-25). The king is a conjuror (stanzas 66, 67). Altogether it seems likely that the original of this curious poem was a fairy-mistress story representing various adventures through which the hero (here King Arthur) passed to win a fairy (here King Cornwall's daughter). Sir Bredbeddle was probably not originally one of Arthur's knights (note that he is not mentioned when Arthur's other companions are named early in the ballad), but an attendant upon the *fee*, a green knight who assisted the hero in the tests.

The knight says he is going to prove Gawain's three points. His horse, armor, and weapons are all green. He reaches Arthur's court on Christmas Day, and proposes the beheading game:

I shall lay my head downe
strike itt off if he can
with a stroke to garr itt bleed,
for this day 12 monthe another at his.

He promises to direct the knight to the Green Chapel. Sir Kay boasts that he will do it. Gawain offers and is permitted by the king to try the game. After dining, the Green Knight permits Gawain to strike off his head, picks it up, jumps into his saddle, and reminds Gawain to seek the Green Chapel a year hence. Arthur and Guinevere lament Gawain's plight. The Green Knight arrives home; he knows that his wife loves Gawain.

The court is very sad when Gawain has to depart. He rides through a country inhabited by wolves and wild beasts. Arriving at length at a castle, he is entertained by a knight who is the Green Knight but whom he does not recognize. They agree to exchange their winnings on a certain day. The Green Knight goes hunting. The old witch brings her daughter to Gawain's bed. The lady kisses him thrice, but Gawain refuses to be disloyal to the Green Knight. She gives him a white lace to protect him from any harm in war. When the Green Knight returns, Gawain kisses him three times, but keeps the white lace concealed. Gawain goes to the Green Chapel, submits to the blow, and is but slightly cut. The knight accuses him of flinching, but Gawain says he gave but one blow and will receive but one. The Green Knight says Gawain has lost his three points because he was not loyal in concealing the lace. The knight says, however, that if Gawain will take him to Arthur's court he will be satisfied. They go to court. That is the reason why Knights of the Bath wear a white lace.

The only discussion of this poem which I know of is that by Hales in the edition of the *Percy Folio Manuscript*. He suggests that it is a modernization of the old romance, written at a time when people could no longer read the archaic language of *GGK*. Such an explanation, however, cannot account for the marked differences in incident and motive. It can hardly be a chance that in most instances in which the *Green Knight* differs from *GGK* it is more primitive. Further, on such a hypothesis it would be difficult to account for such a change in structure as the shift from the account of the Christmas celebration at court to Sir Bredbeddle, his wife and mother-in-law. The only reasonable explanation for these differences is that the *Green Knight* goes back to some form of *GGK* anterior to

that in which we now have the poem.¹ Let us see now what bearing the *Green Knight* has on our study. In the first place, we hear in it nothing of Morgain la Faye, whose position in *GGK* is, as I have already pointed out, anomalous and almost certainly not original. Secondly, the lady loves Gawain though she has never seen him, a common feature in Celtic as well as general mediaeval romance,² and the beheading game is a device for enticing him to her. The husband has no other function than to carry out the wishes of his wife. These are all features which I have postulated above as underlying the story of *GGK*. They agree too well with the primitive fairy-mistress story to be the invention of a late redactor, and they are hence proofs that originally *GGK* was a fairy-mistress story.

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[*To be concluded*]

¹ For discussion of the exact relationship, see the end of section II, in the continuation of this paper.

² *Hist. litt.*, XXX, 34. See references in Cross's article, *Mod. Phil.*, XII, 612, n. 3.

THE INVENTION OF THE SONNET

I

The poets of the court of Frederick II are doubly entitled to remembrance: they are the first group of Italian writers; and they include in their number the authors of the earliest extant sonnets.

Twenty-five sonnets are attributed on good grounds to the literary leader of the group, Giacomo da Lentino.¹ Six other sonnets are attributed on good grounds to members of the group who seem to have been contemporary with Giacomo: three to the Abbot of Tivoli, one to Jacopo Mostacci, one to Piero delle Vigne, and one to Monaldo d'Aquino. The sonnets of the Abbot occur in a five-sonnet *tenzone* with Giacomo, the Abbot writing the first, third, and fifth sonnets. Those of Mostacci and Piero delle Vigne occur in a three-sonnet *tenzone* with Giacomo: the *tenzone* opens with the sonnet of Mostacci, to which the other two poems are replies. The sonnet of Monaldo is independent. The contemporaneity of Monaldo and Giacomo is indicated by the fact that two sonnets are attributed by certain manuscripts to Giacomo and by another manuscript to Monaldo—slight evidence, to be sure, but the only evidence we have as to the time when Monaldo wrote.²

These thirty-one sonnets constitute, as well as it may be defined, the group of the earliest sonnets. They were written, presumably, within the period 1220–50, the period of Frederician activity in general. No sonnets by pre-Frederician writers are extant. There are extant four other sonnets by poets of the Frederician group; but there is in each case reason for thinking the poem later than the general body of Frederician verse. One is by King Enzo, who was

¹ *The Poetry of Giacomo da Lentino*, ed. E. F. Langley, Cambridge, 1915, Sonnets III, V, VII, IX–XXX. Nos. XXVIII and XXX are attributed also, in one MS, to Monaldo d'Aquino; and No. XXIX is attributed in one MS to Petri Morovelli.

² See Langley, *The Extant Repertory of the Early Sicilian Poets* (referred to hereafter as *Repertory*), in *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Ass'n*, XXVIII (1913), 468–72 and 492–96. The two *tenzioni* are printed in *The Poetry of Giacomo*, that of the Abbot and Giacomo comprising the sonnets numbered IV–VIII, and the other those numbered I–III. The sonnet of Monaldo is printed as No. 71 in *Il canzoniere vat. barb. lat. 3953*, ed. G. Lega, Bologna, 1905. On the significance of conflicting manuscript attributions, see *Repertory*, 456, n. 1.

born in 1225, taken captive by the Bolognese in 1249, and held prisoner for the rest of his life. His sonnet opens with a reference to the uncertainty of fortune: "Tempo vene ki sale e ki discende." It is then probable that the sonnet was written during Enzo's captivity. Another of these four sonnets is by Rinaldo d'Aquino, who was presumably the Rinaldo d'Aquino born between 1223 and 1228. Another, by Guglielmo Beroardi, occurs in a *tenzone* written in 1267, in which five other poets, all post-Frederician, take part. The fourth sonnet is by Mazzeo di Ricco, to whom one of the *canzoni* of Guittione d'Arezzo is addressed.¹ It is of course possible that one or more of these four sonnets antedates some of the thirty-one sonnets of Giacomo and his contemporaries; but there is no specific reason in any case for supposing such precedence. The few non-Frederician poets of the Frederician period wrote no sonnets. The activity of the first post-Fredericians, Guittione d'Arezzo and his fellows, seems hardly to have begun before the end of the Frederician period. It is of course possible that some few Guittonian sonnets antedate some few of the thirty-one sonnets of Giacomo and his contemporaries; but there is no particular Guittonian sonnet for which such precedence is indicated.

Within the group of thirty-one sonnets no satisfactory relative chronology appears. Any one of them—except those that stand in the second or in a subsequent position in a *tenzone*—may be, very possibly, the earliest extant sonnet. Cesareo names seven of the sonnets of Giacomo da Lentino as being among his earliest sonnets. But the basis for his distinction is the fact that the seven sonnets all have *CDCDCD* as rhyme-scheme for the sestet; and this fact, as will presently appear, does not constitute an indication of priority.²

¹ *Repertory*, 468–72, 492–96. On Enzo's sonnet, see L. Bladene, "Morfologia del sonetto nei sec. XIII e XIV," in *Studi di fil. rom.*, IV (1889), 23, n. 5. On the date of the *tenzone*, see G. Bertoni, *Il duecento*, Milan (1911), p. 100. The sonnets of Enzo, Rinaldo, and Beroardi are printed by E. Monaci in his *Crestomazia italiana dei primi secoli*, Città di Castello, 1889–1912, pp. 203, 87, 264. The sonnet of Mazzeo is printed by L. Valeriani in his *Poeti del primo secolo della lingua italiana*, Florence, 1816, Vol. I, p. 334. Addition of these four poems to the group of the earliest extant sonnets would not modify the conclusions reached in this paper as to the origin of the sonnet. The form and content of these four poems are indicated in notes 3 on p. 83, 2 on p. 84, 4 on p. 87, and 2 on p. 93.

² G. A. Cesareo, *La poesia siciliana sotto gli Svevi*, Catania, 1894, pp. 273–74. Cesareo, pp. 257 ff., assigns all the sonnets of Giacomo to the last of the three periods into which he divides Giacomo's work; but his whole scheme of division is untenable: see *The Poetry of Giacomo*, p. xxiii, n. 2.

Foresti suggests a division of the poetry of Giacomo into two groups, an earlier and a later, and assigns the more "spontaneous" poems—among which he classes Sonnets XIII, XV, XVI, XXIII, XXIV, XXVII¹—to the earlier group. But Foresti's impressions of Giacomo's spontaneity can hardly be regarded as authoritative; nor is the spontaneity of a poem a sure criterion for its date.²

A list of the earliest sonnets nearly identical with my list is given by Cesareo, in an incidental treatment of the sonnet. He assigns twenty-four or twenty-five sonnets to Giacomo, includes the sonnet of Rinaldo d'Aquino, and does not include that of Monaldo, which he seems not to have known.³

No sonnets by pre-Frederician writers, as has been noted, are extant. There is moreover no reason to believe that sonnets were written by any pre-Frederician poets. Bertoni, to be sure, suggests that the sonnet may have been devised by some member of a hypothetical group of Italian poets which he supposes to have existed in the late twelfth century.⁴ But the supposition of the existence of such a group rests solely upon Bertoni's theory that the work of the Frederician poets was greatly influenced by the lyric of Northern France; and that theory has been thoroughly refuted.⁵ The existence of such a group of poets is moreover inherently improbable. Courtiers of William II, had they written lyrics, would doubtless have written rather in French than in Italian.⁶ There did not exist, between William's death in 1189 and the return of Frederick II from Germany in 1220, any South Italian court that we can fairly

¹ Sonnet numbers in the text of this article refer in all cases to the sonnets as numbered in *The Poetry of Giacomo*.

² A. Foresti, *Nuove osservazioni intorno all' origine e alle varietà metriche del sonetto (Estratto dall' XII Vol. degli Atti dell' Ateneo di Bergamo)*, Bergamo, 1895, p. 4, n. 1.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 273–74, 282, 303, n. 2. The list is in the note on p. 303.

Langley, *Repertory*, 492–96, 517–19, lists exactly the 35 Frederician sonnets, and records their main metrical characteristics; but he does not speak of these sonnets as constituting the group of the earliest sonnets; and he refrains—in generous courtesy to me—from discussing the origin of the sonnet.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 271.

⁵ By M. Casella in *Bullettino della soc. dant. ital.*, N.S. XIX (1912), 275; and by me in "The Derivation of the *Canzone*" (referred to hereafter as *DC*), in *Modern Philology*, XII (1914–15), 527, Romance section, 135. My page references to *DC* are in the numbering of the Romance section.

⁶ H. Niese, "Zur Geschichte des geistigen Lebens am Hofe Friedrichs II," in *Historische Zeitschrift*, 108 (1912), 482–84.

suppose to have been a center of literary endeavor. And if such a group of poets had existed, surely some definite trace or memory of their work would have been preserved.

The group of thirty-one sonnets constitutes, then, the proper basis for investigation as to the original character and the sources of the sonnet form. The first of the four previous detailed studies of the origin of the sonnet,¹ that of Witte, does not, apparently, define at all the body of verse taken as basis for investigation. Some of Witte's arguments seem to be derived from the usage of Petrarch. The next study, that of Welti, takes as basis for investigation all sonnets of the thirteenth century printed in the manual of Nannucci and one or two other collections. The greater importance of the older sonnets is recognized, but the older sonnets are not defined as a group. The third study, that of Biadene, takes as basis all or nearly all the extant sonnets of the thirteenth century, published or unpublished—about a thousand in number—and proceeds upon the general assumption that features common to a considerable majority of these sonnets are original. This is obviously unsound: for, as Casini remarks in criticism of Biadene, "la prevalenza numerica, che può dipendere da cause accidentali, non prova nulla."² Features which appear in post-Frederician and not in Frederician sonnets are in all probability secondary, not original; and the preference of post-Fredericians for one of two varieties both instanced among the Frederician sonnets does not give the slightest indication as to which of the two varieties is the more primitive. The fourth study, that of Foresti, approves in general the method and results of Biadene. Biadene and Foresti in a few instances recognize the

¹ K. Witte, preface to *Hundert Sonette von Eugen Baron von Vaerst und zwei Freunden*, Breslau, 1825; H. Welti, *Geschichte des Sonettes in der deutschen Dichtung*, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 6-43; Biadene, *op. cit.*, 4-30, 34-36, 42-44, 215-19; Foresti, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-19. Witte's study is not accessible to me: it is reported and criticized in detail by Welti, pp. 31-37.

The article of A. Borgognoni, "Il sonetto," in *Nuova antologia*, S. II, Vol. XIII (1879), 244, is quite worthless. Its main contentions are refuted by Biadene, 217-18. The treatment of the origin of the sonnet by M. Jasinski, *Histoire du sonnet en France*, Douai, 1903, pp. 7-16, is equally worthless. Jasinski is unaware of the existence of the studies of Biadene and Foresti; and his knowledge of the early Italian sonnets is taken at second hand from Welti. I shall disregard in this paper the remarks of Borgognoni and Jasinski.

² T. Casini, *Le forme metriche italiane*, Florence, 2d ed., 1890, p. 36.

greater importance of the older sonnets, but they do not define the older sonnets as a group. Cesareo, whose list of the earliest sonnets has been referred to, uses that list for the purpose of one argument only.¹ He accepts in general the results of Biadene.

II

Each of the thirty-one sonnets consists of fourteen hendecasyllables.² This is then, as has been generally supposed, the original length and constitution of the sonnet form.

Each of the thirty-one sonnets opens with the rhyme-scheme *ABABABAB*. Twenty close with the scheme *CDECDE*; ten with the scheme *CDCDCD*; and one with the scheme *AABAAB*.³

Each of the thirty-one sonnets, then, is formally divided, by a change in the rhyme-scheme, into octave and sestet. In all cases but two (Nos. XXII and XXIX), a full stop in the sense occurs at the end of the octave; and there is a lesser sense-pause in these two cases.⁴ The division into octave and sestet is then original, as has been generally supposed.

For the octave, the rhyme-scheme *ABABABAB* is unquestionably original. Witte regarded the scheme *ABBAABBA* as original.⁵ Gaspary noted, in 1878, that the scheme *ABABABAB* was used regularly by Guittone and most of the other older writers,⁶ and since then this scheme has been generally regarded as the original one. Welti and Biadene attempt to prove it original by pointing out that it prevails among the older writers of the thirteenth century: but they do not define the older writers as a group.⁷

¹ See below, p. 109.

² So do all the Frederician sonnets: *Repertory*, 518.

³ In No. I the rhyme-ending *D* is the same as the rhyme-ending *A*; in II, *E = B*; in III, *C = A*. The initial sonnets of the *tenzoni* do not determine rhymes or rhyme-schemes for the following sonnets. Of the four later Frederician sonnets, each begins *ABABABAB*; three end *CDECDE*; Beroardi's ends *CDCDCD*. In Rinaldo's sonnet, *C = B*. Numbers and schemes for all the thirty-one sonnets except Monaldo's are taken from *The Poetry of Giacomo*. The schemes for Monaldo's sonnet and the four later ones are taken from *Repertory*, 493-96.

⁴ See the table on p. 84, and note 2 on the same page.

⁵ Welti, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

⁶ A. Gaspary, *Die sicilianische Dichterschule des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, p. 131, n.

⁷ Welti, pp. 28-29; Biadene, 27-28.

The questions as to the original subdivision of the octave and as to the original subdivision and rhyme-scheme of the sestet will require extensive discussion.

The rhyme-scheme *ABABABAB* suggests a subdivision of the octave into four distichs. It is consistent with a subdivision into quatrains, but it does not suggest such a subdivision. If subdivision into quatrains had originally been regarded as of primary importance, the original rhyme-scheme of the octave would presumably have been such as to define the quatrains—for instance, *ABBAABBA* or *ABBCABBC*.¹

The distribution of sense-pauses, as indicated by editorial punctuation, in the octaves of the thirty-one earliest sonnets, is shown in Table I.²

TABLE I

Line	Full Stop	Semicolon	Comma	No Pause
1.....	0	0	17	14
2.....	4	9	18	0
3.....	0	2	18	11
4.....	22	3	6	0
5.....	0	1	26	4
6.....	5	14	12	0
7.....	0	2	22	7
8.....	29	0	2	0

The sense-pauses thus correspond in general to the division into distichs indicated by the rhyme-scheme. There is in no case a full stop after the first, third, fifth, or seventh line; there is a pause in every case after the second, fourth, and sixth lines. A full stop, however, occurs much oftener after the fourth line than after the second line or than after the sixth. There appears thus a tendency to divide the octave, in sense, into two quatrains. It is to be noted, though, that the presence of a full stop after the fourth line is quite natural—the average poetic sentence would run rather to four lines

¹ Cf. Bladene, 8.

² The punctuation is taken, for all the sonnets except Monaldo's, from *The Poetry of Giacomo*. Two pauses (both slight) marked by a colon and one (also slight) marked by an exclamation point are grouped with those marked by a comma. I regard the octave of Monaldo's sonnet (Lega does not punctuate) as punctuated *AB,AB,AB;AB*. The octaves of the four later Frederician sonnets are punctuated thus in the editions referred to: Enzo, *A,B,A,B;A,B,A,B*; Rinaldo, *A,B;AB,A,B:A,B*; Beroardi, *AB,AB,AB,AB; Mazzeo, A,B,AB,AB;A,B*.

than to two or to six¹—and that there are nine cases in which the pause after the fourth line is not strong enough to be marked as a full stop.

One of the experimental modifications of the sonnet made early in the second half of the thirteenth century consisted in the expansion of the octave by the addition of two lines rhyming *AB*, so that the first part of the sonnet contained ten lines, rhyming *ABABABABAB*. Monte Andrea, a contemporary of Guittone, wrote over a hundred sonnets in this form; Guittone himself wrote three; and two or three were written by other poets.² The author of this modification evidently regarded the octave as consisting of a series of distichs, and evidently did not regard it as consisting of two quatrains.

On the other hand, Guittone wrote one sonnet with the octave rhyming *ABBAABBA*, and several of his contemporaries occasionally used the same scheme.³ The author of this modification probably thought of the octave as divided into quatrains; but if so he may still have regarded the division into four distichs as the main division of the octave.

In the earliest manuscripts, dating from about 1300, the scribes write the octave in four lines, a distich to a line, with a capital or other initial sign at the beginning of each distich, and without any indication whatever of a division into quatrains. They divide the sestet into tercets, each tercet occupying a line and a half, and being marked by a capital or other initial sign.⁴ Similarly, the first two metrical theorists who treat the sonnet, Francesco da Barberino, writing about 1315, and Antonio da Tempo, writing in 1332, speak of the octave as divided into four parts—called *pedes* by the first writer and *copulae* by the second—but give no indication of a division into quatrains.⁵

It might seem that scribal habit and theoretical statement dating from 1300 or thereabouts could have little weight in determining the original Frederician point of view; but there is good reason for allowing them considerable weight. In treating the main lyric form,

¹ G. Giannini, *Sulla forma primitiva dello strambotto siciliano*, Lucca, 1910, p. 17, notes that in more than half the octaves of the first two cantos of the *Orlando furioso* and of the *Gerusalemme liberata* the main pause occurs after the fourth line, although in the epic stanza there is of course no formal subdivision at that point.

² Biadene, 42–44.

³ Biadene, 27.

⁴ Biadene, 5–7.

⁵ Biadene, 7, 21.

the *canzone*, scribes and theorists stress the subdivision of the first part of the stanza into two equal parts—called *pedes*.¹ Moreover, at the time when they wrote, the scheme *ABBAABBA*, which suggests a division into quatrains, was fast coming into favor for the sonnet octave. And since scribes and theorists refrain, in their treatment of the subdivision of the sonnet, from following the obvious analogy of their treatment of the *canzone*, and from recognizing the new rhyme-division of the octave, their practice and theory must represent a well-established tradition.

In view of these several considerations, it is clear that the octave was originally regarded as formally subdivided into four distichs. It seems probable, further, that the writers of the earliest sonnets were conscious of a tendency to divide the octave, in sense, into two quatrains; but it is clear that even if they recognized this tendency they regarded such subdivision into quatrains as distinctly subordinate in importance to the division into distichs. These conclusions will be confirmed by the results reached in Part VI of this paper as to the source of the octave.

Witte assumed that the octave was originally subdivided into quatrains—an assumption based evidently on his mistaken idea that the original rhyme-scheme of the octave was *ABBAABBA*.² Welti first assumes a division into quatrains; then says that the subdivision into quatrains is a very minor matter; and finally quotes as authoritative Da Tempo's statement that the octave is divided into four *copulae*, and argues that the division into quatrains was subsequent to the development of the rhyme-scheme *ABBAABBA*.³ Biadene's conclusion, as first stated, is the same as mine—which is indeed based largely on Biadene's evidence and argument. Later, however, Biadene assumes, inconsistently and unjustifiably, that the sense-division of the octave into quatrains was sufficiently essential to have

¹ In MSS Laur. Red. 9 (ed. Casini, Bologna, 1900) and Pal. 418 (ed. A. Bartoli and Casini, in *Il Propugnatore*, Vols. XIV [1881] ff.) capital initials are used at the beginning of each *pes* and at the beginning of the *sirma* (or of each *versus* when the stanza is regarded as quadripartite), but are not used in any other position. In MS Vat. 3793 (ed. F. Egidi, Rome, 1902-8) only the main division of the stanza into two parts is noted. In no one of these MSS is there any system about the adjustment of metrical lines to lines of the MS. The first discussion of the division of the *canzone* stanza is that of Dante, in the *De vulgaris eloquentia*, Book II, chaps. x-xlii.

² Welti, p. 32.

³ Welti, pp. 28, 34, 37, 42.

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served as sole basis for formal division of the sestet into tercets.¹ Foresti follows Biadene, but is even more inconsistent; for he ends by disregarding the division into distichs entirely, and basing an argument as to the origin of the sonnet on the assumption that the octave was originally divided into quatrains.²

For the sestet, three schemes appear, as already noted, among the thirty-one sonnets; twenty have *CDECDE*, ten have *CDCDCD*, and one has *AABAAB*. This last is Giacomo's *Lo viso e son diviso da lo viso* (No. XVII), a *tour de force* in repetition and equivocal rhyme. This is obviously a deliberate modification of a form already established. Either *CDECDE* or *CDCDCD*, then, is the original rhyme-scheme of the sestet.

The sestets of the type *CDECDE* are clearly divided, by the character of the rhyme-scheme, into tercets. In all the sestets of this type but two (Nos. V and XVIII) the main pause in sense occurs at the end of the third line.³

The distribution of sense-pauses, as indicated by the editorial punctuation, in the sestets of the type *CDCDCD* is shown in Table II.⁴

TABLE II

IV.....	<i>C, D C, D. C D.</i>
VII.....	<i>C, D; C. D; C, D.</i>
XIII.....	<i>C D, C. D; C D.</i>
XV.....	<i>C D; C, D; C, D.</i>
XVI.....	<i>C? D? C? D, C, D.</i>
XX.....	<i>C, D, C, D; C, D.</i>
XXIII.....	<i>C, D, C; D. C, D.</i>
XXIV.....	<i>C, D, C. D, C D.</i>
XXVII.....	<i>C D; C, D. C, D.</i>
XXX.....	<i>C, D, C, D; C, D.</i>

In four of these sonnets, then, Nos. VII, XIII, XVI, XXIV, the main pause in sense, marked by a full stop, follows the third line, and suggests a division into tercets: *CDC,DCD*. In four others, Nos. XV, XX, XXVII, XXX, the sense-pauses, though less marked, suggest a grouping of the lines by distichs: *CD,CD,CD*. In the

¹ Biadene, 4-11, 21. See below, pp. 88-89.

² Foresti, pp. 12-18. See below, p. 98.

³ For the sources of this statement and of the material in the table in the next paragraph, see n. 2 on p. 84.

⁴ See the preceding note. The sonnet of Beroardi has *CD,C,D,C:D.*

other two sonnets, Nos. IV and XXIII, the pauses, though irregular, correspond on the whole rather to the type *CD,CD,CD* than to the type *CDC,DCD*.

We have then, in detail, three possibly original schemes: *CDE,CDE*; *CDC,DCD*; and *CD,CD,CD*. Before attempting the positive solution of the question as to which of these schemes was the original one, it will prove convenient to examine the theories of the earlier critics. In order to be acceptable, it may be noted, a theory must not only justify a given scheme as original, but must offer satisfactory suggestion regarding the development of the other two schemes as secondary.

Witte supposed the original scheme of the sestet to be *CDDCEE*.¹

Welti holds that the scheme *CD,CD,CD* is original, on the ground that out of seven sonnets of Giacomo four have *CDCDCD* as against three having *CDECDE*, whereas in Guittone the two schemes are equally common, and in Cavalcanti the three-rhymed scheme prevails. He suggests that the scheme *CDECDE* was developed through the influence of the *terzina*; and that the type *CDC,DCD* was developed through influence of the bipartite type *CDECDE* on the original *CD,CD,CD*.² Welti's grounds for assuming the originality of *CD,CD,CD* are absurdly insufficient. There is no reason to believe that a *terzina* rhyming *ABC* existed in the thirteenth century.

Biadene regards the scheme *CDCDCD* as original, on the ground that some 600 sonnets of the thirteenth century have *CDCDCD* as against some 300 having *CDECDE*. He regards the scheme *CD,CD,CD* as pre-original, and thinks that the scheme *CDC,DCD* developed from it, at the very birth of the sonnet, through the analogy of the division of the octave into quatrains. He explains the form *CDECDE* as a result of a tendency to define the tercets apparent in the type *CDC,DCD*, and to dispel the monotony of

¹ Welti, p. 32.

² Welti, pp. 29, 41-42. Welti's suggestion as to the *terzina* is derived evidently from H. Schuchardt's quite inconclusive *Ritornell* (meaning the *stornello*) und *Terzine*, Halle, 1874. Welti accepts also, in a footnote, Biadene's argument (made known to him by correspondence) that the scheme *CDCDCD* must be original since it appears in two-thirds of the sonnets of the thirteenth century; and quotes as "sehr einleuchtend" Biadene's theory that the type *CDC,DCD* arose directly from *CD,CD,CD* through the analogy of the division of the octave into quatrains. On these contentions of Biadene, see the next paragraph.

a scheme consisting wholly of alternate rhymes.¹ The logic of Biadene's numerical argument is bad, as we have seen. The process he suggests for the development of the type *CDC,DCD* is also unsound. Biadene elsewhere holds rightly that the octave is divided primarily into distichs, and that the division into quatrains is a secondary matter, concerning sense-pauses. It is very improbable that a minor sense-division of the octave should have led immediately to a major formal division of the sestet—and the division of the sestet into tercets is, in Biadene's opinion,² a formal matter. The analogy of the octave, if operative upon the sestet, would have suggested or reinforced a division into distichs, not a division into tercets.

Foresti follows Biadene, except that he regards *CD,CD,CD* as an actual type. He adds, in favor of the priority of *CD,CD,CD*, this argument: when the octave developed the scheme *ABBAABBA*, the sestet developed occasionally the schemes *CDEEDC* and *CDCCDC*; this parallelism in later development denotes a parallelism in original nature; therefore the original scheme of the sestet was of the same sort as the original scheme of the octave.³ But the second premise is totally unwarranted.

We may now attempt the positive solution of the question as to which of the three schemes—*CDECDE*; *CD,CD,CD*; *CDC,DCD*—is the original one.

The practice of the earliest scribes and the statements of the earliest theorists point clearly to an original formal division of the sestet into tercets, not to a division into distichs. In two of the three main manuscripts the first two verses of each tercet and part of the third verse appear on a single line, the third verse ending on the next line, part of which remains blank. In the other manuscript the first verse of each tercet stands alone, the other two verses following it on the next line. In all three manuscripts a capital letter or other initial sign stands at the head of each tercet.⁴ Francesco da Barberino and Da Tempo both speak of the sestet as divided into

¹ Biadene, 4, 9–11, 34–35. Biadene at first recognizes the existence of a few early sonnets in which the sestet rhymes *CD,CD,CD* with an apparent division into distichs; but thereafter ignores the existence of this scheme as an actual sestet scheme.

² A correct opinion: see the last paragraph on this page.

Foresti, pp. 12–15.

⁴ Biadene, 5–7.

two equal parts—called by the one *mutae* and by the other *voltae*. Neither hints at any other sort of subdivision.¹

External evidence then leads to the belief that either *CDE,CDE* or *CDC,DCD* is the original scheme. Of these two schemes, the former is evidently appropriate for a sestet divided into tercets; in the latter the arrangement of the rhymes has no relation to such a division.² The scheme *CDE,CDE* is then probably the original one.

Other considerations lead to the same result: but before they can be fairly presented the question whether the sonnet was a popular growth or an artistic invention must be discussed.

III

The obvious characteristics of the sonnet mark it plainly as an artistic device. In its length, in its composite character, and in the peculiar and delicate asymmetry of octave and sestet, it is distinctly unlike anything in the mass of Italian popular verse. Moreover, as Foresti points out, the fact that no trace of the sonnet exists in the popular repertory is extremely good evidence that the sonnet never existed as a popular form.³

The burden of proof then rests upon those who hold that the sonnet is a popular growth; but their assertions and arguments by no means sustain the burden. Witte, writing in full Romanticism, declared “dass solche dichterische Formen nicht erfunden werden, sondern sich allmählich und unbewusst erzeugen.”⁴ Welti, still swayed by the same forces, writes: “Wir wissen, dass die grossen poetischen Formen nicht Erfindungen eines Einzelnen, sondern Erzeugnisse des einer Gesamtheit eigenen Sprach-, Zeit- und Nationalgeistes sind.” He adds in argument the quite untenable premise

¹ Biadene, 6–7.

² Cf. Biadene, 10: “se l’idea prima di chi compose il primo sonetto fosse stata veramente di aggiungere a uno strambotto due terzetti, secondo ogni probabilità egli li avrebbe fatti di tre rime.”

³ Foresti, p. 15. Foresti asserts also, less effectively, that if the sonnet had been a popular formation it would have appeared rather in the work of the more popular than in that of the more courtly Sicilian poets: but Giacomo is distinctly popular at times. Foresti argues further, pp. 15–18, that the similarity of the sonnet to the tripartite *canzone* stanza indicates an artist’s acquaintance with that stanza. The similarity vanishes, however, on examination: see below, pp. 98–99.

⁴ Welti, p. 31. Witte’s theory of popular origin is in reality hopelessly at odds with his theories that the sonnet as a whole is derived from the *canzone* stanza, and that the sestet is derived from the Provençal *tornada*: see below, pp. 99–100.

that long survival of a poetic form is in itself a proof of popular origin:¹ *terza rima* would serve as one Italian instance to the contrary. Biadene proclaims, without argument, "Esso [i.e., the sonnet] non è e non può essere che un prodotto spontaneo delle facoltà musicali del popolo italiano."²

The hypothesis of popular formation, as asserted by Welti and Biadene, derives its only semblance of direct support from their theory that both parts of the sonnet were based upon forms of the popular *strambotto*. That theory, as will be shown in Part VI of this paper, though correct in part, is invalid as regards the sestet: it rests on the unwarranted assumption that the original rhyme-scheme of the sestet was *CD,CD,CD*; and it is otherwise defective. The theory as a whole is therefore untenable; and consequently affords no support to the hypothesis that the sonnet is a popular formation.

We may conclude with assurance, then, that the sonnet is an artistic invention. This conclusion, however, by no means precludes the possibility that the sources of the sonnet were partly—or even wholly—popular.

IV

External evidence leads, as we have seen, to the belief that the scheme *CDECDE* was the original scheme of the sestet. Other considerations leading to the same result may now be presented.

Since the sonnet is to be regarded as an artistic invention, it is highly probable that the original scheme of the sestet bore a logical and effective relation to the scheme of the octave. The scheme *CDECDE* does bear a logical and effective relation to the scheme of octave: the schemes *CD,CD,CD* and *CDC,DCD* do not.

The octave proceeds by a repetition of two varying endings. It is then both logical and effective to close the stanza with a repetition of three varying endings: a scheme of precisely the same nature

¹ Welti, pp. 30, 42. Welti's theory of popular origin is in reality inconsistent with his theories that the sources of the sonnet are half Sicilian and half Tuscan, and that the sestet was added to the octave as a sort of *tornada*: see below, p. 97.

² Biadene, 11. Biadene, reviewing Foresti in *Giornale storico della lett. ital.*, XXVIII (1896), 228, seems inclined to admit that the modification of the scheme *CD,CD,CD* to *CDC,DCD*—which he regards as having taken place in the very creation of the sonnet—may have been artistic rather than popular.

as that of the octave, yet possessing just enough more complexity to adapt it for use in the climax of the poem.

The scheme *CD,CD,CD*, on the contrary, is hardly explicable as an original device for continuation of the scheme *ABABABAB*. If the second part of the stanza was to proceed by precisely the same alternation of endings as the first, why should it stop short with three pairs of lines, instead of continuing to the same length as the first part? A total length of eight lines has a clear logical relation to the progression of a dual series; but a total length of six lines has no such relation. With the scheme *AB,AB,AB,AB;CD,CD,CD*, the two parts of the poem are identical in all respects save size; and the result is an effect of monotony and anticlimax.

The type *CDC,DCD* is even more obviously alien to the scheme of the octave. The octave proceeds by a repetition of two varying endings. The type *CDC,DCD*, on the other hand, consists of two sets of inclusive rhymes, related to each other by an exchange of the outer and inner rhymes—*C* including *D* in the first tercet, *D* including *C* in the second. Surely such a type cannot represent the original idea for the completion of the simple octave scheme.

It is then probable, on the ground of inherent fitness, that the scheme *CDECDE* is the original one.

Moreover, the development of the scheme *CDCDCD*, in both its varieties, as secondary to *CDECDE*, is more readily explicable than the development of *CDECDE* as secondary to *CD,CD,CD*. On the hypothesis that the scheme *CDECDE* is original, the scheme *CDCDCD* is explicable as the result of a continuation of the alternating metrical habit of the octave to a six-line length predetermined by the length of the form in *CDECDE*. The variety *CD,CD,CD* would then reflect a continuation of the distich series of the octave, appropriate to the scheme *CDCDCD* itself; and the variety *CDC,DCD* would represent a subdivision of *CDCDCD* on the analogy of the equally subdivided *CDECDE*. This analogy would indeed have been present from the very start; and on this hypothesis it might be supposed that the type *CD,CD,CD* existed only as a sporadic sense-variation of the type *CDC,DCD*.

If, on the other hand, we suppose that the original scheme was *CD,CD,CD*, the least unlikely supposition as to the development

of the other schemes is the supposition of Biadene, already tried and found wanting.¹

It is then on the whole highly probable that the sestet rhymed originally *CDECDE*, and that it was originally subdivided into tercets.

V

All of the thirty-one sonnets save one are in some sense love poems. Eighteen of the sonnets of Giacomo, and that of Monaldo, express ostensibly personal experience or emotion. The two *tenzoni* and three of the other sonnets of Giacomo (Nos. X, XX, XXX) are more or less impersonal discussions of the character and phenomena of love. The concluding sonnet of the longer *tenzone*, however, is hardly more than a personal tribute from the Abbot to Giacomo. The remaining sonnet, Giacomo's No. XXVI, is a didactic discussion of friendship.²

The tone of the love sonnets is in general lighter than that of the *canzoni*, though the sonnets too are essentially courtly in idea and phrase.

Biadene and Cesareo, it may be noted, overemphasize the popular quality of the sonnets of Giacomo. No. XXIII, cited by Biadene as purely popular, is on the contrary based on a Provençal motive. The parallelism noted by Biadene in No. XXII is no less characteristic of the *coblas capfinidas* than of the *strambotto*—and is indeed characteristic of the *strambotto* only in its later Tuscan form. The repetition of a line in No. XXI, which Biadene notes as constituting a refrain, is possibly a scribal error (the poem exists in but one early manuscript), and the character of the line in question is wholly unlike the normal character of the refrain. This very poem is distinctly artificial in its use of internal rhyme, and is indeed largely derived, as Gaspary showed, from a poem by Folquet de Marseilla. Cesareo asserts that Giacomo excluded from his sonnets all purely feudal imagery, thought, and sentiment, and freed himself entirely, in them, from the conventional troubadour treatment of love. As a matter of fact, Provençal reminiscences appear in the majority

¹ See above, pp. 88–89.

² The sonnets of Enzo, Rinaldo, and Mazzeo are didactic; that of Beroardi is political.

of the sonnets of Giacomo, and in the other sonnets of the group as well.¹

The sestet in every case continues the development of the main idea of the sonnet; in no case has it the detached character of the *tornada*.

VI

Two theories are current as to the source of the sonnet. According to the more recent of the two, the sonnet consists of an eight-line *strambotto* followed by a six-line *strambotto*. This theory was suggested more or less definitely by Tommaseo, Nigra, and D'Ancona; and has been developed and championed by Welti, Biadene, and Foresti, who differ somewhat from each other as to the details of the formative process.²

Welti and Biadene agree that the octave of the sonnet is by origin an eight-line *strambotto*—and in this they are surely right.³ The *strambotto* and the sonnet octave are indeed identical. Each consists of eight hendecasyllables. Each rhymes *ABABABAB*. The distich structure is essential in each. In the *strambotto* the distich is the musical unit: the melody of the first distich is repeated for each subsequent distich. In the *strambotto*, moreover, there is always a pause in sense at the end of the fourth line, and this pause is marked, in the singing, by a considerable rest for the voice: in the sonnet there was presumably, from the start, a conscious tendency to divide the octave, in sense, into two quatrains.

The fact that the sonnets are lighter in tone than the *canzoni* offers some indication that the sonnet is in part, at least, related to a popular form. So, too, does the fact that Dante, discussing the relative nobility of the three lyric forms of his day, ranks the *canzone* highest, the *ballata* next, and the sonnet last.⁴

¹ Biadene, 11–20; Cesareo, pp. 274, 282; *The Poetry of Giacomo*, pp. 116–26.

² N. Tommaseo, in a letter in *Nuove effemeridi siciliane*, Vol. I, No. 1: see Biadene, 219; C. Nigra, *La poesia popolare italiana*, in *Romania*, V (1876), 417; A. D'Ancona, *La poesia popolare italiana*, Leghorn, 1878, p. 311; Welti, pp. 39–42; Biadene, 9–22, 42–43; Foresti, pp. 12–19. Biadene's theory is accepted by Cesareo, p. 303, n. 2; and by E. Stengel, *Romanische Verslehre*, in Gröber's *Grundriss der rom. Phil.*, II, 1, 88.

³ Welti, pp. 39–40; Biadene, 9–22, 42–43. Foresti, pp. 12–13, accepts the results of Biadene. On the *strambotto*, see D'Ancona, 2d ed., 1906, pp. 146–353, and Giannini, *op. cit.*, pp. 15–18.

⁴ *De vulgari eloquentia*, Book II, chap. iii. Cf. Biadene, 22. Biadene, 20–22, notes also that four sonnets bear in one MS (written about 1500) the name *motetto*, a

Welti and Biadene assume that the *strambotto* existed before the sonnet. That opinion is indeed inevitable; but it deserves a word of justification. Two extant *strambotti* appear from internal evidence—strong though not absolutely conclusive—to date from the twelfth century; and a third appears on similar grounds to have been composed before 1250. A single stanza in the *strambotto* form appears in a manuscript written in Bologna in 1286.¹ Several extant Central and North Italian *strambotti* date from the fourteenth century. The *strambotto* is of Sicilian origin; and considerable time must have elapsed between its formation in the island and its spread into Northern Italy.²

The *strambotto* originated in Sicily; the Frederician poets in general doubtless had opportunity to hear Sicilian folk-song; Giacomo da Lentino was a Sicilian, and can hardly have failed to know the *strambotto*. Given these circumstances, the identity of the *strambotto* and the sonnet octave is too complete to admit of the possibility of coincidence. It is not reasonable to suppose that the *strambotto* was derived from the sonnet: the Sicilian peasants can hardly have known and appreciated the poetry of the court. We are then brought to the conclusion that the sonnet octave is derived from the *strambotto*.

This conclusion, based in part on the distich structure of the sonnet octave and on the probability of its subordinate division into quatrains, in its turn confirms the originality of that distich structure, and increases the probability—since the quatrain division is clear, though subordinate, in the *strambotto*—that the writers of the first sonnets recognized, as subordinate, the division of the octave into quatrains.

popular term; that another sonnet bears in another (sixteenth century) MS the name *respecto*, also a popular term; that the use of the term *pedes* as applied by early theorists either to the eight single lines or to the four distichs of the sonnet octave corresponds exactly to the usage of the peasants of today, who apply the term *piedi*; either to the single lines or to the distichs of the *strambotto*; and that the terms *muta* and *volta*, applied by early theorists to the tercet, are essentially popular terms. These considerations have, however, it seems to me, but the slightest weight.

¹ Cesareo, *Le origini della poesia lirica in Italia*, Catania, 1899, pp. 12–27.

² D'Ancona, 2d ed., pp. 24–27, 130–36, 169, n. 3, 209–339. D'Ancona's approval, p. 352, n. 1, of the work of Welti and Biadene implies his approval of their assumption of the priority of the *strambotto*. Biadene, 25, notes that Jacopone da Todi (who wrote in Central Italy about 1300) in one of his poems uses a stanza identical with the *strambotto*.

Welti and Biadene agree also that the sestet of the sonnet is derived from a six-line *strambotto* rhyming *ABABAB*.¹ This theory is based on the belief that the original rhyme-scheme of the sestet was *CDCDCD*: but that belief, as we have seen, is in all probability incorrect. Moreover, there is no warrant for the assumption that a six-line *strambotto* rhyming *ABABAB* existed as a recognized form in the thirteenth century—or at any later time. Relatively few six-line *strambotti* are known. Vigo's great collection, containing some 5,000 *strambotti*, has but 180 in which the stanza consists of six lines only, and for about a score of these Vigo himself quotes eight-line variants.² When a six-line *strambotto* is sung, two lines are repeated, evidently to fill out the stanza to what is considered its proper length.³ The voice-rest after the fourth line of the *strambotto* shows a feeling that the mid-point of the stanza has been reached, and points also to the eight-line type as the proper type. Some of the few six-line stanzas in use as popular songs in Central Italy are reductions of known literary octaves: the abbreviation in these cases is clearly a chance result of faulty memory.⁴ It seems then highly probable that the six-line *strambotto*, so far as it exists at all, is merely a sporadic abbreviation of the normal eight-line *strambotto*, not an independent type. The theory that the sestet of the sonnet is derived from a six-line *strambotto* is then quite untenable.

There remain to be noticed certain details of the theories of D'Ancona, Welti, Biadene, and Foresti, as to the origin of the sonnet. D'Ancona's theory, though it gave rise to those of Welti and Biadene, is in itself quite different. D'Ancona wrote merely: "il Sonetto, forma artificiosa se altra mai, altro non è, chi ben veda, se non l'accozzamento di due tetrastici alla foggia dell' *ottava siciliana*, e di un esastico senza le finali rime baciate."⁵ He did not then state that the sonnet was derived from the *strambotto*, but meant that the sonnet was formed by a combination of two tetrastichs,

¹ Welti, pp. 39–40; Biadene, 9–22, 42–43. Foresti, pp. 12–15, accepts the results of Biadene.

² L. Vigo, *Raccolta amplissima di canti popolari siciliani*, 2d ed., Catania, 1870–74.

³ E. Rubieri, *Storia della poesia popolare italiana*, Florence, 1877, p. 463 (quoted by D'Ancona, 2d ed., p. 353, n. 1).

⁴ Giannini, pp. 19–20.

⁵ D'Ancona, 1st ed., p. 311.

each rhyming *ABAB*—in so far corresponding in process and result to the *strambotto*—with a hexastich rhyming *ABABAB*, itself “il primo o più semplice allungamento artistico del tetrastico.”¹ But the opinion that the tetrastich as such had independent existence as a predecessor of the *strambotto* has been shown by Giannini to be in all probability erroneous;² furthermore, as we have just seen, there is no reason to believe that a hendecasyllabic hexastich rhyming *ABABAB* existed as a separate form in the thirteenth century. D’Ancona eventually accepted the work of Welti and Biadene as a development of his own theory.³

Welti terms the form in *ABABAB* from which he thinks the sestet to have been derived a “Tuscan *rispetto*.⁴ He means presumably a hypothetical *Ur-rispetto*; for he realizes that the actual Tuscan *rispetto* ends with a rhymed couplet. That he calls the form Tuscan at all is evidently due to a misunderstanding of D’Ancona’s very condensed remarks about the *sestina*.⁵ Welti also remarks: “Nach den Gesetzen der Proportion war für die ottava in der That ein anderer Abschluss als ein sechszeiliger kaum möglich; damit war das einfachste und schönste Verhältniss zwischen Auf- und Abgesang hergestellt.”⁶ The Frederician poets, however, did not feel thus limited by law. In the fourteen Frederician *canzoni* that begin with a first main part of eight lines,⁷ the second main part is of four lines in one case, of five lines in two cases, of six lines in six cases, of seven lines in one case, of eight lines in three cases, and of eleven lines in one case. Welti also suggests that the addition of the hexastich to the octave was due to the influence of the *tornada*.⁸ But the Fredericians in the composition of their own *canzoni* ignored the *tornada*,⁹ and the sestets of their sonnets have not at all, in rhyme-scheme or in content, the *tornada* character.

Biadene insists that the six-line *strambotto* was not merely *added* to the eight-line form, but *fused* with it—by the division of the sestet into tercets on the analogy of the division of the octave into

¹ D’Ancona, 1st ed., p. 311.

⁴ Welti, pp. 38–40.

² Giannini, pp. 15 ff.

⁵ D’Ancona, 1st ed., p. 311.

³ D’Ancona, 2d ed., p. 352, n. 1.

⁶ Welti, p. 40.

⁷ Nos. 4, 6, 7, 16–19, 21, 37, 49, 56, 69, 75, 85 (in this and later notes the Frederician *canzoni* are referred to according to their numbers in the list in *Repertory*, 474–91).

⁸ Welti, p. 40.

⁹ DC, 153.

quatrains.¹ But even if Biadene were right as to the source of the sestet, he would still be wrong as to the fusion.²

Foresti supplements his acceptance of the theory of Biadene by a further argument intended to show just why a *strambotto* of six lines was added to one of eight lines. The process, in his opinion, was as follows. The early poets were familiar on the one hand with the *canzone* stanza, consisting of two equal *pedes* followed by an undivided *sirma* or by two equal *versus*, and on the other hand with the *strambotto* in its eight-line, ten-line, and six-line varieties. The eight-line variety, subdivided into quatrains, must have suggested itself as an equivalent to the two *pedes* or to the two *versus*. The ten-line and six-line varieties must have suggested themselves as equivalent to the undivided *sirma*. The combination of two eight-line *strambotti*, or that of one of eight lines with one of ten, would have resulted in a stanza unlike the *canzone* stanza. The only possible combination, then, was that of an eight-line *strambotto* and one of six lines: the combination of these two resulted in a stanza similar in length and proportion to a very common type of the *canzone* stanza.³ This argument is, however, invalid at several essential points. There is no reason to think that a *strambotto* of eight lines should have suggested itself as an equivalent to a pair of *pedes* or of *versus*. The *strambotto* is divided primarily into four distichs: the division into quatrains is secondary. Moreover, the *pes* of four lines is not typical: it appears in but fourteen Frederician *canzoni*, whereas 43 have a *pes* of three lines, and 28 a *pes* of two lines.⁴ In only two of these fourteen *canzoni* are the lines of the *pedes* all hendecasyllables;⁵ and in none is the rhyme-scheme of the *pedes* *ABABABAB*. The ten-line variety of the *strambotto* is as rare as

¹ Biadene, 9-11.

² See above, pp. 88-89. Casini, *op. cit.*, p. 37, offers three ineffective arguments in opposition to Biadene's theory as a whole. (1) The theory explains only one sestet type, that in *CDCDCD*. But Biadene does offer an explanation—unsatisfactory, to be sure—of the rise of the type *CDECDE*. (2) The sonnet originated in Tuscany, and can therefore hardly be derived from a popular Sicilian form. But Casini's idea that the sonnet is of Tuscan origin is based on a worthless argument of Borgognoni, refuted by Biadene: see Biadene, 25 and 217. (3) "In generale una nuova forma poetica può svilupparsi dalla modificazione di una preesistente, ma non già per sovrapposizione o per raddoppioamento di essa."

³ Foresti, pp. 15-18.

⁴ *DC*, 150.

⁵ Nos. 6, 17.

the six-line variety, and we do not know that either existed in the Frederician period. Of the fourteen *canzoni* with *pedes* of four lines each, only five end with an undivided six-line *sirma*.¹

VII

The other and older current theory as to the source of the sonnet is that the sonnet is a *canzone* stanza. This theory was first proposed by Witte, and has been defended with further argument by Mussafia, Tobler, Casini, and Gaspari.² Witte proceeded from the mistaken assumption that the original rhyme-scheme of the sonnet was *ABBAABBACDDCEE*, a scheme which at once suggests *canzone* schemes. The resemblance fades when the real original scheme, *ABABABAB-CDECDE* or *-CDCDCD*, is substituted for the later one; but Witte's theory, with necessary modifications, has nevertheless survived.

The composite arguments of its defenders are as follows: (1) The structure of the sonnet corresponds to that of the *canzone* stanza; for (a) according to Witte, the sonnet is quadripartite, consisting of two quatrains and two tercets, just as the stanza of certain *canzoni* consists of two *pedes* and two *versus*; (b) according to Mussafia, the sonnet is tripartite, consisting of two quatrains and an undivided sestet, just as the normal *canzone* stanza consists of two *pedes* and a *sirma*. (2) The sestet corresponds to the Provençal *tornada*. (3) Certain *canzoni* show a stanza very similar to the sonnet, e.g., Guido delle Colonne's *Amor che lungamente m' di menato*, one by Guittone d'Arezzo, one by Jacopone da Todi, and one by Dante. (4) The use of a *canzone* stanza as an independent composition is instanced (a) among the early Italian poets, as for example those of the *Dolce stil nuovo*, (b) among the troubadours, in the *cobla esparsa*.

¹ Nos. 4, 17, 18, 69, 75.

² Witte, *op. cit.*; A. Mussafia, *Emendazione di testi*, in *Il Borghini*, II (1864), 211, and *Cinque sonetti antichi tratti da un codice della Palatina di Vienna*, in *Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akad. der Wiss. (Vienna)*, Phil.-hist. Cl., LXXVI (1874), 379; A. Tobler, in a review in *Jenaer Literaturzeitung*, V (1878), 668; Casini, chap. iii; Gaspari, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, Vol. I, Turin, 1887, pp. 58, 421-22. Tobler's single sentence is quoted by Biadene, 217. In the following analysis I disregard certain untenable arguments of Witte, sufficiently refuted by Welti, and one invalid subsidiary argument of Mussafia. The *canzone* stanza theory is accepted without new argument by several writers, e.g., P. E. Guarnerio, *Manuale di versificazione italiana*, Milan (1893), pp. 150 ff.

These arguments are not valid.

(1) The octave was originally subdivided, as we have seen, into four distichs: division into quatrains, if it existed, was distinctly subordinate to the division into distichs. Mussafia's assertion that the sestet was undivided is incorrect: it was divided, as we have seen, probably into tercets, possibly into distichs.¹

(2) The theory that the sestet corresponds to the Provençal *tornada* rests on Witte's belief that the original scheme of the sestet was *CDDCEE*—a scheme which does occur in certain *tornadas*. But the actual sestet schemes *CDECDE* and *CDCDCD* are not Provençal, as will presently appear. Moreover, as has already been noted, the Fredericians ignored the *tornada* in the composition of their own *canzoni*, and the sestets of their sonnets have not at all the *tornada* character.

(3) The *canzone* of Guido delle Colonne cited in support of the statement that certain *canzoni* show a stanza very similar to the sonnet rhymes as a matter of fact *ABBABBABCCDEE*.² It resembles the sonnet in that its lines are all hendecasyllables, and, inexactly, in its length; but its rhyme-scheme is very unlike that of the Frederician sonnet. It is to be noted, moreover, that much of Guido delle Colonne's writing was done, presumably, after the activity of the Frederician poets as a group had ceased.³ No other Frederician *canzone*, as will presently appear, bears even as much resemblance to the sonnet as does this one. The other three *canzoni* cited by the defenders of this theory are all post-Frederician. They cannot, therefore, as Foresti points out, be properly proposed as models for the Frederician sonnet. It is indeed very probable, as Foresti also remarks, that their resemblance to the sonnet is due to the influence of the sonnet form on the *canzone*.⁴

¹ Welti, p. 34, volunteering a reinforcement of Witte's argument, states that the early theorists use for the subdivisions of both *canzone* and sonnet the same terms, *pedes*, *voltæ*, *frons*, and *sirma*. The term *pedes* is used for both forms, but in different senses; the regular term for the tercet is *muta* rather than *volta*; and the terms *frons* and *sirma* are apparently not used at all with reference to the sonnet: see Biadene, 21–22.

² My statements of rhyme-schemes for Frederician *canzoni* are all taken from *Repertory*, 474–91. Capital letters represent hendecasyllables, small letters represent lines of seven syllables.

³ *Repertory*, 470.

⁴ Foresti, p. 12. Foresti argues also, ineffectively, that in the *canzone* stanza of fourteen lines the line grouping is as often 3, 3; 4, 4 as 4, 4; 3, 3; but only two Frederician

(4a) Similarly, the fact that the poets of the *Dolce stil nuovo*, half a century later than the Fredericians, used the *canzone* stanza—rarely—as an independent form carries no implication whatsoever as to the origin of the sonnet. The Fredericians themselves have no single-stanza form other than the sonnet.

(4b) The *cobla esparsa* was common enough in the latter part of the thirteenth century, but it was virtually unknown among the troubadours with whose work the Fredericians may well have been familiar.¹ The examination of all accessible critical editions of Provençal poets whose work was done wholly or in large part before 1240 shows but ten poems consisting each of a single stanza, one by the Monk of Montaudon, and nine by Sordello.² The stanza by the Monk (No. 10) is very probably the initial stanza of a *tenso* of which the rest has been lost. Of the nine stanzas by Sordello, five (Nos. I, XIII, XIV, XXXI, and XXXV) are very likely fragments,³ and of the remaining four (Nos. XXXIII, XXXVI, XXXVII, and XXXVIII) all but the last have a *tornada* after the stanza proper. Some of the stanzas of Sordello are very likely later than the earliest sonnets.

There are moreover sufficient positive reasons for thinking that the sonnet is not a *canzone* stanza. Welti, Biadene, and Foresti all point out that the simplicity of the sonnet rhyme-scheme is

canzoni, Nos. 22 and 39, are of the first type, and only one, No. 49, is of the second type. Foresti notes as fairly similar to the sonnet in stanza scheme a few other *canzoni*, of which only one is Frederician, No. 22, which rhymes *abcabccddccdc*.

¹ Cf. C. de Lollis, "Appunti dai mss. provenzali vaticani," in *Revue des lang. rom.*, XXXIII (1889), 173: "Se si consideri poi anche che tra gli autori di esse [i.e., *coblas esparsas*] non figurano i nomi dei trovatori dell' epoca classica e che i mss. più antichi non ne danno alcun saggio, appare presso che certo che la *cobla esparsa*, nella sua caratteristica di componimento epigrammatico-morale, sia uno dei più tardi frutti della letteratura occitana."

² For justification of the selection of this date, see *DC*, 144, n. 1. The editions examined are these: Monk of Montaudon, ed. O. Klein (= *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*, VII), 1885; Sordello, ed. De Lollis, Halle, 1896; Arnaut Daniel, ed. Canello; Bertran de Born, ed. Thomas; Cercamon, ed. Dejeanné; Elias de Barjols, ed. Stronski, Folquet de Marseilla, ed. Stroński; Guillem Figueira, ed. Levy; Guiraut de Borneill, ed. Kolsen; Marcabrun, ed. Dejeanne; Peire d'Alvernhe, ed. Zenker; Peire Vidal, ed. Anglade; Pons de Capdill, ed. von Napski; Rambertino Buvali, ed. Bertoni; Uc de Saint-Circ, ed. Jeanroy and Salverda de Grave. In *DC*, 155, n. 1, the number of Provençal single-stanza poems is given as thirteen: this is due to the fact that I then counted Sordello's Nos. II, XI, and XII as single-stanza poems: but they are more properly to be considered as parts of two-stanza—or longer—*tenso*s.

³ See *ed. cit.*, pp. 85–86.

hardly explicable as derivative from the essentially artificial *canzone*. Foresti points out also that the sonnet in its rigidity of form is quite unlike the ever-varying *canzone* stanza; that the early Sicilian *canzoni* are seldom composed exclusively of hendecasyllables; and that the stanzas so composed are mostly eight lines in length.¹ These several considerations deserve development.

The sonnet is distinctly a fixed form, used over and over again by the same poet or by different poets without essential variation. It consists in every case of fourteen hendecasyllables; the rhyme-scheme of the octave is in every case *ABABABAB*; and variation in the sestet is virtually limited to choice between two schemes, *CDECDE* and *CDCDCD*. The Frederician *canzoni*, on the other hand, vary so greatly from each other in stanza structure as to prove that their authors sought originality in stanza formation. Of the eighty-six *canzoni*, seventy-nine are unique in stanza structure, and in one case only does a scheme of any complexity appear in two poems.²

The sonnet consists entirely of hendecasyllables. Only seven of the eighty-six *canzoni* consist entirely of hendecasyllables. In only one of the seven does the stanza exceed nine lines in length. In this one the stanza is thirteen lines in length, and the rhyme-scheme is unlike that of the sonnet.³

The sonnet begins, in every case, with the scheme *ABABABAB*. Not the one of the eighty-six *canzoni* begins with that scheme.

The original scheme for the sestet of the sonnet was probably *CDECDE*. Only three of the *canzoni* end with such a scheme. In none of these are the last six lines all hendecasyllables; and in none does the scheme of the first part of the stanza resemble that of the sonnet octave.⁴

The original sestet scheme was possibly *CDCDCD*. Only one of the *canzoni* ends with such a scheme. Its full scheme is *abababcdcdcd*; all its lines are of seven syllables.⁵

¹ Welti, p. 33; Biadene, 8; Foresti, pp. 11-12.

² See *Repertory*, 517, and *DC*, 153-54.

³ The schemes of the seven *canzoni* are as follows: 1: *ABABCBCB*; 6: *ABBAB-BABCCDDE*; 10: *ABABCDDC*; 20: *ABABCCDD*; 46: *ABCABCDEE*; 54: *ABAB-CCB*; 60: *ABCABCDED*. No. 6 is the poem by Guido delle Colonne referred to above, p. 100.

⁴ 2: *abCabCcdecde*; 49: *abcDabcDefGefG*; 78: *abCabCdefdef*.

⁵ 63.

As a further and last objection to the theory that the sonnet is a *canzone* stanza may be noted the opinion of Dante, already referred to, that the sonnet is less noble than the *ballata*, and the *ballata* less noble than the *canzone*.¹

VIII

Nor has the sonnet a model in the Provençal and German poetry from which the *canzone* is itself derived.² I have examined, in the search for such a model, the poems of those troubadours and minnesingers whose work was done wholly or in large part before 1240.³

Within the body of Provençal verse in question—consisting of over 1,400 poems—no stanza composed of decasyllables⁴ exceeds eleven lines in length. In three poems only does such a stanza reach a length of eleven lines. In these three poems the rhyme-scheme is unlike that of the sonnet.⁵

Several Provençal poems begin with the scheme *ABABABAB*; but in only four are the first eight lines all decasyllables. In these four the entire stanza consists of but nine lines, the full scheme being *ABABABABA*.⁶

Only one Provençal poem ends with a scheme of the type *CDECDE*. Its full scheme is *abbaabcabc*; none of its lines are decasyllables.⁷ Only two Provençal poems end with a scheme of the

¹ Bladene, 20–21, points out also that the sonnet is never called *cobbola*, as it would have been—he thinks—if really a *canzone* stanza; and that the term *pedes* as applied by the early theorists to the lines or distichs of the sonnet does not exactly correspond to the term *pedes* as applied at the same period to the subdivisions of the first part of the *canzone* stanza. These two considerations have, however, it seems to me, but the slightest weight.

² *DC*, 156–58.

³ For an exact definition of the bodies of Provençal and German verse examined, see *DC*, 144, n. 2, and 145, n. 4. My statistics for the Provençal poems are based on the statements of F. W. Maus, in his "Alphabetisches Verzeichniss sämmtlicher Strophenformen der provenzalischen Lyrik," in *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*, V, 1884. My statistics for the German poems are based on examination of the editions listed in *DC*, 145, n. 4.

⁴ The Provençal decasyllable is the equivalent of the Italian hendecasyllable.

⁵ Maus, 319: *ABABBCCDDCD*; and 591: *ABBACDDCEEC*; and Folquet de Marseilla, XXII (see *DC*, 144, n. 2, 2d paragraph): *ABBAACDDCCD*.

⁶ Maus, 212. For the other poems beginning *ABABABAB*—thirty-three in all, from the period in question—see Maus, 212–42 (omitting 216, 217, 226, 233, 234, 236, 239, 240).

⁷ Maus, 454. The first line is of seven syllables, the second of five, the rest of six.

type *CDCDCD*. In neither are any of the last six lines decasyllables; and in neither does the scheme of the first part of the stanza resemble that of the sonnet octave.¹

Within the corresponding body of German verse—consisting of over 700 poems—no stanza composed of lines at all similar to the Italian hendecasyllable² exceeds eleven lines in length. In two poems only does such a stanza exceed nine lines in length. In these two poems the rhyme-scheme is unlike that of the sonnet.³

Only five German poems begin with the scheme *ABABABAB*. In only one of these are the lines at all similar to the Italian hendecasyllable. In this poem the entire stanza consists of but nine lines, the full scheme being *ABABABABB*.⁴

Only one German poem ends with a scheme of the type *CDECDE*. Its full scheme is *aaBccBdeFdef*; the lines rhyming *B* and *F* have five stresses, the others are shorter.⁵ Only five German poems end with a scheme of the type *CDCDCD*. In only one of these are the lines at all similar to the Italian hendecasyllable. In this poem the stanza rhymes *ABABCDLCD*, and is composed of dactylic four-stress lines. In none of the other four poems does the scheme of the first part of the stanza resemble that of the sonnet octave.⁶

There is no evidence that the North French poems of the period in question influenced the *canzone* in any respect.⁷ For the sake of

¹ Maus, 139: *AABbbbcbbcbc*, the first three lines of ten syllables, the others rhyming *b* of five, and those in *c* of six; and 798: *abcdeeffggfg*, the first six lines heterometric, the rest of eight syllables. I disregard the few poems ending *-ababab* (Maus, 52, 215, 244) or *-bababa* (Maus, 210, 212).

² I regard as such the lines of five and six stresses, and the "dactylic" line of four stresses.

³ Hilbold von Swangau, V: *ABCCDDEE*; MF, 83. 36: *ABCDAABCDEEE*; both composed of dactylic four-stress lines. For explanation of the references in this and the next three notes, see *DC*, 141, n. 5, and 145, n. 4.

⁴ MF, 113. 33, composed of dactylic four-stress lines. The other four poems are MF, 48. 3, 48. 32, 110. 26, and Margrave of Hohenburg, IX.

⁵ Walther von der Vogelweide, 11.6. The lines rhyming *a*, *c*, and *e* have four stresses, those in *d*, three.

⁶ MSH, 14, X. The other four poems are MF, 212. 37: *ababcdcd*, the lines in *d* of three stresses, the others of four; MSH, 54, II: *abcabcDeDede*, the lines in *b* of three stresses, those in *D* of five, the others of four; and 102, III: *AbAbcdcdcd*, the lines in *A* of six stresses, the others of two; and Ulrich von Lichtenstein, XV: *AbCAbCDededE*, the lines in *A* and *D* of five stresses, those in *b* and *d* of three, those in *C* and *E* of six, those in *e* of two. I disregard the few poems ending *-ababab* (MF, 110. 26; Margrave of Hohenburg, I and IX; Ulrich von Lichtenstein, LII) or *-bababa* (MF, 64. 34, 66. 9).

⁷ See *DC*, 156.

completeness, I have nevertheless examined these poems for a possible sonnet model, with negative results.¹ Within this body of verse—consisting of over 300 poems—no stanza composed of decasyllables exceeds eleven lines in length; in only three poems does such a stanza exceed nine lines in length; and in these three poems the rhyme-scheme is unlike that of the sonnet.² Several French poems begin with the scheme *ABABABAB*; but in only three are the first eight lines decasyllables; in two of these the stanza consists of just the eight lines in question; and in the other the stanza consists of ten lines, the last two rhyming, *AB*.³ No French poem ends with a scheme of the type *CDECDE*. Only one French poem ends with a scheme of the type *CDCDCD*; and that poem has a heterometric stanza of 27 lines, the scheme ending *-baaabbcbbcbc*.⁴

IX

Other untenable theories as to the origin of the sonnet are reported and criticized by Welti and Biadene.⁵ One of them, the theory of Wackernagel that the sonnet is derived from the *Spruch* of the minnesingers,⁶ deserves brief reconsideration, for it has been dismissed on the ground that it assumes without warrant the existence of a literary relationship between Germany and Italy in the thirteenth century—and the existence of such relationship has now been shown.⁷

Wackernagel's theory remains untenable nevertheless. Wackernagel proceeded from the assumption that the sonnet is tripartite, which is not the case, as we have seen. The sonnet resembles the *Spruch*, he argued, in that (1) it is a single stanza; (2) it is longer than the typical *canzone* stanza, just as the *Spruch* is longer than the typical *Lied* stanza; (3) it tends to become didactic; (4) the same

¹ For an exact definition of the body of verse examined, for a statement of the sources of my statistics, and for explanation of the references in the next three notes, see *DC*, 145, n. 3.

² Thibaut de Navarre, 29: *ABABABBBBA*; and 65: *ABBACCDAA*; Richard de Semilli, 8: *AAAAAAAABBB*.

³ Chastelain de Coucy, II, and Thibaut de Navarre, 31 (in Tarbé's edition); Blondel de Neele, XIV. In all, thirty-four poems begin with this scheme.

⁴ Hue d'Oisy, II. I disregard the several French poems ending *-ababab* or *-bababa*.

⁵ Welti, pp. 6–20; Biadene, 217–19.

⁶ W. Wackernagel, *Altfranzösische Lieder und Leiche*, Basle, 1846, p. 245.

⁷ In *DC*.

form is repeated from poem to poem, whereas in the case of the *canzone* a new form is devised for each poem; (5) one poem by Hiltbolt von Swangau rhymes *ABBAABBA*.

The first two assertions are correct, but do not suffice to establish the theory. The third assertion is incorrect. Of the thirty-one sonnets, only one, as we have seen, is purely didactic: the rest are in some sense love poems. In the rigidity of its form the sonnet is distinctly unlike the *Spruch*. The sonnet is used by several writers without any essential variation; whereas most of the minnesingers who wrote *Sprüche* use different *Töne* for different series of *Sprüche*,¹ and no minnesinger uses the *Spruchton* of another poet. Hiltbolt's poem is a *Lied*, not a *Spruch*, and its rhyme-scheme is not the original rhyme-scheme of the sonnet octave.²

The single-stanza *Lied*, very common among the earliest minnesingers, and still in use in the Frederician period,³ might indeed be cited with equal appropriateness as a possible model for the sonnet. It occasionally appears in series without variation of form, like the *Spruch*, and it deals with love, being thereby closer to the sonnet than is the *Spruch*. Neither *Spruch* nor single-stanza *Lied*, however, can have suggested the form of the sonnet. The statistics cited in Part VIII of this paper cover *Sprüche* and single-stanza *Lieder* as well as the longer poems. It is, however, possible that familiarity with the *Spruch* and the single-stanza *Lied* may have encouraged the Fredericians in the use of a single-stanza form.

X

The question remains as to how the inventor of the sonnet could have come to expand the *strambotto* octave by a six-line addition rhyming *CDECDE*. It is of course quite possible that he devised the sestet without reference to any pre-existing form. It is quite possible, also, that he had more or less definitely in mind the favorite

¹ Walther von der Vogelweide, for example, has eighteen different *Spruchtöne*, and Der Marner and Bruder Wernher have eight each.

² Ed. cit. in *DC*, 145, n. 4, No. VIII. Welti, p. 35, replies to Wackernagel that the *cobla esparsa* was as possible a model for the writers of the first sonnets as the *Spruch*: but this, as we have seen, is not the case. Welti's voluntary reference to the post-Frederician *Sprüche* of Stolle, rhyming *aabccdbcefeogg*, is quite irrelevant.

³ *DC*, 155, n. 1.

Frederician form for the *pedes* of the *canzone* stanza: two *pedes*, each of three lines, rhyming ABCABC.¹

It seems worth while to call attention in this connection to a Sicilian Arabic poem marked by rhyme of the type ABCABC, which was composed about 1100 by Abū al Ḥasan, and is classed as a variety of the popular *zāḡal*.² The first two stanzas read as follows in the transliteration of Amari:

Wa ghazalin musciannefi
Kad retha li ba'da bu'di
Lamma rea ma lakeitu.

Mithlu raudhin mufawwefi
La obāli wahwa 'iudi
'Fi hubbihi ids dhaneitu.

There follow four other stanzas, with the same rhymes in the same order.³

The popular nature of the metre is unmistakable, for it is accentual, whereas Arabic art poetry is strictly quantitative and not accentual.⁴ Amari classes the poem as a variety of the *zāḡal*. The *zāḡal* has not yet been thoroughly studied: two works upon it have been promised, but neither has appeared.⁵

¹ This scheme appears in thirty-eight of the eighty-six *canzoni*: DC, 151.

² The Arabic text is printed by M. Amari in his *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, Leipzig, 1857, p. 580; the first two stanzas are printed in transliteration by Amari in his *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, Vol. III, Part II, Florence, 1872, p. 744, n.; Italian versions are given by Amari in *Storia*, p. 743, n., and in *Biblioteca arabo-sicula, versione italiana*, Vol. II, Turin, 1881, pp. 431–32. Amari discusses the poem in *Storia*, pp. 738–45, and *Biblioteca, vers. ital.*, p. 430, n. 5. The poet's full title is given, *ibid.*, p. 429, as Abū al Ḥasan 'Alī ibn 'Abd ar Rahmān ibn abī al Baṣayr, al Kātib, as Ṣiqillī, al Anṣārī. On this poet, see *Storia*, pp. 742–45; and *Biblioteca, vers. ital.*, pp. 429–32, 486, 609. On the *zāḡal* see n. 5 on this page.

³ *Storia*, pp. 743–44.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 741; *Biblioteca, vers. ital.*, p. 431, n.; C. J. Lyall, *Translations of Ancient Arabic Poetry*, London, 1885, pp. xlvi ff.

⁵ See Amari, *Storia*, 738–45; and A. F. von Schack, *Poesie und Kunst der Araber in Spanien und Sizilien*, 2d ed., Vol. II, Stuttgart, 1877, pp. 50–58. M. Hartmann, *Das arabische Strophengedicht, I. Das Muwassah (= Semitistische Studien, 13/14)*, Weimar, 1897, p. 237, promises a companion volume on the *zāḡal*. Baron D. von Günzburg published at Berlin in 1896 the first volume of a work entitled *Le divan d'Ibn Guzman, texte, traduction, commentaire enrichi de considérations historiques, philologiques et littéraires sur les poèmes d'Ibn Guzman, sa vie, son temps, sa langue et sa métrique*. Ibn Guzman was the first master of the *zāḡal*: see Hartmann, p. 2.

The poem is a love-lyric. Amari was so struck by its similarity in general character to the *strambotto* that he refers to it, in one instance, as a *strambotto*.¹

The inventor of the sonnet may well have been familiar with such a form as this. He may have heard the *zagal* in actual use as a popular song. The Arabic population of Sicily was still considerable in the early thirteenth century, though smaller than it had been under the Norman kings.² Arabic poets, moreover, may have visited the court of Frederick II.³

This *zagal* form, then, is one which may well have been known to the inventor of the sonnet, and one which, through its likeness to the *strambotto*, might well have been associated with it in the making of a new form. It is then possible that the *zagal*, in such a variety as this, suggested the scheme of the sestet.

XI

The sonnet, though popular in the source of one at least of its parts, is, as we have seen, an artistic invention.

The inventor was, in all probability, as Foresti and Langley suggest,⁴ Giacomo da Lentino. There is no reason to think that sonnets were written by poets earlier than the Fredericians. The inventor of the sonnet was then, in all probability, a member of the Frederician group. Twenty-five of the thirty-one sonnets are attributed to Giacomo, and five of the remaining six appear in *tenzioni* in which he participated. He was the literary leader and by far the most prolific writer of the group. He was interested in metrical experiment: each of his twenty-two *canzoni* is unique in scheme.⁵ He was, moreover, a Sicilian, and the octave of the sonnet is derived from a popular Sicilian form.

¹ *Biblioteca, vers. ital.*, p. 431, n. Amari translates the poem, *ibid.*, pp. 431-32, as follows: "Ecco una gazzella ornata di orecchini, Che mi canta le nenie quand' io son ito; Quand' ella vede ciò che m' è successo. Come prato variolpinto, Non mi cale [d' altro] quand' ella è meco, Poichè nell' amor suo mi consumo, Il suo volto è luna che spunta; Superbisce quando ha preso tutto per sè l'amor mio; E quindi io peno. Sur un tralcio sottile, Le è dolce il mio lungo dolore. O crudeltà: ed io sto per morire! Sdegnosa, inaccessa a pietà, Non rifugie dal romper la fede che mi dìè: Tace ostinata; Tiranna, ingiusta; Diversa da quella che fu un giorno. Oh felice chi le sta accanto!"

² *Storia*, pp. 590-97, 534-36.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 889. The extent of the Arabic influence at the court of Frederick has, however, been overemphasized: see Niese, *op. cit.*, 492-93.

⁴ Foresti, p. 19; *The Poetry of Giacomo*, p. xxv.

⁵ *The Poetry of Giacomo*, pp. 101-14.

The sonnet, then, is Sicilian: certainly in the source of its octave; presumably in the person of its inventor; possibly in the source of the sestet. If the inventor was Giacomo, or any other member of the Frederician court, the actual invention may of course have occurred upon the mainland.

Biadene argues—true to his general method—that the sonnet must have originated in Central Italy, since nearly all the thousand sonnets of the thirteenth century are by Central Italian authors, while only twenty-seven (by Biadene's count) are by Sicilians. But Cesareo and Foresti, seeing in this instance the absurdity of Biadene's method, protest that the fact that the earliest sonnets are of Sicilian authorship points to Sicily as the place of the sonnet's origin.¹

XII

Within the group of thirty-one sonnets, as has been said, no satisfactory relative chronology appears: any one of them, except the six that stand in the second or in a subsequent position in a *tenzone*, may be the earliest extant sonnet. But one is tempted, nevertheless, to venture for a moment beyond solid ground—even beyond the uncertain ground of probability—and to seek to discover which of the twenty-five sonnets in question has the most plausible claim—though it be but slight—to be regarded as the earliest extant sonnet.

The chances are that it is rather one of the sonnets of Giacomo than one of those by other authors; that it is rather one whose authenticity is undisputed than one whose authenticity is doubtful;² and that it is one of those rhyming, in the sestet, *CDECDE*. This leaves eleven sonnets: Nos. IX-XII, XIV, XVIII, XIX, XXI, XXII, XXV, XXVI. Six of these, however, have some formal characteristics that are secondary rather than primitive. Nos. IX and X have equivocal rhyme; Nos. XXI and XXV have internal rhyme; in No. XXII the pause in sense at the end of the octave is notably slight; in No. XVIII there is no pause in sense after the third line of the sestet. This leaves five sonnets, Nos. XI, XII,

¹ Biadene, 23-25; Cesareo, *La poesia siciliana*, p. 303, n. 2; Foresti, p. 19, n. 3. See also above, p. 98, n. 2.

² See n. 1 on p. 79.

XIV, XIX, and XXVI, which appear to be purely primitive in form. Three of these are of special, and presumably secondary, character in content. No. XXVI is the one purely didactic sonnet of the group; No. XIX is semi-didactic; and No. XIV is an artificial array of paradoxes. The two remaining sonnets, Nos. XI and XII, are both love poems of normal type. No. XI is the more general of the two, and might well have been written at any time. No. XII reflects a particular situation; and that situation is clearly a secondary stage in a love affair: "vostri sembianti mi mostraro l'isperanza d'amore . . . Or vi mostrate irata." No. XI, then, *Molti amadori la lor malitia*, is more completely primitive in character than any of the other sonnets; and has therefore a slightly more plausible claim than any other to be regarded as the earliest extant sonnet.

SUMMARY

The main conclusions reached in the several parts of this paper are as follows. The group of the earliest extant sonnets consists of thirty-one poems, twenty-five by Giacomo da Lentino, and six by four of his associates. The sonnet consisted originally of fourteen hendecasyllables, and was divided into octave and sestet. The octave rhymed *ABABABAB*, and was subdivided into four distichs. A division into quatrains was probably recognized, but regarded as distinctly subordinate to the division into distichs. The sestet, in all probability, rhymed *CDECDE*, and was divided into tercets. The sonnet was an artistic invention; its inventor was in all probability Giacomo da Lentino. The octave of the sonnet was taken from the regular eight-line Sicilian *strambotto*. The source of the sestet is uncertain: it may have been suggested by a Sicilian variety of the popular Arabic *zagål*. The current theory that the sonnet is a combination of an eight-line *strambotto* and a six-line *strambotto* is untenable in its suggestion of a six-line *strambotto* as source of the sestet. The current theory that the sonnet is a *canzone* stanza is quite untenable.

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THE *ENUEG* IN PETRARCH AND IN SHAKESPEARE

Two noteworthy specimens of the *enueg* are not mentioned in Dr. Hill's interesting and able studies of the *enueg* and the *plazer*.¹ One is a sonnet of Petrarch, No. 312 in the *Canzoniere*:

Né per sereno ciel ir vaghe stelle,
Né per tranquillo mar legni spalmati,
Né per campagne cavalieri armati,
Né per bei boschi allegre fere e snelle;
Né d' aspettato ben fresche novelle,
Né dir d' amore in stili alti et ornati,
Né tra chiare fontane e verdi prati
Dolce cantare oneste donne e belle;
Né altro sarà mai ch' al cor m' aggiunga;
Sí seco il seppe quella sepellire
Che sola a gli occhi miei fu lume e spegio.
Noia m' è 'l viver sí gravosa e lunga,
Ch' i' chiamo il fine per lo gran desire
Di riveder cui non veder fu 'l meglio.²

The other is Shakespeare's Sonnet LXVI:

Tired with all these, for restful death I cry,
As, to behold Desert a beggar born,
And needy Nothing trimm'd in jollity,
And purest Faith unhappily forsworn,
And gilded Honour shamefully misplaced,
And maiden Virtue rudely strumpeted,
And right Perfection wrongfully disgraced,
And Strength by limping Sway disabled,
And Art made tongue-tied by Authority,
And Folly, Doctor-like, controlling skill,
And simple Truth miscall'd Simplicity,
And captive Good attending captain Ill:
Tired with all these, from these would I be gone,
Save that, to die, I leave my love alone.³

¹ R. T. Hill, "The *enueg*," *PMLA*, XXVII (1912), 265; "The *enueg* and *plazer* in Mediaeval French and Italian," *ibid.*, XXX (1915), 42.

² *Le rime di Francesco Petrarca*, ed. Carducci and Ferrari, Florence, 1899, p. 427.

³ *The Poems of Shakespeare*, ed. Wyndham, New York, p. 147.

In each case the three characteristics of the *enueg* appear: the list, the initial repetition, and the emphatic presence of a word denoting "annoyance." In Petrarch's sonnet we have, instead of the usual list of annoyances, a list of delights, each negated: the poem is thus a sort of reversed *plazer*. The word *noia*, the regular Italian equivalent for *enueg*, stands in a commanding position at the head of the concluding tercet. In the English sonnet the list is a list of annoyances. The word "tired," the perfect English equivalent for the idea of *enueg*, introduces the poem, and recurs at the head of the concluding couplet.

In each case the technical device is freely assumed into lyric life. Petrarch, beyond doubt, knew specimens of the Italian *noia*, and had the type in mind when he composed this poem. The striking correspondence of Shakespeare's sonnet to the mediaeval formula can hardly indicate acquaintance with Provençal or Italian poems: rather does it prove the real humanity of the *enueg*.¹

Dr. Hill, in his second article, treats several Italian poems marked by initial repetition of *maledetto* or *benedetto*, classing them as special forms of the *enueg* and *plazer*. I do not believe that the *maledetto-benedetto* type stands in any genetic relation to the *enueg-plazer*. The *benedetto* motive appears in the peasant lyric, and the *benedetto* and *maledetto* poems normally express subjective emotion; whereas the *plazer* and *enueg* are distinctly literary, and are devoted to objective criticism.²

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¹ For references to additional specimens of the *enueg* and *plazer*, see L. Biadene, "Morfologia del Sonetto nei sec. XIII e XIV," in *Studi di filologia romanza*, IV (1889), 174; and G. Berthoni, *Il duecento*, Milan (1911), p. 185. The first stanza of Théodore de Banville's "Ballade des belles Châlonnaises" (*Trente-six Ballades Joyeuses*, Paris, 1873, p. 28) has all the characteristics of the *plazer*.

² For additional *maledetto* and *benedetto* poems, see Biadene, *op. cit.*, 15-17; and H. Schuchardt, *Rüternell und Terzine*, Halle, 1874, p. 121.

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MORE SHAKSPERE ALLUSIONS

This bundle of allusions to Shakspere, supplementing the *Shakspere Allusion-Book*, 1909, has grown by the references kindly sent to me by various scholars, by some which turned up among Dr. Furnivall's papers, and by my own notes; but especially by the references and passages so generously printed in *Notes and Queries* by Mr. G. Thorn-Drury and others. Names printed in square brackets at the end of various allusions given below indicate my indebtedness.

Biographical.—No new biographical matter appears; but some of the pieces possess biographical interest. As early as 1634 a traveler to Stratford-on-Avon refers to the "neat Monument of that famous English Poet, Mr. William Shakespere," and to verses on Combe, which are not given, but may be the same as those quoted by Aubrey and Rowe, and mentioned at the earliest, I believe—though not as by Shakspere—in Braithwait's *Remains* (1618). This passage of 1634 (No. 15) appears to be the earliest reference to the lines as Shakspere's, and antedates Aubrey's notice by some forty-six years. Another piece of biographical interest is the letter of William Hall, 1694 (No. 81), to Ed. Thwaites of Queen's College, Oxford. Though, according to Sir Sidney Lee, the letter was issued as a pamphlet in 1884 (*Life*, 272, n.), a new text will doubtless be acceptable. Hall, who had visited Stratford, quotes, apparently from memory, the injunctions over the poet's tomb, and, commenting upon their "little learning"—a Jonsonian touch—describes the bone-house, "a repository for all the bones they dig up; which are so many

that they would load a great number of waggons." The poet, anxious to preserve his remains from transference to this place at the hands of "Clarkes and Sextons, for the most part a very ignorant Sort of people," descends to "the meanest of their capacitys." Remarking on the success of this, Hall adds: "they have laid him full Seven-teen foot deep, deep enough to Secure him" (i.e., against molestation).

It is perhaps also worth mentioning that the reputed friendship between Shakspere and Davenant finds an echo in Flecknoe's Davenant's *Voyage to the Other World*, 1668, No. 50.

Influence on drama.—Knowledge of Shakspere by dramatists is usually shown by the citation of "playscraps" and phrases. Such scraps occur (or have been thought to occur) in Jonson's *The Case Is Altered*, No. 1, and *Cynthia's Revels*, No. 3; in Dekker's *Satiromastix*, No. 5; in several of Shadwell's plays, No. 51; and in Nat. Lee's *Princess of Cleve*, No. 68. In many cases borrowed phrases seem to come from the printed text; in a few the influence of the theater itself seems to be clear. An interesting note sent by Professor Dowden on Austin's *Devotionis Augustinianae Flamma*, No. 14, refers to the "number'd beach" of *Cymbeline*, I, vi, 36. The phrase is glossed by Onions as: "abounding in stones or sand." Theobald emended to: "th'unnumber'd beach"; and Professor Dowden supposed that the actual words, "unnumbered beach" may have been heard by Austin in the theater. (The same sort of point arises regarding passages in *Julius Caesar*: see p. 134, below.) Similar citation of phrases occurs frequently in non-dramatic books: see Nos. 2, 4, 8, 9, 10, 12, 16, 18, 20, 29, 34, 37, 45, 47, 62, 65, 69, 85. Imitation of plot is not so frequent. Professor Baskerville sees some similarity between *The Case Is Altered* and *Two Gentlemen* (No. 1); Professor J. Douglas Bruce points out that Wycherley molds the Fidelia of *The Plain Dealer*, No. 58, on Shakspere's Viola; a dialogue between Tom the taylor and Kate of the Kitchen in *Cupids Master-Piece*, No. 64, comes from the *Shrew*; and the Shylock story is versified in *Butler's Ghost*, by Durfey, No. 59.

Other similarities of plot are pointed out by Köppel in his valuable *Studien über Shakespeare's Wirkung auf zeitgenössische Dramatiker* ("Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Engl. Dramas"), 1905. This evidence of Shakspere's influence on his contemporaries consists to

a great extent of parallel passages, but also concerns similarity of plot and character. Dr. Köppel himself does not attach importance to all of his citations; and while some are unquestionable, others are unconvincing. It is, of course, often difficult to determine whether a phrase or situation is due to the influence of a predecessor, or comes from the common stock or the same source. Dr. Köppel incorporates material taken from Fleay and others, and from Ingleby's *Centurye of Praye* and Furnivall's *Fresh Allusions*.

It would doubtless be a convenience if all of this Shakspere matter, constantly augmented by new finds, could be gathered together here; but it is, I think, hardly possible for several reasons to include here the allusions established by Dr. Köppel. Germany is not at present in a position to receive correspondence from this country; and there are considerations of space even for Professor Manly. For the sake of convenience, however, I append a list of playwrights and plays examined by Dr. Köppel.

Anonymous Plays: *Cromwell*; *Thos. Lord*; *Locrine*; *Lust's Dominion*; *Merry D. of Edmonton*; *Oldcastle*, Sir J.; *Puritan*; *King Richard the Second*; *Valiant Welshman*; *Wily Beguiled*.

Barry, Lodowick: *Ram Alley*.

Berkeley, Sir Wm.: *Lost Lady*.

Brome, Richard: *Mad Couple Well Matched*; *City Wit*; *Court Beggar*; *Antipodes*; *English Moor*; *Love-Sick Court*; *Queen's Exchange*; *Queen and Concubine*.

Cartwright, William: *The Ordinary*.

Davenport, Robert: *City Night-Cap*.

Cooke, John: *Greene's Tu Quoque*.

Dekker, Thos.: *Shoemaker's Holiday*; *Old Fortunatus*; *Satiro-Mastix*; *Honest Whore*; *Match Me in London*; *Whore of Babylon*; *If This Be Not a Good Play, the Divell Is in It*; *Patient Grissil*; *Sir Thos. Wyat*; *Westward Ho*; *Northward Ho*; *Roaring Girl*; *Virgin Martyr*.

Field, Nathaniel: *A Woman Is a Weathercock*; *Amends for Ladies*.

Fisher, Jasper: *Fuimus Troes*.

Glapthorne, Henry: *The Lady Mother*; *Wit in a Constable*; *Hollander*.

Habington, William: *Queen of Arragon*.

Heywood, Thos.: *Four Prentices of London*; *Fair Maid of the West*; *Maidenhead Well Lost*; *Late Lancashire Witches*; *Wise Woman of Hogsdon*; *Fortune by Land and Sea*; *Iron Age*; *Golden Age*; *Silver Age*; *Broken Age*; *Rape of Lucrece*; *Love's Mistress*; *Fair Maid of the Exchange*.

Killigrew, Thos.: *Parson's Wedding*.

Markham, Gervase, and Machin, Lewis: *Dumb Knight*.

Marmion, Shakerley: *The Antiquary*.

May, Thos.: *The Heir*.

Middleton, Thos.: *Blurt, Master Constable; The Phoenix; A Mad World; The World Tost at Tennis; Changeling; Game at Chess; Michaelmas Term; Five Gallants; A Fair Quarrel; Chaste Maid in Cheapside; Anything for a Quiet Life; No Wit, No Help like a Woman's; Mayor of Queenborough; Spanish Gipsy*.

Porter, Henry: *Two Angry Women of Abington*.

Randolph, Thos.: *Aristippus; Jealous Lovers; Amyntas; Πλούτοφδαλμία Πλούτογαμία*.

Rowley, Wm.: *A Woman Never Vexed; A Match at Midnight; Birth of Merlin*.

Rutter, Joseph: *Shepherd's Holiday*.

Shirley, James: *Royal Master; Gentleman of Venice; Love Tricks; Witty Fair One; The Wedding; Grateful Servant; The Traitor; Love in a Maze; Bird in a Cage; The Ball; Young Admiral; Gamester; Example; Lady of Pleasure; Duke's Mistress; Royal Master; St. Patrick for Ireland; Constant Maid; Politician; Arcadia; Imposture; Cardinal; Sisters; Court Secret; Triumph of Beauty; Captain Underwit*.

Tailor, Robert: *Hog Hath Lost His Pearl*.

Tomkins, John: *Albumazar; Lingua* (ascribed to Tomkins).

Wilkins, George: *Miseries of Inforst Marriage*.

The sort of evidence on influence which Dr. Köppel presents was in the *Centurye of Prayse* generally put aside into an appendix; but it is obvious that the direct allusion cannot often be dissevered from the general indebtedness to the poet, and later editors of the *Allusion-Books* have admitted a fair quantity of such material as Köppel gives.

I have purposely omitted from the text below a series of apparent allusions to *Julius Caesar* to which Professor Baskerville and Mr. Percy Simpson have drawn my attention, as they require statement and commentary together. It has always been assumed that Weever's allusions to Caesar and Anthony in his *Mirror of Martyrs* refer to Shakspere's play, this being the likely source for his unhistoric statement; and Furnivall so printed the passage (*Allusion Book*, I, 94) under the date of its publication, 1601. But as Mr. Simpson pointed out in *Notes and Queries*, February 11, 1898, p. 105, Weever's *Mirror* was written by 1599, from his own statement in the dedication to Covell: "This Poem (Right Wor:) which I present to your

learned view, some two yeares agoe was made fit for the Print; that so long keeping the corner of my studie, wherein I vse to put waste paper." And if, as seems definitely to be the case, the date of *Julius Caesar* was actually 1599,¹ we may admit a number of earlier allusions previously rejected. Especially significant, as Mr. Simpson shows (p. 106), are phrases in Jonson's *Every Man out of His Humor*, the "et tu Brute" of Carlo in Act V, sc. iv, uttered when *Julius Caesar* was, at any rate, fresh in men's minds; and the lines,

O judgment, thou art fled to brutish beasts,
And men have lost their reason,

misquoted, when the play was unprinted (III, i: Cunningham, I, 99), thus

as reason long since is fled to animals.

Another interesting allusion to *Julius Caesar* first noted by Fleay (*Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, I, 107) is commented upon by Mr. Simpson in *Notes and Queries*, March 18, 1898, pp. 216-17. It occurs in Day and Chettle's *Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green*, IV, i, (pr. 1659) which Henslowe records as finished by May 26, 1600:

Can[by]. You shall likewise see the famous City of Nineveh, and the stabbing of Julius Caesar in the French Capital by a sort of Dutch Mesopotamians.

Young Stroud. How the French Capitol! nay I remember Tully's Offices sayes the Capitol that Caesar was stab'd in was at Rome.

Can. Impute the gross mistake to the fault of the Author.

This refers to a puppet play (on which see Simpson, *Notes and Queries*, March 18, 1899, p. 217). Concerning *Every Man out of His Humour* (on which see also *Allusion-Book*, I, pp. 58-61), Professor Baskerville says that the situation in V, 4, and the words "Et tu Brute," uttered to an unfaithful ally, certainly furnish an excellent parody of the scene in which Caesar is killed. He continues: "If the passage 'There is a tide in the affairs of men' attracted anything like the attention from Elizabethans with their passion for aphorism and 'sentence' that it has attracted in modern times, there may have been a fine ironic significance in the lines of *Every Man out of His*

¹ An independent confirmation is to be derived from the fact that Simon Platter, the Basle doctor, saw *Julius Caesar* at the Globe on September 21, 1599. See *Anglia*, XXII, 456, and Wolfgang Keller's review of MacCallum's *Shakespere's Roman Plays and Their Background* in *Jahrbuch*, 1911, p. 293.

Humor, III, 1, spoken of Fastidious as he rushed to overtake the money-lending merchant, ‘O, hinder him not, he may hap lose his tide; a good flounder, i’ faith’” (Cunningham’s ed., 1872, I, p. 103). He also points out that the verses (III, 2, 109–10):

O judgment! thou art fled to brutish beasts,
And men have lost their reason,

are burlesqued in *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodipoll* (III, 2):

Then reason’s fled to animals, I see,
And I will vanish like Tobacco smoke.

He thinks, moreover, that the similarity of the wording of the two parodies of Anthony’s words (*Every Man out of His Humor* and *Doctor Dodipoll*) tends to show that Shakspere revised these verses of *Julius Caesar*, as he almost certainly did the passage from the play quoted in *Timber*. In *All Fools* (the end), 1599, Professor Baskerville continues, there is possibly a parody of Anthony’s speech over Brutus: “This was a man.” He concludes: “Other allusions have some cumulative value. In *A Warning for Fair Women*, 1599, II, ll. 766 f.:

Yet will the very stones
. . . . cry out for vengeance

resemble *Julius Caesar*, III, 2, 234 f. And lines 1040 f.:

I gave him fifteen wounds,
Which now be fifteen mouths that do accuse me.

involve a favorite metaphor of Anthony’s speech (III, 1, 229 f. and 259 f.). This may, however, be a conventional figure. It occurs in Drayton’s *Barons’ Wars* and in Massinger’s *Parliament of Love*, V, 1 (near beginning):

. . . . wounds
Of my dear friend, (which, like so many mouths
With bloody tongues, cry out aloud against me).

Köppel, *Studien über Shakespeare’s Wirkung auf zeitgenössische Dramatiker*, p. 3, calls attention to the similarity of *Old Fortunatus*, 1600, 1, 2, —

‘It vexes me no more to see such a picture, than to see an ass laden with riches, because I know when he can bear no longer, he must leave

his burthen to some other beast,'—to *Julius Caesar*, IV, 2, 21 ff. Also the speech of Fortune (1, 1) about conquerors, 'swollen with their own greatness,'

‘drawn
In ivory chariots to the capitol’

amid ‘The shouts of every tongue’ only to die, reads like an account of Shakespeare’s *Julius Caesar*.’

Later allusions.—The later critical allusions must be considered in the light of the criticism laid down by Jonson and developed by Dryden, and of the reference by Milton to “sweetest Shakespeare, Fancy’s child” who warbled “his native wood-notes wild.” Jonson had established that Shakspere wanted art and knowledge of the ancients; and while later seventeenth-century critics and poets regarded Jonson as the embodiment of learning and propriety, they accepted Shakspere as the artless product of pure Nature, after the Miltonic idea, endowed with a genius independent of art and excusing the many flaws of which he was guilty. The flaws arose largely through his abstinence, as Jonson had told them, from blotting out. Edward Howard in 1673 (No. 53) adheres to the tradition with his “mighty Shakespear’s nimble vein,” and quotes Jonson on Shakspere’s neglect to “blot”; and an unknown writer in 1673 (No. 55), defending Dryden’s labels (of which the age was fond), admires the pronouncement that “Johnson writ by art, Shakespeare by nature; Beaumont had judgment, Fletcher wit,” etc. A noteworthy statement representing what the period thought in general on the subject, enlivened by more definite knowledge than was perhaps usual, is provided by “Mr. G.” 1694 (No. 80). Rymer’s books call forth some rejoinder: “The world has been sensible that Shakespear has a great many faults,” says the *Gentleman’s Journal*, 1694 (No. 82), “but it does not follow, that therefore he has no Excellencies.” Rymer is also attacked in *Poetae Britannici*, 1690 (No. 71; see also No. 78).

But the Restoration world, looking back on the Elizabethan, came at times to view it much as Sydney viewed the days of Chaucer, not as that brilliant era of achievement which we regard it, but as a rough world lacking refinement in literature and a sense of form, and struggling to do the impossible with a harsh language. In the case of

language especially, the later time was certain of improvement and refinement, owing to conscious effort. Shakspere, the "first Dramatique Pen" (1673, No. 53) and founder of the stage, had the misfortune to live before the refinement of the language; and this conception of the Elizabethan time developed until the ages of Chaucer and Shakspere seemed to some to merge into one, and the poet is represented as

weeping, since he must
At best, be Buried, now, in Chaucers Dust.
—Cavendish, 1664, No. 48.

In the comedy of social life and "Humours" the critics most of all claimed advance. What was approved of is shown by Dryden's pronouncement on Beaumont and Fletcher (*Dramatick Poesie*, 1668, p. 48), that, as compared with Shakspere, "they understood and imitated the conversation of Gentlemen much better; whose wilde debaucheries, and quickness of wit in repartees, no Poet can ever paint as they have done." The comparison of the early and late seventeenth-century stages is refreshingly made by a writer in the *Athenian Mercury*, 1691 (No. 75). He maintains the increasing difficulty of achieving success in drama: old sources of humor had been laid aside, owing to the refinement in taste, and new sources had been almost exhausted. Men were no longer contented with the clownish farce of the old Globe and Red Bull, and the new Captain Underwits, etc., had been worked stale. Notwithstanding new tragic material in history and the discovery of the New World, the later writers were handicapped in finding available matter as compared with their predecessors, while their invented plots were monstrous and unnatural. (On Shakspere's free use of old material, see *Poetae Britannici*, 1690, No. 71.) Poets, this writer continues, were thus often reduced to poor alterations of old plays, which they sometimes patched up "with a few mean Scenes." (For more condemnation of the rehandled plays, see *Wit for Money*, 1691, No. 76.) And on the whole the age was deficient in genius; audiences were more critical and exacting; men excelled only in writing more correctly; while the change in life and taste effected that "our Humours for the most part are better Comedy, tho' their's [the Elizabethans'] better Farce than ours."

The Falstaff allusions are, as before, plentiful. They had a special vogue during the Civil War, when the troops of opponents were contemptuously referred to in the news-sheets as "Falstaff's (or Wagstaff's) ragged regiment"—"food for powder" (Nos. 21, 22). An age of controversy delighted in the equivocation of the fat Knight with his "reasons as plenty as Blackberries" and his talk of "instinct" (Dryden, 1683, No. 62; Brown, 1690, 1699, Nos. 69, 85). The highway roguery, the men in Kendal Green, and the expressions and exploits of Bardolph and his companions were well known (Nos. 8, 19, 25, 28, 29, 34, 38, 39, 41, 44, 45, 47, 51, 63). It has been pointed out in the *Allusion-Book* that the extreme popularity of Falstaff and his confederates in the latter part of the seventeenth century had probably not a little to do with the nature of the legends which became established about the poet's character and connection with inns. It is also noticeable that in these times the character of Hotspur gained attention (Nos. 43, 51, 84).

Two references to Shakspere's works in the hands of clerics express the Puritan idea of both. One describes a minister's books as 'Lady Psalters, Cosin's Devotions, Pocklington's Altar, Shelford's Sermons, Shakespeare's Works and such Prelatical trash'; the other remarks that a Parson Cady read much, but to little purpose—"Amadis de Gaul, Knight of the Sunne, and Don Quickshot, and,—tell him of Religion and he prates Shakespeare" (Nos. 23, 24).

The general allusions are much as usual. References to the poems are not common (Nos. 27, 30, 32, 56, 59). *Hamlet*, much alluded to earlier in the century, (perhaps under the influence in part of the pre-Shaksperean play), gives place later on to Falstaff in importance, and to such plays as the *Tempest* and *Macbeth*, known especially in their altered forms.

Military duties on which I am nowadays, like most young Englishmen, engaged have left me little leisure for any literary work; and I am indebted to Mr. F. A. Rose, himself now a soldier, too, for help with the proofs of this article. Mrs. C. C. Stopes, on the eve of my departure for the Dardanelles, has very kindly undertaken the last supervision of these proofs.¹

¹ In *Allusion-Book*, I, 56, a passage is printed from one of Gabriel Harvey's notes in Speght's *Chaucer*, 1598: "The younger sort take much delight in Shakespeare's

1. 1597. **Jonson, Ben.** *The Case Is Altered* (Works: ed. by William Gifford, 3 vols., 1872, Vol. II, p. 533), III, i, 6.

True to my friend in cases of affection.

[Professor C. R. Baskerville, who sends me this reference, refers this line to *Two Gentlemen*, V, iv, 53-54:

In love
Who respects friend ?

and he considers that there is some similarity in the plots of the two plays. For other Jonsonian parallels to Shakspere see the prefatory note above.]

2. 1599. **Weever, John.** *Epigrammes in the oldest cut, and newest fashion.* A twise seuen houres (in so many weekes) studie, London, 1599.

[Epig. xv, week iii]

A withered Hermite fие-score winters worne
Might shake off fiftie, seeing her beforne:

[Epig. xii, week iii]

Her face is pure as Ebonie ieat blacke,
Beautie in her seemes beautie still to lacke.

Venus and Adonis; but his Lucrece, and his tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke, have it in them to please the wiser sort." Along with the proofs of this article Mrs. Stopes, who discovered the existence of the supposedly lost copy of Speght's work containing Harvey's *marginalia*, sends a continuation of the passage above:

"Or such poets: or better: or none.

Villa miretur vulgus: mihi flavus Apollo
Pocula Castaliae plena ministret aquae:

quoth Sir Edward Dier, betwene iest, & earnest. Whose written deuises farr excell most of the sonets, and cantos in print. His Amaryllis, & Sir Walter Raleighs Cynthia, how fine & sweet inuentions? Excellent matter of emulation for Spencer, Constable, France, Watson, Daniel, Warner, Chapman, Silvester, Shakespeare, & the rest of our florishing metricians." Mrs. Stopes points out that the Latin couplet quoted here "is Shakespeare's quotation before Venus and Adonis." See the complete passage in G. C. Moore Smith's *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, 1913, pp. 232, 233, and the discussion of its bearing on the date of *Hamlet*, *ibid.*, pp. viii-xii.

The following important allusion is published in the Malone Society *Collections*, I, 110, 111, from "a letter written to Sir Robert Sidney by Rowland White from Baynard's Castle on Saturday, 8 March 1599/1600," and found in Collins' *Letters and Memorials of State*, 1746, II, 175: "All this Weeke the Lords haue bene in London, and past away the Tyme in Feasting and Plaies; for Vereiken dined vpon Wednesday, with my Lord Treasurer, who made hym a Roiall Dinner; vpon Thursday my Lord Chamberlain feasted hym, and made hym very great, and a delicate Dinner, and there in the After Noone his Plaiers acted, before Vereiken, Sir John Old Castell, to his great Contentment." As pointed out in the *Collections*, this must be a reference to Falstaff. It is all the more important as suggesting—taken with the reference to Falstaff under the name Oldcastle in *The Meeting of Gallants at an Ordinarie*, 1604 (*Allusion-Book*, I, 136)—the popular association of the name Oldcastle with Shakespeare's great comic character, and even the possibility that the name continued in use on the stage after the publication of the 1598 quarto of *I Henry IV*.

C. R. B.

[Epig. ix, week iii]

In Battum

Battus affirm'd no Poet euer writte,
Before that Loue inspir'd his dull head witte,
And yet himselfe in Loue had witte no more,
Than one stark mad, thogh somewhat wise before.

[Mr. R. B. McKerrow in *Notes and Queries*, November 11, 1911, p. 385. The passages are printed in Mr. McKerrow's edition of the *Epigrams*, 1911, pp. 57, 56, 54. In his *Notes and Queries* article, written after Mr. A. H. Bullen had pointed out to him the Shaksperean borrowings, Mr. McKerrow shows that the first two sets of verses quoted above are indebted to *Love's Labour's Lost*, IV, iii, 242-43; 247, 251; while the "eagle-sighted eies" of Epigram xi, p. 55, may be a reminiscence of the same scene, l. 226.]

In view of this indebtedness to *Love's Labour's Lost*, Mr. McKerrow thinks that Weever's Battus may be Shakspere's Biron, who says

Never durst poet touch a pen to write
Until his ink were temper'd with Love's sighs.
—*Love's Labour's Lost*, IV, iii, 346-47

If so, concludes Mr. McKerrow, "Weever may, I think, claim to have written the very first scrap of critical comment upon a Shaksperean character." In his Introductory Note to the *Epigrams*, 1911, Mr. McKerrow shows that some of these were written at different dates, from 1594 to 1599. The verses *Ad Gulielmum Shakespeare* are printed in *Allusion-Book*, I, 24.]

3. 1600. **Jonson, Ben.** *Cynthia's Revels* (Works: ed. Gifford, 3 vols., 1872, Vol. I, p. 172, col. 1), IV, i.

Phi the tune of a country lady, that comes ever in the rearward or train of a fashion.

[Cf. II *Henry IV*, III, ii, 339:

A' came ever in the rearward of the fashion.

Professor C. R. Baskerville refers me to Professor G. C. Moore Smith's note on this in *Modern Language Review*, I, 53, where Professor Smith remarks that other Shaksperean echoes have been found in Jonson's play, "especially a passage in ii, 3, echoing *Julius Caesar*, V, 5, 73-75, and one in v, 6, echoing *Midsummer Night's Dream*, V, 1, 82, 83." The passage cited above does not seem to me to imply indebtedness on Jonson's part.

4. 1600. **Rowlands, Samuel.** *The Letting of Humors Blood in the Head-Vaine*, London, 1600, Satyre 4, sig. E 2.

Be thou the Lady *Cressit-light* to mee,
Sir *Trollelolle* I will proue to thee.

[Possibly a Shaksperean allusion. Printed by Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, November 4, 1911, p. 365, for comparison with the lines beginning:

Come, Cressida, my cresset light,
of *Histriomastix*. As Mr. Thorn-Drury notes, this passage was not printed in the *Allusion-Book*.]

5. 1602. **Dekker, Thomas.** *Satiro-mastix* or the Untrussing of the Humorous Poet. London, 1602 (Pearson's *Dramatic Works of Dekker*, 1873, i, 229).

Asini[us]. Wod I were hang'd if I can call you any names but Captaine and Tucca.

Tuc[ca]. No Fye'st; my name's Hamlet reuenge; thou hast been at Paris garden hast not?

Hor[ace]. Yes Captaine, I ha plaide Zulziman there.

[Supplements *Allusion-Book*, I, 106-7. The reference is perhaps to the older *Hamlet*: F. P. Wilson. Noted also by Köppel.]

6. 1602. **Marston, John.** *Antonios Reuenge*, [the Second Parte of Antonio and Mellida] As it hath beene Sundry times acted, by the children of Paules. Written by I. M. [Device], London, 1602, sig. H2.

[Act IIII, Scena Tertia]

An. Antonio's dead, the foole wil follow too, he, he, he,
Now workes the sceane; quick obseruation send
To coate the plot, or els the path is lost:

[Professor J. M. Manly.]

7. 1604. **Unknown.** *Nevves from Graues-end*: Sent to Nobody.
Nec Quidquam nec Cuiquam. London, 1604, sig. D 4.

The Horror of the Plague

O Thou my Countrie, here mine eyes
Are almost sunck in warres, that rise
From the rough winde of Sighs, to see
A spring that lately courted thee
I pompous brauery, All thy Bowers
Gilt by the Sunne, perfumde with flowers,
Now like a lothsome Leaper lying,
Her arbors withring, greene Trees dying,

Her Reuell, and May-meriments,
 Turned all to Tragick dreeryments:
 And thou (the mother of my breath)
 Whose soft brest thousanddes nourisheth,
 Altar¹ of *Ioue*, thou throne of Kings:
 Thou Fownt, where milke and honys springs.
Europs Iewell; Englands Iem:
 Sister to great *Ierusalem*:
 Neptunes minon, (bout whose wast
 The Thames is like a girdle cast,)
 Thou that (but health) canst nothing want,
 Empresse of Cities, *Troy nouant*.

[Reflects Gaunt's speech, *Richard II*: F. P. Wilson.]

8. 1606. **Dekker, Thomas.** *Newes From Hell*; Brought by the Diuell Carrier. Et me mihi perfide prodis. Tho. Dekker. London, 1606. (Huth Library. *Non-Dramatic Works of Dekker*, ed. Grosart, II, 132.)

. . . . his ignorance (arising from his blindnesse) is the only cause of this Comedie of errors.

[Mr. F. P. Wilson, who sends this reference, says: "You get many reminiscences of Shakespeare in Dekker. For instance, when Shadow says (*Olde Fortunatus*, Pearson's ed., *Dramatic Works*, I, 114), 'I am a villain, Master, if I am not hungrie'; when Carter says (*Witch of Edmonton*, Pearson, IV, 379), 'No harsh language, if thou lovest me'; and when Asinius says (*Satiro-Mastix*, Pearson, I, 232), 'I owe God a death, and he will make me pay't against my will, Ile say tis hard dealing,' we are very near the presence of Sir John Falstaff."]

9. 1611. **Barkstead, William.** *Hiren or The faire Greeke*, 1611, st. 62 (ed. Grosart, 1876, p. 91).

O loue too sweet, in the digestion sower!

[Cf. *Richard II*, I, iii, 236: Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, November 30, 1912, p. 426.]

10. 1615. **Tofte, Robert.** *The Blazon of Iealovsie . . .* First written in Italian, by that learned Gentleman Benedetto Varchi translated into English, with special Notes upon the same; by R. T., Gentleman, London, 1615, p. 63.

¹ O. Alrar.

To the Covrteovs Reader

A Caueat for all young Gentlewomen to take heed how they settle their Affection on such humerous young Youths, as are not well stayed, nor setled in their mindes, remembiring this saying:

Too oft 'tis seene, that LOVE, in young-men lyes,
Not (truely) in their Hearts, but in their Eyes.

[From *Romeo and Juliet*, II, 3, 67-68:

Young men's love then lies
Not truly in their hearts, but in their eyes.

The phrase occurs again in *A Comical Dialogue Between two Country Lovers* Newcastle, no date, p. 12:

But true it is, Love seldom lies
In young Men's hearts more than their Eyes.

Professor C. R. Baskerville.]

11. 1621-1648. Unknown. *A Helpe to Discovrse.* Or a Miscellany of Merriment Now the fourth time published and much enlarged by the former authour[s] W. B. and E. P. [Edward Phillips?] London, 1621.

[p. 154] therefore the Poet wittily obserues:

Fat paunches haue leane pates, and dainty bits
Make rich the ribs, but banckrupt quite the wits.

[This, from *Love's Labour's Lost*, I, i, 26, reoccurs in the 1627 edition: 'Now the sixt time published,' p. 123; and in a new section *Sphinx and Oedipus*, London, 1627, the following occur, pp. 279-80, 299:]

[p. 279] they [cocks] foretell seasons and changes of weather, according to the verse:

Some say for euer 'gainst that season comes,
Wherein our Sauioures birth is celebrated,

[p. 280] The Bird of dawning singeth all night long,
And then they say no spirit dares walke abroad.
So sacred and so hallowed is that tune [sic].

—W. Shaks.

[These verses (*Hamlet*, I, i, 160) were printed in *Allusion-Book*, I, 464, from the 1640 edition of *A Helpe to Discourse*. It is to be noted that in the 1638 edition in the British Museum (12316 aa 42), the 1640 title-page of the thirteenth edition is inserted in place of the proper one, and the lines first printed by Ingleby among the Allusions may have come from this edition. The proper title of *Sphinx and Oedipus* remains and is dated 1638.]

[p. 299]

Q. What Art is that that makes vse of the most vilest things in the world?

A. Physicke makes vse of those things, some wonder were created, as of Scorpions, Flyes, Wasps, Serpents, Toads, and such like, nothing being so vile but serues for some vse, and many herein effectuall, according to the Poet:

*Ther's nougnt so vile that on the earth doth liue,
But to the earth some speciaill good doth giue.
Nor nougnt so good, but strain'd from that faire vse,
Reuolts from vertue, stumbling on abuse:
Vertue it selfe turnes vice, being misapplyde,
And vice sometimes by action dignifide.*

[From *Romeo and Juliet*, II, 3, 17-22, with various minor errors. Mr. Alfred Wallis printed this passage in *Notes and Queries*, May 10, 1884, p. 374, from the 1634 edition of *Sphinx and Oedipus*, sig. P7r.]

The above passages are all reprinted in the 1628 edition of *A Helpe to Discourse*, pp. 126, 286, 306. In this edition, "Now the seventh time published," occurs (p. 51) the famous sleep soliloquy. This was noted by Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, June 25, 1910, p. 505, from the 11th ed., 1634.]

[p. 50] And therefore I conclude, that that content which often-times lodgeth not vnder a golden-fretted Roofe, may bee found napping vnder a thatcht-patcht [p. 51] Cottage. As that King sometimes in a Poeme of his to that purpose wittily complained.

O Sleepe, ô gentle Sleepe, natures soft nurse,

[p. 32] *Vneasie sits his robe that weares a Crowne [sic].*

[Cf. II *Henry IV*, III, i, 6-31.]

[The 1636 edition omits *Sphinx and Oedipus*, so that only the verses on sleep and fat paunches occur (pp. 51-2, 126). The 1638 edition (1640 title-page in British Museum copy) gives all quotations (pp. 51-2, 124, 303, 322). The 1648 edition, which describes itself on the title-page exactly as the 1640 title-page does, as "The Thirteenth Edition" and even copies it in describing the Oracles, etc., as "never before Printed," gives likewise all quotations (pp. 49, 119, 294, 312).]

12. 1630. Richards, Nathanael. *The Jesuite in The Celestiall Publican.* London, 1630, sig. H 7 verso (reprinted in *Richards' Poems*, 1641, p. 50).

He that dares awe his Countrey, King and State,
Smile, and yet be a villain, all men hate,

[Cf. *Hamlet* I, v, 108: Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, June 25, 1910, p. 505.]

13. 1631. Unknown. *The English Gentlewoman*, pp. 196–97.

Loves interuiew betwixt *Cleopatra* and *Marke Anthony*, promised to it selfe as much secure freedome as fading fancy could tender; yet the last Scene clozed all those Comicke passages with a Tragick conclusion.

[I give this passage from a cutting which I have from the original book: I cannot trace the volume. Allusions to *Antony* are rare: it is not altogether certain, I think, that this passage refers to Shakspere's play.]

14. bef. 1633. Austin, William. *Devotionis Augustinianae Flamma*, or, Certainte Devovt, Godly, and Learned Meditations Written, by William Austin Set forth, after his Decease, by his deare Wife and Executrix Mrs. Anne Austin London, 1635, pp. 28, 52, 280.

[p. 28]

[*In Avrora Annunciationis.*]

And thou (vast *Sea*) cease to chide
Th' un-numberd *Beach*, whereon you slide.

[p. 52]

[*Carrols, for Christmas-day.*]

ALL this Night, shrill *Chauntecleere*
(*Dayes-proclaiming Trumpeter*)
Claps his wings, and lowdly Cryes
(*Mortals, Mortals*), *wake and rise.*

[p. 280]

[The Authors owne Funerall, made upon Himselfe.]

I now perceive, that *Rules, Paintings; Carvings; Jewels; Songs, Playes; Beautie; Buildings; varietie of Food and Raiment, &c.* had their *value* to mee, *meereley* from mine *owne-estimation*. (Which [now] I begin to *take-off*, and looke more *intently* on them) they begin to *vanish*; weare away; and *depart* like *Camels* and *Castles* in the *Clouds*.

[Professor E. Dowden.]

With regard to the first passage Professor Dowden says in his letter: "You remember 'the number'd beach' in *Cymbeline* and Theobald's proposal

'unnumber'd':—Austin refers to his love of plays and perhaps heard *un-numberd* in the theatre."

The second passage reflects, Professor Dowden thinks, Hamlet's cock, "the trumpet to the morn" (I, i, 150).

The third passage doubtless refers to *Hamlet*, III, ii, 360–61.]

15. 1634. **Hammond, Lieutenant (?)**. *A Relation of a Short Survey of 26 Counties Obseru'd in a seuen Weekes Journey begun at the City of Norwich and from thence into the North. On Monday August 11th 1634 By a Captaine, a Lieutenant and an Ancient, All three of the Military Company in Norwich [=title of Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MS 213, fol. 315, printed in *A Relation of a Short Survey*, etc., edited by L. G. Wickham Legg, London, 1904, pp. 77–78], Fol. 332b.*

[p. 77] In that dayes trauell we came by Stratford vpon Auon, where in the Church in that Towne there are some Monuments which Church was built by Archbishop Stratford. Those worth obseruing and which wee tooke notice of were these [mention of E. of Totnes, and Sir Hugh Clopton].

A neat Monument of that famous English Poet, Mr. William Shakespeere who was borne heere.

And one of an old Gentleman a Batchelor, Mr. Combe, vpon whose name, the sayd Poet, did merrily fann vp some witty, and facetious verses, which time would nott give vs leave to sache vp.

[Mrs. C. C. Stopes.]

16. 1636–41. **Suckling, Sir John**. *Against Fruition* [in] *Works of Sir John Suckling*, London, 1696, p. 34.

. . . . She's but an honest whore that yields, although
She be as cold as Ice, as pure as Snow.

[Cf. *Hamlet*, III, i, 136.]

To his Rival, ibid., pp. 44–45

- [p. 44] **N**OW we have taught our Love to know
That it must creep wher't cannot go,
[p. 45] Love she shall feed, but fear to nourish,
For where fear is, Love cannot flourish;
Yet live it must, nay must and shall,

While *Desdemona* is at all:
 But when she's gone, then Love shall die,
 And in her Grave buried lie.

[Cf., for first two lines,
Two Gentleman of Verona, IV, ii, 20.]

17. 1638. Brathwait, Richard. *A Spiritual Spicerie*, London, 1638, pp. 370-71. (Quoted by Haslewood in *Barnabees Journal*, I, 350.)

A long *winter night* seemed but a *Midsummer nights dreame*,
 being merrily past in a Catch of foure parts, a deep health to a light
 Mistresse, and a knot of brave blades to make up the Consort.

[Brathwait uses the name of Trinculo several times: see Haslewood, *Barnabees Journal*, I, 299, 304, 420: Professor Baskerville.]

18. 1638. Junius, R. [Young, Richard?]. *The Drunkard's Character*. London, 1638, A 7, pp. 197, 399, 425, 496, 512.

[A 7] *And in regard of others, it were as needlesse, as to lend Spectacles to Lynceus, an Eye to Argus, or to wast gilding on pure Gold. . . .*

[p. 197] Putrified Lillies smell farre worse than weeds; if vertue turne into vice; the shame is triple.

[p. 399] they would speake Daggers points. [Cf. *Hamlet*, III, ii, 414.]

[p. 425] So the uxorious husband, at the first idolizeth his wife, the cold wind must not blow upon her, the Sunne must be shaded from her beauty. . . .

[p. 496] It is easie for a mans sinne to live; when himselfe is dead;

[p. 512] It being as true of malice, as it is of love, that it will creepe, where it cannot goe.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury, printing these passages in *Notes and Queries*, August 2, 1913, p. 86, thinks that their number makes it appear more probable that they are reminiscences of Shakspere; but Professor G. C. Moore Smith in *Notes and Queries*, August 23, 1913, p. 155, expresses doubt that the last passage printed above refers to the well-known line in *Two Gentlemen*, IV, ii, 19. The phrase, he remarks, "Love will creepe, where it can not goe,"

occurs in a marginal note of Gabriel Harvey's in a book of his now in the Saffron Walden Museum, and also in *Wily Beguiled* (Malone Society ed., I. 2445). The phrase also occurs among Ray's *Proverbs*.]

19. 1639. D[avenport], Robert. A Pleasant and VVitty Comedy: called, *A New Tricke to Cheat the Divell*. Written by R. D. Gent, London, 1639, sig. A 3b.

Tre[atwell]. A place more private would become my message,
And give it gentle hearing.

Wi[fe]. Pray with draw, it comes from a great man.

Chan[geable]. Came it from on of the Guard, from Sir Iohn Falstaffe?

Nay, Hercules himselfe; with bumbast limbes
It should have publique audience.

20. 1641. Unknown. Political Squib preserved in Conway Papers, State Papers, Domestic Series, Charles I, 1641, Vol. CCCCLXXXVII, No. 47, leaves 47, 48, (*Calendar State Papers*, Domestic Series, 1641, p. 229).

I would not haue you so much as inquire whether it were with his Cloake-bagg stringgs or with his garters: nor engage your selfe to freshe sighes by hearing new relations. . . .

I must Confesse it is a iust subiect for our sorrowe to heare of any that does quitt his station, without the Leauue of the great one that placed him there; and yet as ill a mine as this actt has still a Romane sa[nction] as you may see by a Line of Mr [Sha]kespeares bringing in T. Tidius after a Lost [Battle?] speak[es to] his sword and bidding it fynde out his heartt adds

Bay your leauues gods
This is a Romans partt.

[The reference is to *Julius Caesar*, V, iii, 98: "By your leave, gods: This is a Roman's part." T. Tidius is Titinius. The MS is badly damaged by damp, torn, and in parts illegible. For my reading [Battle?] the printed calendar has [lady]. The squib is addressed to a fictitious Widow.]

21. 1642. Unknown. *A Perfect Diurnal of the Passages in Parliament*: From the 27 of February to the 6 of March 1642, London, March 6.

Friday the 3 of March. By Letters out of Warwickshire it is informed, that the Lord Brook hath done good service in that County, and driven Wagstaffe and his Ragged Regiment out of Stratford upon Avon, with the losse of two men, which were treacherously blown up by the enemies setting on fire the Magazine in the Town by which they thought to have done a greater mischief, but were prevented.

- 22. 1642-43. Unknown. *Mercurius Aulicus*, Communicating the Intelligence and affaires of the Court to the rest of the Kingdome; from Sunday April 9th, to Sunday April 16. Thursday April 13, 1642-3.**

It was advertised from London by letters of the 12 of March, that the forces gathered out of Essex for the service of the two Houses of Parliament to the number of 3000 or thereabouts, were quartered at Saint Albans, Hartford, Ware, and other places of that Country; but that they were all raw unexperienced men, and very ill armed, food for powder onely, as Sir John Falstaffe saith in the Comedy, of his ragged Regiment.

[Similarly in the news for "Friday 5th of July, 1644," we have a similar allusion. Lord Grey leaving Stamford "is in the pursuit of Hastings with the rest of his ragged Regiment": H. Brown.]

- 23. 1644. Unknown. *Mercurius Britanicus* Communicating the affaires of great Britaine For the better Information of the People [London] From Monday the 26. of August, to Monday the 2. of Sept. 1644, pp. 385-86.**

[Referring to *Mercurius Anticus*, a paper of the opposite party, the writer quotes this as describing Sir Arthur Hasllerig [so] going to a Minister's house near Wantage, when:]

He saies *Sir Arthur pillaged him as thoroughly, as they of Oxford use to pillage*: that is (as he saies) of horses, bedding, pewter, &c. . . .

He saies *he barbarously cut his booke into pieces*: Those were only some Lady Psalters, and *Cosins Devotions*, and *Pocklingtons Altar*, and *Shelfords Sermons*, and *Shakespeares Workes*, and such Prelaticall trash as your Clergy men spend their Canonicall houres on.

24. 1644. **Unknown.** *The Court Mercury*, From Saturday the 10 of August, to Wednesday the 21th, Numb. 7. 1644.

From Court August the 10.

They raile much at Oxford this weeke but they doe not tell us, of Parson Cady nor his stealing of old Drums and Leaguer-Cloakes, and trades with them to poore souldiers, to whom he sells them in the Morning and wins them with Dice at Night; this Parson has read much (I meane to little purpose) and has convers'd with many Authors, as Amadis de Gaul, the Knight of the Sunne, and Don Quickshot tell him of Religion and he prates Shakespeare for my money.

[H. Brown.]

25. 1645. **Bold, Henry.** *The Adventure*, August, 26. 1645 [in] *Poems by Henry Bold*, 1664, p. 137.

*Jack urg'd me to 't, I made not any word,
Disliking Bardolph's Edge of penny Cord,
And vile reproach.*

[Henry V, III, vi, 50.]

26. 1647. **Baron, Robert.** '*Ἐποτπαῖγγιον, or the Cyprian Academy*' by Robert Baron, London, 1647, part ii, pp. 29, 69.

[p. 29] Let this black day be from all annalls cut
Nor in the reckoning of the yeare be put,

[Cf. *King John*, III, i, Fol. p. 9:

Constance's outeries:
'Nay, rather turne this day out of the weeke, etc.: J.M.]

[p. 69] For monuments we've hung up brused armes,
To pleasuers we've converted stern alarms
And dreadful marches to delightful greetings,
And harness squadrons into merry meetings.
Grim Visag'd war hath smooth'd his brow, in stead
Of mounting of a fiery barbed steed.
To fright pale foes, now all in a qualme
He cape[r]s in a Ladyes *Amphithalme*.
Binds all his nerves, and every meanes he'l prove
To the lascivious pleasing of his love.

[William Dinsmore Briggs in *Notes and Queries*, June 13, 1914, pp. 467-68, while printing these latter verses, an "obvious imitation of a famous passage in *Richard III*, comments thus:

"The remark in the *Allusion-Book* that in his *Fortunes Tennis-Ball* he [Baron] imitated Jonson's masques, does not exhaust the subject. In the same poem he steals from *Sejanus*, from *Catiline*, from the *Epigrams*, and from other pieces. His use of *Catiline* for his own 'Mirza' was remarked by Langbaine. Other poems contain other borrowings from the same poet.

"Perhaps I might also add that in *Pocula Castalia*, p. 118, opposite the epigram "To Sir John Falstaff," noticed in the *Allusion-Book*, occurs in another epigram the line

So bankrupt Sol, the wandering Knight so fair,
which is not noticed."

I note also, Part I, p. 29, a further Shakspere reminiscence:

She is a woman, and she may be wonne,
Venus Adonis lov'd, why may not she
Prove love-sick too, and at length fancie me:]

27. 1648. **Baron, Robert.** *An Apologie for Paris* For rejecting of Juno, and Pallas and presenting of Ate's Golden Ball to Venus, By R. B. Gent, Ann. *Ætatis sue* 18. London, 1649, p. 85.

This powerfull Conqueror leading the King and God of Conquerors prisoner to *Venus* in a red Rose chaine.

[A. Ersaile.

From *Venus and Adonis*, 110: "Leading him prisoner in a red-rose chain."]

28. 1648. **Bold, Henry.** *On Oxford Visitors*, setting up their Commissions on the College Gates, &c. 1648 [in] *Poems by Henry Bold*, London, 1664, p. 164.

Why, what's the matter *Friends*? I hope that all's safe!
D'ye run away, b'*instinct* like Sir John Falstaffe,
And stare, and huffe, and puff, as if y' had been
Mauld, by th' unluckie Rogues in *Kendall Green*;
The *Women*, in such *tirrits*, and *frights* do goe,
Dame Quickly, near fear'd *swagg'ring-Pistol*, so.

[*Kendal Green*: cf. I *Henry IV*, II, iv, 246, 257.]

29. 1648. **Taylor, John.** 'ΙΠΠΙ-ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ: or, an Ironical Expostulation, London, 1648, sig. A 3.

Yet let none say he's broke or run away,
 But (as the wiser call 't) he did *convey*
 Himselfe into a *Church*, in policie,
 Where he was sure none would suspect him lie.

[Cf. *Merry Wives*, I, iii: Mr. G. Thorn-Drury, in *Notes and Queries*, November 4, 1911, p. 365.]

30. bef. 1652. Burton, Robert. *Anatomy of Melancholy*, by Democritus Junior, London, 1652 (reprinted, London, 1845, pp. 284, 512).

[p. 284] For that deep torture may be call'd an hell,
 Where more is felt, then one hath power to tell.

[Cf. *Lucrece*, 1287-88.]

[p. 512] Were beauty under twenty locks kept fast,
 Yet love breaks through, and picks them all at last.

[Cf. *Venus and Adonis*, 575-76.]

[Miss M. A. M. Macalister in *Notes and Queries*, May 13, 1911, p. 366. The references to Parts, etc., are, Part I, sec. 4, mem. 1, and Part III, sec. 2, mem. 2, subs. 2. These passages are in addition to those already printed in *Allusion-Book*.]

31. 1652. Fleckno, Richard. *Miscellania*, London, 1653 (1652 O.S.), p. 141.

From thence passing on to Black-fryers, and seeing never a *Play-bil* on the Gate, no *Coaches* on the place, nor *Doorkeeper* at the *Play-house* door, with his *Boxe* like a *Church-warden*, desiring you to remember the poor *Players*, I cannot but say for *Epilogue* to all the *Playes* were ever Acted there:

Poor House, that in dayes of our Grand-sires,
Belongst unto the Mendiant Fryers:
And where so oft in our Fathers dayes
We have seen so many of Shakspears Playes.
So many of Johnsons, Beaumonts, & Fletcheres,
Vntill I know not what Puritan Teachers:
(Who for their Tone, their Language, & Action,
Might 'gainst the Stage make Bedlam a faction
Have made with their Raylings the Players as poore
As were the Fryers and Poets before:
Since th'ast the tricke on't all Beggars to make,
I wish for the Scotch-Presbyterian's sake

*To comfort the Players and Fryers not a little,
Thou mayst be turn'd to a Puritan spittle.*

[Professor Baskerville. Printed also by Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, April 22, 1911, p. 305.]

32. 1653. **Desmus, Ralph**, Philologist. *Merlinus Anonymus*. An Almanack, and no Almanack [etc., dated in ink on title, Nou. 18, 1653]. London: 1654, sig. B 4b, etc.

[Sig. B 4b] Did not Wil Summers break his wind for thee,
And shakespeare therefor writ his comedy:

[These lines are from Randolph's *Hey for Honesty*, 1651. See *Allusion-Book*, II, 19. In this mock almanac the feast days are dedicated to various well-known characters in literature, mythology, etc. Noteworthy ascriptions are:

- Jan. 9-10. Troylus and Cressida.
- March 13. Sir Giles Goose-cap.
- March 31. Mack-beth.
- April 10. Bajazet 2.
- June 5. Merry Wives of Windsor.
- June 22. Arden of Feversham.
- Aug. 3. Pericles Pr. of Greenland.
- Nov. 16. Timon.
- Dec. 6. Tarlton Senior.
- Dec. 10. Wil Summers.
- Dec. 13. Venus and Adonis.
- Dec. 21. Moor of Venice.

Professor Baskerville.]

33. 1653. **Fanshawe, Sir Richard**. Letter in Evelyn's *Essay on the First Book of Lucretius*, London, 1656, p. 7.

On my word (Cozen) this Piece is *The taming of the Shrew*. What shall I say more?

[Letter from Fanshawe acknowledging receipt of Evelyn's MS, and dated Tankersley, 27 Decem. 1653.: Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, June 25, 1910, p. 505.]

34. 1654. **Desmos, K.** *Good-Ale Monopolized and the Tapsters persecuted: or Justice, right or wrong*. Printed by Rob. Goodfellow about Midsummer Moon. 1654, p. 4.

And now as saith another reverend Author, *Shall dunghill dogs confront the Helicon? Or shall his act want Chronicles, then Pistol lay thy head in Furies Lap.*

[*II Henry IV*, V, iii, 108–10: “Shall dunghill curs confront the Heli-cons?”, etc.]

35. 1654. Whitlock, Richard. *ZNOTOMI'A, Or Observations On the Present Manners of the English*, London, 1654, p. 318.

Now can my poore Reason but assentingly pronounce, since mans *inventions* have brought him to this sad *loss*, that his *speculations* are but a *comedy of Errors*, and his *Imployments Much ado about Nothing* to borrow our *Comedians titles*) that the worlds *busy man* is the *Grand Impertinent*.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury, printing this passage in *Notes and Queries*, October 11, 1910, p. 345, notes that Dr. Furnivall failed to discover it owing to a wrong reference in the index of the book, and contented himself with printing the index statement only. See *Allusion-Book*, II, 35.]

36. 1655. Tomkins, John. Verses before *Dia Poemata* by E. Ellis, London, 1655, sig. B.

To the Laurell-worthy Mr. E. E. on his Excellent Poems. . . .

Though Wit as precious every Scene doth hold,
As Shakespeare's Lease [? Leaf] or Johnson's Massy Gold,
Though thou with swelling Canvas sail beyond
Hercules Pillars, Fletcher and Beaumont,
And though Thou art (what ever Fooles repute)
A Poet in all Numbers Absolute;

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, August 2, 1913, p. 86.]

37. 1656. Cowley, Abraham. *Brutus* [in] *Pindarique Odes*. Works of Cowley, London, 1668, pp. 34.

3

There's none but *Brutus* could deserve
That all men else should *wish to serve*,
And Caesars usurpt place to him should proffer;
None can deserve't but he who would *refuse the offer*

4

I'll meet thee there, saidst *Thou*,
With such a *voyce*, and such a *brow*,
As put the trembling *Ghost* to sudden flight,
It vanish't as a *Tapers light*
Goes out when Spirits appear in sight.

One would have thought t'had heard the *morning crow*
 Or seen her well-appointed *Star*
 Come marching up the *Eastern Hill* afar.

[Professor G. C. Moore Smith.

Regarding the first lines Professor Moore Smith says: "I think the people's cry 'Let him be Caesar' (*Julius Caesar*, III, ii) is Shakespeare's and not Plutarch's." For the Plutarch passage confirming this, see *Shakespeare's Plutarch*, ed. C. F. Tucker Brooke, I, 135.

In the second stanza Professor Moore Smith compares l. 4, with *Julius Caesar*, IV, iii, 275: "How ill this taper burns." In Plutarch it is the lamp. The latter part of the stanza suggests *Hamlet*, I, i, 147-67, "the cock that is the trumpet to the morn"; and, "But look, the morn . . . Walks o'er the dew of yon high eastern hill."]

38. 1656. Flecknoe, Richard. *The Diarium, or Journall*, London, 1656, pp. 45, 97, 103.

[p. 45]

This man but ill advised had been,
 'Mongst other monsters he was not seen;
 For pence apiece there in the faire
 Had put down all the Monsters there,
 Who Sir John Falstaff made an asse on,
 And of Goodman Puff of Barson . . .

[p. 97] *The ——'s humours, and resolute way of wooing, when he is in King Cambyses vain . . .* [title to poem in which Cambyses' vein is several times referred to].

[p. 103] *A Lover (such an one, as Simple in love with Mrs. Anne Page) having bewrayed himselfe, writes to Cupid in this manner* [title of poem].

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, June 25, 1910, p. 505. On p. 96 of the *Diarium* occurs:

On the Play of the life and death of Pyrocles, Prince of Tyre.

ARs longa, vita brevis, as they say,
 But who inverts that saying, made this Play.

This was printed in *Allusion-Book*, II, 31.]

39. 1658. Bold, Henry. *Epitaph on R. Webb*, hang'd for Ravishing a Child of five years old May, 19. 1651 [in] *Poems by Henry Bold*, London, 1664, p. 191.

HEre lyes *curst Webb!* who living, spun though short,
So fair a thread, a Halter choakt him 'fort,
For Bardolph's like 'twas cut with vile reproaches!
And Edge of Penny-Cord—so Bonas noches!

[Cf. *Henry V*, III, vi, 50: Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, June 25, 1910, p. 505.]

40. 1658. Cokain, Sir Aston. *Small Poems of Divers Sorts.*
London, 1658, pp. 27, 67.

[p. 27] He [Ch. Cotton] is an able Lad indeed, and likes
Arcadian Pastorals, and (willing) strikes
A Plaudite to th' Epilogues of those
Happy Inventions *Shakesphere* did compose
Beaumont and *Fletcher* he will listen to,
And allow *Johnson*s method high and true.

[p. 67] You *Swans* of *Avon*, change your fates, and all
Sing, and then die at *Drayton's* Funeral:
Sure shortly there will not a drop be seen,
And the smooth-pebbled Bottom be turn'd green,
When the *Nymphes* (that inhabit in it) have
(As they did *Shakespeere*) wept thee to thy grave.

[Mrs. C. C. Stopes, *Shakespeare's Warwickshire Contemporaries*, 1907, and Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, June 25, 1910, p. 505.]

41. 1659. Philipott, Thomas. *Villare Cantianum or Kent Surveyed and Illustrated . . . by Thomas Philipott Esq; formerly of Clare-Hall in Cambridge. To which is added An Historical Catalogue of the High-Sheriffs of Kent: Collected by John Philipott Esq; Father to the Authour.* London, . . . M.DC.LIX, pp. 135–36.

The utmost extent of this Hundred East-ward reacheth to *Shooters-Hill*, so called of the Thievery there practised, where Travellers in elder Times were so much infested with Deprædations and bloody mischiefs; that order was taken in the sixth of *Richard* the Second, for the enlarging the High-way according to the Statute made in the Time of King *Edward* the first, so that they venter still to rob here, by prescription; [Pat. 6. R. 2. pars 2. Memb. 34] and some have been so impudent, to offer to engage the Sun shining at mid-day

for the repayment of money called borrowed, in a Theevish way, to the great charge of the Hundred that still was in the Counter-bond; and King *Henry* the fourth granted leave to *Thomas Chapman*, to cut down, burn, [Pat. 7. H. 4. pars 2. Memb. 12] and sell, all the Woods, and Under-woods growing and confining to *Shooters-Hill*, on the South-side and to bestow the money raised thereby, upon mending the High-way. Surely Prince *Henry* his Son, and Sir *John Falstaffe* his make-sport, so merrily represented in *Shakespear's* Comedies, for examining the *Sandwich* Carriers, loading at this place, were not the Surveyors.

42. 1659. Unknown. *A Brief Account of the Meeting, Proceedings, and Exit of the Committee of Safety.* Taken in Short-hand, by a Clerk to the said Committee. London: 1659, p. 24.

Lambert: Farewel *Wimbleton*. Farewel my *Tulips* and my *Pictures* there; I had thought to have done as your *Protector* did, but—Oh pensive word that drawst so many sighs after thee, but I am fallen as low almost as my first rise: Sure I was in a dream, did I turn out the Parliament?

[Mr. F. J. Routledge thinks this an echo of Wolsey in *Henry VIII.*]

43. 1659. Unknown. *A Word To Purpose: Or A Parthian Dart.* Shot back to 1642, and from thence shot back again to 1659. swiftly glancing upon some remarkable Occurrences of the Times the Second Impression, with Addition. Printed 1659, pp. 12, 13.

[p. 12] Do the soulđiers know what they would have?
 Yes, Doney, Great estates, and nothing else?
 Yes, monour, and would every one be rulers in
 chief, and so play the Fool or Knave with the people?
 How is it possible to imagine that so many hot-spurs
 that stand in *equali Gradu* one to the other,
 should ever agree in a supremacy?

[I give the passage as it stands. *Doney* doubtless signifies *Money*, and *monour* signifies *honour*. P. 13 contains a reference to Hobson's choice: "every one shall be free in *Hobson's* choice, to take, enjoy, or have what the Army will suffer us to take, enjoy, or have." The earliest quotation in the *Oxford Dictionary* is 1660, S. Fisher's *Rusticks Alarm.*]

44. bef. 1660. **Bold, Henry.** *Latine Songs, With their English: and Poems*, London, 1685, p. 147.

New-gates black Dog, or Pistols Island Cur,
Was probably this Sires Progenitor.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, June 25, 1910, p. 505.
Another allusion in the same volume is printed in *Allusion-Book*, II, 308.]

45. bef. 1661. **Unknown.** *An Exact Collection of Y^e Choicest Poems & Songs*, Relating to the late times and continued by the most Eminent Witts, from A° 1639 to 1661. [Second title: *Rump: or an Exact Collection of the Choycest Poems &c,*] London, 1662, p. 311.

Admiral Deans Funeral

25.

The Savoys mortified spilted Crew,
If I lye, as Falstaffe sayes, I am a Jew,
Gave the Hearth such a look it would make a
man spew,
Which no body can deny.

[Not included in the 1660 collection of Rump poems printed, like the 1662 volume, for H. Brome. The reference is to *I Henry IV*, II, iv, 198.]

46. 1662. **Kirkman, Francis.** *The Bookseller to the Reader [in] The English Lovers*, by I. D. Gent, London, 1662.

And yet our modesty will make us vail
To worthy Sidney, nor can we bear sail
Against these fam'd Dramaticks, one past age
Was blest with Johnson, who so grac't the stage,
The thrice renowned Shakespear, and the rare
Ingenuous Fletcher. These past envy are
Much more past imitation only we
Would second be o'th' first, last of the three.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, November 30, 1912, p. 426.]

47. 1663. **Unknown.** *Cabala; or, An Impartial Account of the Non-Conformists Private Designs*, London, 1663, pp. 7-8 (printed in *Somers Collection of Tracts*, ed. by Walter Scott, London, 1812, Vol. VII, p. 571).

. . . . Whereupon Mr. *Greenhil* held forth three quarters of an hour by *Shrewsbury-clock*, as Sir *John Falstaffe* speaks, in the third of *Edward* the fourth and the fifteenth.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, November 30, 1912, p. 426.]

48. 1664. **Cavendish, William, Duke of Newcastle.** Prefatory Verse *To the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle, On Her Book of Poems [in] Poems and Phancies written By the thrice Noble, Illustrious, and Excellent Princess the Lady Marchioness of Newcastle, the Second Impression London, M.DC.LXIV.*

I Saw your Poems, and then Wish'd them mine,
Reading the Richer Dressings of each Line;
Your New-born, Sublime Fancies, and such store,
May make our Poets blush, and Write no more:
Nay, Spencers Ghost will haunt you in the Night,
And Johnson rise, full fraught with Venom's Spight;
Fletcher, and Beaumont, troubl'd in their Graves,
Look out some Deeper, and forgotten Caves;
And Gentle Shakespear weeping, since he must
At best, be Buried, now, in Chaucers Dust:
Thus dark Oblivion covers their each Name,
Since you have Robb'd them of their Glorious Fame.

[These verses are not in the first edition, London, 1653.]

49. 1664. **Unknown.** *An Egley Vpon the most Execrable Murther of Mr. Clun,* On of the Comedeans of the Theater Royal, Who was Rob'd and most inhumanely Kill'd on Tuesday-night, being the 2^d of August, 1664, near Tatnam-Court, as he was Riding to his Country-house at Kentish town. London, printed by Edward Crowch dwelling on Snow-hill.

Then Smug and Bessus, Faulstaff and the rout
Broke from thy Lips, to make us face about
O! but Iago, when we think on thee,
Not to applaud thy vice of Flattery;
Yet must that Part never in our thoughts dye,
Since thou didst Act, not mean that Subtilty

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, April 22, 1911, p. 305.]

50. 1668. **Flecknoe, Richard.** *Sir William Davenant's Voyage to the Other World*, London, 1668, pp. 8, 9.

[p. 8] Nay even Shakespear, whom he thought to have found his greatest Friend, was as much offended with him as any of the rest, for so [p. 9] spoiling and mangling of his Plays.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, June 25, 1910, p. 505.]

51. 1668-89. **Shadwell, Thomas.** *Sullen Lovers, Epsom Wells, Woman-Captain, Squire of Alsatia, Bury Fair* (*Works*, 1720 ed., I, 60, 94; II, 225; III, 348; IV, 35, 160).

[1668, I, 60] 1 Clerk reads. I do acknowledge, and firmly believe, that the Play of Sir Positive At-All, Knight, called *The Lady in the Lobster*, notwithstanding it was damn'd by the Malice of the Age, shall not only read, but it shall act with any of *Ben Jonson's*, and *Beaumont's* and *Fletcher's* Plays.—

Sir Posit[ive]. Hold, hold! I'll have Shakespear's in; 'slife I had like to have forgot that [*Sullen Lovers*, Act III].

[I, 94] *Ninny.* 'Pshaw! you! I'll pluck bright Honour from the pale-fac'd Moon, (as my Friend *Hot-Spur* says) what do you talk of that? [Act V].

[1673, II, 225] *Ber[il].* What, I warrant, you think we did not know you?

Luna. O! yes, as *Falstaff* did the true Prince, by Instinct. You are brisk Men, I see; you run at all. [*Epsom Wells*, Act II].

[1680, III, 348] *Sir Humph[rey].* I'll keep no Fool; 'tis out of Fashion for great Men to keep Fools 'tis exploded ev'n upon the Stage.

Fool. But for all that, Shakespear's Fools had more Wit than any of the Wits and Criticks now-a-days [*Woman-Captain*, Act I].

[1688, IV, 35] *Tru[man].* You are so immoderately given to Musick, methinks it should justle Love out of your Thoughts.

Belf[ond] Jun. Oh no! Remember Shakespear; If Musick be the Food of Love, Play on—There's nothing nourishes the soft Passion like it, it imp's his Wings, and makes him fly on higher Pitch [*Squire of Alsatia*, Act II].

[1689, IV, 160] *Oldw[it]*. Come, my Lord Count, my Lord Bellamy, and Gentlemen, may good Digestion wait on Appetite, and Health on both; as *Mackbeth* says: Ah, I love those old Wits [*Bury Fair*, Act III].

[M. P. T. (of University of Michigan) in *Notes and Queries*, July 19, 1913, pp. 46-47.]

52. 1669(?) **Unknown.** Verses, set to music in Harl. MS. 6947, fol. 401 (see *Athenaeum*, August 9, 1902, p. 191, ed. J. L. Scott).

To heaven once ther caime a poett | a frend of mine swore hee did
know itt

Ould Chauser mett him in great state Spenser and Johnson at the
gate

Beamon and Fletchers witt mayd one butt Shakspeers witt did
goe aloane.

[*Chaucer Allusions*, ed. C. F. E. Spurgeon, 1914, pp. 246-47.]

53. 1673. [Howard, Hon. Edward]. *Poems and Essays* by a Gentleman of Quality, London, 1673, pp. 13, 66; *Miscellanies*, pp. 24, 81.

[p. 13] The witty Fletcher, and Elaborate Ben,
And Shakespeare had the first Dramatique Pen:
In most of their admired Scenes we prove,
Their Busines or their Passion turns to Love.

[p. 66] Thus Johnson's Wit we still admire,
With Beaumont, Fletcher's lasting fire:
And mighty Shakespear's nimble vein,
Whose haste we only now complain.
His Muse first post was fain to go,
That first from him we Plays might know.

[p. 24] *Shakespear, Beaumont, Fletcher, and Johnson*, must be nothing with them though such majestick strength of Wit and Judgment is due to their Dramatique pieces.

[p. 81] Ben Johnson said of *Shakespear's* Works, that where he made one blot, he wish'd he had made a thousand.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury, *Notes and Queries*, October 16, 1909, p. 307.]

54. 1673. **Tichborne, Arth.** Verses before M. Stevenson's *Poems*, London, 1673, sig. A 4.

Tell me no more of Laureated Ben.,
Shakespear, and *Fletcher*, once the wiser men.
 Their Acts ('tis true) were Sublime! yet I see
 They 'r all Revisedly compos'd in Thee.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, November 4, 1911, p. 365.]

55. 1673. **Unknown.** *A Description of the Academy of the Athenian Virtuosi*: with a Discourse held there in Vindication of Mr. Dryden's Conquest of Granada; Against the Author of the Censure of the Rota, London, 1673, p. 32.

If he tells us that *Johnson* writ by art, *Shakespeare* by nature; that *Beaumont* had judgment, *Fletcher* wit, that *Cowley* was copious, *Denham* lofty, *Waller* smooth, he cannot be thought malitious, since he admires them, but rather skilfull that he knows how to value them.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury, *Notes and Queries*, October 16, 1909, p. 307.]

56. 1674. **Unknown.** *Wit at a Venture*: London, 1674, p. 21.

*An Epitaph on a merry Wife of Windsor, that
 died of the Stone in her Bladder.*

UNder this Stone *Moll Standford* lyes,
 There's no great fear her Ghost will rise,

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, June 25, 1910, p. 505.]

57. 1676. **Parker, Peter.** The Rape of *Lucrece*, committed by *Tarquin* the sixth, and the remarkable judgements that befell him for it. By that incomparable master of our *English Poetry Will. Shakespear*, 8°.

Books Printed for and Sould by *Peter Parker*, at the *Leg and Star*, right against the *Royal Exchange* in *Cornhill*. . . . b. 4
Histories Books, Romances, Poetry &c.

[This list or catalogue is at the end of the first edition (1676) of Elisha Cole's well-known *English Dictionary*: explaining The difficult Terms that are vsed in Divinity, Husbandry, Physick, Phylosophy, Law, Navigation, Mathematicks, and other Arts and Sciences *London*.

Printed for *Samuel Crouch*, at the Corner Shop of *Popes-head Ally*, on the right-hand near *Cornhill*, 1676.

The list contains (among many other books): *The Wildgoose-Chase*, A Comedy, being the noble, last and only Remains of those incomparable Drammatists, *Francis Beaumont* and *John Fletcher*, Folio, b3 back. The Passion of *Dido* for *Eneas*, as it is incomparably exprest in the fourth Book of *Virgil*, Translated by *Edward Waller*, Esq. 8°, b4. Pleasant Notes upon the History of *Don Quixot*, By *Edmond Gayton* Esquire, Folio, b6 back.

Mr. E. Viles told me of this "Allusion," and lent me his *Coles*. F.J.F.]

58. 1676. Wycherley, William. *The Plain-Dealer*, a Comedy.

As it is acted at the Theatre Royal. Written by Mr. Wycherley. Licensed January 9, 1676, London, 1677.

[Professor J. Douglas Bruce points out that in this play Wycherley molds his Fidelia on Shakspere's Viola in *Twelfth Night*. "Base use it is, too," says Professor Bruce. Fidelia in man's attire is sent by the man she loves, Captain Manly, as an emissary to Olivia, as he puts it to "pimp" for him (p. 39). The result is in Fidelia's words, p. 58, Act IV, scene i: "I spoke to her for you, but prevail'd for my self. . . ." The tone of the play is of the time.]

59. 1678. Butler, Samuel. *Hudibras*, the Third and Last Part, London, 1678, Canto I, ll. 281-82.

I found th' Infernal Cunning-man,
And th' Under-witch his *Caliban*,
With Scourges (like the Furies) arm'd,

[At the end of this book in some copies appears a list of "Books Printed for and soould by Peter Parker at the Leg and Star, right against the Royal Exchange in Cornhill," in which is: "The Rape of Lucrece committed by Tarquin the sixth, and the remarkable judgements that befell him for it, by that incomparable master of our English Poetry, Will. Shakespear. 8vo." Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, November 30, 1912, p. 427. Cf. No. 57, above.]

Mr. Thomas Bayne records in *Notes and Queries*, January 1, 1910, p. 17, that in Durfey's *Butlers Ghost*; or *Hudibras* the Fourth Part, occurs a reference to Shakspere and Jonson, and, p. 36, a versification of the Shylock story.]

60. 1679. Unknown. *The Country Club*: A Poem, London, 1679, p. 2.

Such noise, such stink, such smoke there was, you'd
swear
The *Tempest* surely had been acted there.

The cryes of Star-board, Lar-board, cheerly boys,
Is but as demy rattles to this noise,
Like whispers to a Hollow;

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, October 29, 1910, p. 345, notes that the reference is to the Dryden and Davenant version. Ben Jonson is referred to, p. 7.]

61. 1681. Unknown. *The Character of Wit's Squint-Ey'd Maid, Pasqui-Makers* (broadside) London, 1681.

Our English writers are all Transmigrate,
In Pamphlet penners, and diurnal Scribes,
Wanton Comedians, and foul *Gypsy* Tribes;
Not like those brave Heroick sublime strains,
That wrote the *Cesars*, and their noble *Reigns*.
Nor like those learned Poets so divine,
That pen'd *Mackduff*, and famous *Cataline*.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, October 29, 1910, p. 345.]

62. 1683. Dryden, John. *The Vindication of the Duke of Guise*, London, 1683, pp. 48.

[In addition to the allusions printed in *Allusion-Book*, II, 117-78:]

Fat *Falstaffe* was never set harder by the Prince for a *Reason*, when he answer'd, that if Reasons grew as thick as Black-berries, he wou'd not give one.

63. 1684. Unknown. *The Scoffer Scoffed*, London, 1684, p. 8.

And tell each *Spartan* to his face,
They are all degenerate and base;
That those who us'd to fight with Half-Staff,
Are dwindl'd now into a *Falstaff*.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, August 2, 1913, p. 87.]

64. 1685. Unknown. *Cupids Master-Piece*, or the Free School of witty Complements (Vol. I of Pepys' *Penny Merriments*).

[The dialogue called "a merry cross-wooing between Tom the taylor and Kate of the Kitchen" is taken from *Taming of the Shrew*, II, i, 181-226. The scene has been shortened, and there are many varieties in wording. Ll. 181-85, 189, 193-98, 208, 209, 215, 216, 222-26 of the play are used: Professor Baskerville.]

65. 1685-86. **Higden, Henry.** *A Modern Essay on the Thirteenth Satire of Juvenal* By Henry Higden, London, 1686, pp. 45, 47. [Licensed November 11, 1685.]

[p. 45] If to divert his Pangs he try
Choice Musick, Mirth or Company,
Like *Bancoe's Ghost*, his ugly Sin,
To marr his Jollity, stalks in;

[Note 23, sig. I b, reads: "*Bancoes Ghost*. In the Tragedy of *Mackbeth*, where the coming in of the Ghost disturbs and interrupts the Entertainment. Page 45."]

[p. 47] Bath'd in cold Sweats he frighted Shreiks
At Visions bloodier than (24) King *Dick's*

[Note 24, sig. I b, reads: "*Vision Dicks*. In the Tragedy of *Richard the 3d.*"]

66. 1687. **Unknown.** *Auction-Sale Catalogue of Sir W. Coventry's Books* (British Museum, 1422. c 5(4), dated May 9, 1687).

[Mention of a first folio.

Mr. Edward B. Harris in *Notes and Queries*, Jan. 4, 1913, pp. 8-9.]

67. 1689. **Carter, John.** A | Poem | to the | Memory | of | George Lord Jefferies. | in The | Bloody Assizes: | Or, a Compleat | History | of the | Life | of | George Lord Jefferies, | from | His Birth to this Present Time. | Wherein, | Among other things is given a true Account of his un- | heard of Cruelties, and Barbarous Proceedings, in his | whole Western-Circuit. | Comprehending | The whole Proceedings; Arraignment Try-als and Condemnation | of all those who Suffer'd in the West of *England*, in the year 1685. | With their undaunted Courage at the Barr, | their Behaviour in | Prison, their Cruel Whippings afterwards, and the remarkable | Circumstances that attended their Executions. | To which is added Major *Holmes's Excellent Speech*, with the Dying | Speeches and Prayer of many other Eminent Protestants. | *None of which were ever before Publish'd.* | Faithfully Collected by several West. Countrey Gentlemen, who | were both Eye and Ear-Witnesses to all the Matter of Fact. | With *Allowance*. | London, Printed for J. Dunton at the *Black Raven* in the

*Poultry, over against | the Compter, and sold by R. Janeway
in Queens-Head Alley in Pater-noster-row.* 1689. sig. A 3.

*Then room for bloody Jefferys, or he'll swear
By all the Aps from St. Cadwallader;
Prutus hur creat Cranfather, if hur enquire,
And Adam's Cranfather was Prutus sire;
Famous ap Shenkin was hur elder Brother,
Some Caledonian Sycorax hur Mother:
Or some she-De'il more damn'd than all the rest.
At their black Feast hur lustful Sire comprest:
Thence do I think this Cacademon rose,
Whose wrathful Eyes his inward baseness shows.*

68. 1689. Lee, Nathaniel. *Princess of Cleve*, As it was Acted at the Queens Theatre by Nat. Lee Gent, London, 1689, Act V, sc. i, p. 62.

Pol[trot] nay, o' my conscience thou wou'dst not give him time to speak, but hunch'd him on the side like a full Acorn'd Boar.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, April 22, 1911, p. 305. Cf. *Cymbeline*, II, v, 16.]

69. 1690. [Brown, Thomas?] *The Late Converts Exposed: or, the Reasons of M^r Bays's Changing his Religion, Part the Second*, London, 1690 (Licensed January 8, 1689), pp. 35, 42.

[p. 35] *Bays. Must, Mr. Eugenius?* What do you give the *Must* to a man of my Character and Gravity? Were Reasons as cheap as Black-berries, I'de not give you one I gad upon compulsion.

. . . .

[p. 42] *Eugen.* the first Missionaries of our Religion, bequeath'd but twelve Articles to be believ'd by us, and she has lately improved them into the jolly number of *Falstaff's Buckram-men*, twenty-four.

[For the first passage cf. I *Henry IV*, II, iv, 265.]

70. 1690. Durfey, Thomas. *Collin's Walk through London and Westminster*, London, 1690, pp. 148-49.

To this rare place where Wit is taught,
 [the playhouse]

The Major now had *Collin* brought;
 The House was Peopled with all sorts,
 The Cities product and the Courts,
 An Ancient Comick Piece they knew,
 Intitld the Fair of *Bartholomew*,
Collin first thought as he came in,
 It had a Conventicle bin,
 And that mistaking of the day,
 The Major brought him there to pray;
 He saw each Box with Beauty crown'd,
 And Pictures deck the Structure round;
Ben, Shakespear, and the learned Rout,
 With Noses some, and some without.

[Mr. Thomas Bayne in *Notes and Queries*, January 1, 1910, p. 17.]

71. 1690. [Unknown.] *Poetae Britannici*, a Poem, [London, 1690.]
 pp. 7-8, 11.

- [p. 7] Nor can we *Ry . . . r's* Memory forget,
 Who only wants good Nature and good Wit.
 A more than *Scythian* Heart, that could presume
 To bite the Dead, and vex the Peaceful Tomb.
- [p. 8] Who talk'd to *Shakespear* in Heroick Tone
 Where lay a Genius; and produc'd his own
 As *Edgar* with *Othello* could be read,
 And *Tom Tram's* Story vy'd with *Holingshead*
- [p. 11] Ev'n *Shakespear* sweated in his narrow Isle,
 And Subject *Italy* obey'd his Style.
Boccace and *Cynthio* must a Tribute pay
 T' inrich his Scenes, and furnish out a Play.
 Tho' Art ne'er taught him how to write by Rules,
 Or borrow learning from *Athenian Schools*:
 Yet He with *Plautus* could instruct and please,
 And what requir'd long toil, perform with ease.
 By Native Strength so *Theseus* bent the Pine,
 Which cost the Robber many years Design.
 Tho' sometimes Rude, Unpolish'd and Undress'd
 His Sentence flows more careless than the rest.
 But when his Muse complying with his Will,
 Deigns with informing heat his Breast to fill,

Then hear him Thunder in the pompous strain
 Of *Æschylus*, or sooth in *Ovid's Vein*.
 Then in his Artless Tragedies I see,
 What Nature seldom gives, Propriety.
 I feel a Pity washing in my Eyes
 When *Desdemona* by her Husband dies.
 When I view *Brutus* in his Dress appear,
 I know not how to call him too severe.
 His rigid Virtue There atones for all,
 And makes a Sacrifice of *Cæsar's Fall*.
 Nature wrought Wonders then; when *Shakespear d'yd*
 Her dearest *Cowly* rose, drest in her gaudy Pride.
 So from great Ruines a new Life she calls,
 And builds an *Ovid*, when a *Tully* falls.

72. 1690. Unknown. *The Folly of Priest-Craft*. A Comedy.
 London, MDCXC, p. 18.

Leu[casia]. . . . to see you hugging him in your Bosom for a converted Saint, it seem'd to me as preposterous as to see the Bear making Love to the Gentlewoman with the Bears-face, or the Woman in *Shakespeare*, kissing the Fellow with the Asses-head.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury, *Notes and Queries*, March 12, 1910, p. 204.]

73. 1691. Unknown. *The Athenian Mercury*, Vol. II, No. 17,
 Tuesday, July 21, 1691.

Quest[ion]. 2. *Why do you pretend to Such strange things, and yet in effect tell the World nothing but what we all know already?*

Answ[er]. There's another of 'em, but we must take the *Liberty* to say, that we doubt the Gentleman who proposed it is hardly a fair *Representative* for all the *World*, since he has chosen himself a *Parliament Man* for the Universe, as *Trincalo*, by his own Vote declar'd himself Viceroy over the *Enchanted Islands*.

74. [Ibid.] Vol. IV, No. 13, Tuesday, November 10, 1691, p. 1.
 Quest. 2. *If our Lovers Sing to us, whether we ought to Praise 'em.*

Answ. There seems no great matter in't of one side or t'other— . . . [they] perswade themselves that they sing like *Bowman* himself, when perhaps they *Sing* and *Dance* too like the *Witches* in *Mackbeth*, or *Scaramouch* a Serenading his Mistress.

[p. 2, col. 1]

Quest 5. Suppose a Man and Woman were shut up in a room together, who had never seen nor heard of the difference of Sexes before, how d'ye think they'd behave themselves?—wou'd they——

Answ. We say that we don't know what to say. We are very unwilling to send the Ladies to *Daphnis and Chloe* for Information—that Book is too *waggish* in some places, and not *spiritual* enough for 'em: As for the *Tempest*, that dont come up to the Question, tho' *Mirande* and *Hypolito* are pretty fair for't, who had never seen, tho' they had heard of *Man and Woman*.

75. [Ibid.] Vol. V, No. 1, Tuesday, December 1, 1691.

Quest[ion]. 3. Do the Modern English Dramatique Writers excell most, or those of the last age?

Ans[wer]. Those who first brought our Stage any thing near the Ancients, as *Shakespear*, *Johnson*, and some few more, had not only most of 'em a great *Genius* of their own to shape and mould what they found, but a vast stock of *Matter* to set up with, and therefore no wonder they were such great Traders. For Tragedy, they had then not only all the History, but even all the Fable of the World to work upon, as well as the Works of other Tragaedians, both Greek and Latin; and for Comedy, as well all the *Fools* of former Ages as our own *plentiful Crop*. But our more Modern Writers are either in History forc'd to graft on what their Forefathers have done before 'em, whom it may sometimes happen, they may *mend* for the worse, and strike out *Beauties* instead of *Faults*; or else *patch* 'em up with a few *mean Scenes* in comparison of what they so badly imitate—Or if they tread new paths, be forc'd to invent monstrous and unnatural Stories, which can never do well upon the stage, where we expect the *Image of Life*. And then for Comedy (with reverence to all the *Quality of Pit and Box* be it spoken) our Fools are now almost all exhausted, and the same *Fool* seldom does well *twice*; and besides, we require better bred Fools than our Forefathers were contented with, for a Merry Millar or *Cobler* wou'd make Excellent Sport at the *Red-Bull* or *Globe*, whereas nothing will down with us now under *Lawyers Clerk*, or a *Courtney Gentleman*. Now tho' it must be confess'd there have been new Fields open'd for Tragedy, both by the

Discovery of a *new World*, and many great accidents in this: And tho' we have now and then a *New fashion'd Folly or Humour* starts up to divert the *World* first, and the *Stage* afterwards; yet neither are the Instances of the former kind very numerous, nor are all *strange* or dreadful *Stories* fit for *Tragedy*; nor in the latter case, are there enough without a great deal of Art in the Cooking of 'em, to satisfie the sharp Stomachs of such Audiences as will be all Criticks in spite of Nature. For which Reasons we think that one who hits the true Air either of *Tragedy* or *Comedy* in this Age, performs a more difficult task than those who did so formerly. Upon the whole, tho' we have few, if any Writers at present, whom Nature has given so great a *Genius*, or such strong *Thoughts* as those of former Ages, yet we certainly write more *correctly* than they did, and our *Humours* for the most part are better *Comedy*, tho' their's better *Farce* than ours.

76. 1691. Unknown. *Wit for Money: or Poet Stutter.* A Dialogue between *Smith, Johnson* and *Poet Stutter*, London, 1691, pp. 4, 10.

[p. 4] *Johnson*. . . . To tell you the truth, as Mr. *Dryden* sacrifices a *Bussy d'Ambois* to the memory of *Ben Johnson*, I sacrifice one of these [poor books] yearly to the memory of *Shakespear, Butler*, and *Oldham*.

[p. 10] *Johnson*. Do you take him for such an ill Taylor that he cannot dress any Wit as it ought to be?

Smith. Even so, witness his laying violent hands on *Shakespear* and *Fletcher*, whose Plays he hath altered so much for the worse, like the Persecutors of Old, killing their living Beauties by joining them to his dead lameless Deformities.

77. 1692. Unknown. *An Historical History of England and Wales* in three Parts, London, 1692.

Shakespear (Will) B. at Stratford in Warwick-Sh. was in. some sort a Compound of three eminent Poets, Martial, Ovid and Plautus the Comedian. His Learning being very little, nature seems to have practised her best Rules in his Production. The Genius of this our Poet was Jocular, by the quickness of his wit and Invention; so that *Heraclitus* himself might afford a smile at his

comedies. Many were the Witty Combats between him and Ben. Johnson. He died 1616 and buried at Stratford.

[Mr. Maurice Jonas in *Notes and Queries*, June 6, 1914, p. 447. Mr. Edward Bensly and Mr. William Jaggard in *Notes and Queries*, June 20, 1914, p. 495, show that the passage is based on Fuller's *Worthies*. See *Allusion-Book*, I, 483.]

78. 1692. Unknown. Article [in] *Gentleman's Journal*, London, December, 1692, p. 15.

Mr. Rhymer, like some of the French that follow Aristotle's Precepts, declares [in the *Short View of Tragedy*] for Chorus's, and takes an occasion to examin some Plays of Shakespear's, principally *Othello*, with the same severity and judgment with which he criticized some of Beaumont and Fletcher's in his Book called, *The Tragedies of the last Age*. . . . The Ingenious are somewhat divided about some Remarks in it. . . .

79. 1693. Unknown. *Athenian Mercury*, Vol. XII, No. 1, October 24, 1693.

Quest. 4. *What Books of Poetry wou'd you Advise one that's Young, and extreamly delights in it, to read, both Divine and other?*

Answ. . . . Spencer's Fairy Queen, &c., Tasso's Godfrey of Bulloign, Shakespear, Beaumont and Fletcher, Ben. Johnson, Randal, Cleaveland, Dr. Donne, Gondibert, WALLER, all DRYDEN, Tate, Oldham, Flatman, *The Plain Dealer*—and when you have done of these, We'll promise to provide you more.

80. 1694. "G., Mr." On Shakespear by Mr. G. [in] *Gentleman's Journal*, London, October and November, 1694, p. 275.

On Shakespear by Mr. G.

Shakespear, the Prop and Glory of the Stage,
Adorn'd a rough and charms a polish'd Age;
True as the Life the vocal Painter Drew,
Yet the nice Paths of Learning never knew.
His matchless works proceeded from his Wit,
The learned proud to read, and copy what he writ.
Each line the force of manly Sence displays,
In equal Words he mighty Thoughts arrays;

And, taught by Nature above Art to write,
 Scorns his dull Critics and their feeble spight.
 Oh could but *Anthony or Brutus* know
 What words and thoughts his lines on them bestow,
 Amaz'd they'd blush to find themselves outdone,
 Yet thank the Poet, and their Pictures own.
 How great is he by whose creating Mind
 Great Romans greater than themselves we find!
 How well the Bard to his unrivall'd Praise,
 Could manage Souls and every Passion raise!
 Hark! how bold *Brutus* do's harangue the croud,
 Moves the dull Rout, till it assents aloud.
 Now hear how *Anthony* o're *Caesar* mourns,
 And on his Foes the raging Tempest turns!
 See how the daring Chiefs with heat debate,
 With Flegm reflect, and, strugling still with fate,
 Those last of *Romans*, more then Men in all,
 Not to outlive their Countries Freedom, fall.
 Such scenes let *Shakespear's* snarling Critics write,
 And cease to bark till they have Teeth to bite.

[The piece is introduced with an editorial note: "Here are some Verses on a poet whose old ones are still most acceptable to the Town, tho they want the Charms of Novelty."]

81. ca. 1694. Hall, William. *Letter to Edward Thwaites.*
 Oxford, Rawlinson MS Bodl. D. 377, fol. 90.

Dear Neddy

I very greedily embraced this occasion of acquainting you wth something w^{ch} I found at Stratford upon Avon. That place I came unto on Thursday night, and y^e next day went to visit y^e ashes of the Great Shakespear w^{ch} lye interr'd in that Church. The verses w^{ch} in his life-time he ordered to be cut upon his tomb-stone (for his Monument have others) are these w^{ch} follow;

Reader, for Jesus's sake forbear
 To dig the dust enclosed here:
 Blessed be he that spares these stones,
 And cursed be he that moves my bones.

The little learning these verses contain, would be a very strong argument of y^e want of it in the Author; did not they carry something in them w^{ch} stands in need of a comment. There is in this

Church a place w^{ch} they call the bone-house, a repository for all bones they dig up; w^{ch} are so many that they w^d load a great number of waggons. The Poet being willing to preserve his bones unmoved, lays a curse upon him that moves them; and haveing to do wth Clarks and Sextons, for y^e most part a very [i]gnorant sort of people, he descends to y^e meanest of their capacitys; and disrobes himself of that art, w^{ch} none of his Co-temporaryes wore in greater perfection. Nor has the design mist of its effect; for lest they sh^d not onely draw this curse upon themselves, but also entail it upon their posterity, they have laid him full seven-teen foot deep, deep enough to secure him. And so much for Stratford, within a mile of w^{ch} Sr Robinson lives, but it was so late before I knew that I had not time to make him a visit

. . . . Pray give my service to Jack White, Harry Bird, and to all my Lichfield acquaintance when you see them, and to all those also that shall ask after me. As for the Staffordshire words we talked of, I will take notice of them and send them. Pray let me hear from you at M^r Hammond's Man's return, wherein you will greatly oblige

Your friend and Servant

W^m. Hall

Direct your letter for W^m Hall Jun'
at y^e White-hart in Lichfield

[The letter is addressed: "For Mr Edward Thwaites in Queen's College in Oxon." It was printed in pamphlet form by J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, June, 1884, in modernized spelling. The next letter from Wm. Hall to Thwaites bound in the volume is dated "Lichfield Jan. 2d 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ ": it gives a list of dialect words remarkable as being early: "to scale a fire—to rake out y^e ashes; in y^e mean cur[?] $-\dot{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\tau\phi\phi\rho\psi$; to barnish—to grow thick; to glaver, a glaverer—to fawn or flatter; cockers—startups, a sort of woollen stockings; to cocker—to pamper; cranny or crank—wanton; fasantly—orderly; haunty—high fed; caddy—wanton; a lathing—an invitation: in the north, we use *to late*, to invite; to dether—to quake for cold."]

82. 1694. Unknown. Article [in] *Gentleman's Journal*, London,
April, 1694, p. 82.

The Miscellaneous Letters, and Essays on several subjects directed to Mr. Dryden, and several other eminent men of the age are design'd

by their variety to please. . . . The Author therefore has taken care to gratify ev'ry one in his way. In the critical Part, *Shakespear, Cowley, Waller, &c.* are defended, against those who have attack'd their Excellence. The world has been sensible that *Shakespear* has a great many faults, but it does not follow, that therefore he has no Excellencies. Mr. *Rymer* has a little too violently inforc'd the Errors of this excellent Poet, and levell'd him with the most despicable Poetasters. This Gentleman who opposes him has endeavour'd to set his faults in a juster light, and to vindicate his Excellencies.

[The pagination is confused: this comes from the second page 82, following page 98.]

- 83. 1694. Unknown.** *Innocui Sales: a Collection of New Epigrams*, London, 1694, p. 16.

In *Shakespear* read the Reason mixt with Rage,
When *Brutus* with fierce *Cassius* does engage
In loud expostulations in the Tent,
The heights of Passion, Turns, and the Descent
Observe, and what th' art likely to despise,
Is that in which th' Excellence chiefly lies.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury in *Notes and Queries*, November 4, 1911, p. 365.]

- 84. 1698. Pix, Mrs. Mary.** *Queen Catharine: or the Ruins of Love.* A Tragedy as it is acted at the New Theatre in Little-Lincolns-Inn-Field, By His Majesty's Servants. Written by Mrs Pix, London, MDC XCVIII.

PROLOGUE

Spoken by Mr. Batterton

*A heavy English Tale to day, we show
As e'er was told by Hollingshead or Stow,
Shakespear did oft his Countries worthies chuse,
Nor did they by his Pen their Lustre lose.
Hero's revive thro' him, and Hotspur's rage,
Doubly adorns and animates the Stage:
But how shall Women after him succeed,
And what excuse can her presumption plead.
Who with enervate voice dares wake the mighty
dead;*

[F. J. Furnivall.]

85. 1699. Brown Mr., &c. *A Collection of Miscellany Poems, Letters, &c.* By Mr. Brown &c., London, 1699, pp. 318, 327, 338.

[p. 318] Then, when we have mix'd all these noble ingredients, which, generally speaking, are as bad as those the Witches in *Mackbeth* jumble in the caldron together to make a Charm, we fall too contentedly, and sport off an afternoon.

[p. 327] I can answer for nobody's palat but my own: and cannot help saying With the fat Knight in *Harry the Fourth*, If sack and sugar is a sin, the Lord have mercy on the wicked.

[p. 338] Even that Pink of Courtesie, Sir *John Falstaff* in the Play, who never was a niggard of his lungs, yet wou'd not answer one word when the *must* was put upon him. 'Were Reasons,' says that affable Knight, 'as cheap as Blackberries I wou'd not give you one upon compulsion,' which is but another word for Duty.

[Mr. G. Thorn-Drury, *Notes and Queries*, March 12, 1910, p. 204.]

86. 1700. Unknown. To the Memory of John Dryden Esq [in] *Luctus Britannici*, London, 1700, p. 36.

Methinks I see the Reverend Shades prepare
With Songs of Joy, to waft thee through the Air
Where *Chaucer*, *Johnson*, *Shakespear*, and the rest,
Kindly embrace their venerable Guest.

[*Chaucer Allusions*, 1914, p. 287, ed. C. F. E. Spurgeon.]

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JOHN MUNRO

OXFORD

ON THE DATE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF *PERICLES*

Although *Pericles* (first published in 1609) is a play of problems, scholars are now virtually agreed in believing that the drama substantially as it has come down to us was acted before May 20, 1608, the date of its entry on the Stationers' Register, and that the version so acted represents the reworking of an earlier drama on the Pericles story. Some scholars, indeed, believe that they can date this earlier production with some accuracy and determine its authorship with considerable certainty. Fleay, for example, affirms that *Pericles* was originally produced by Wilkins for the Globe, in 1606, and ridiculed in *The Puritan*, entered on the Stationers' Register in August, 1607.¹ In his *Introduction to Shakespearean Study* (p. 28), he argues that *The Puritan* was written in 1606, since July 13 is mentioned in the drama as falling on a Sunday, the case in the years 1600, 1606, 1612. This theory, if accepted, would assign Wilkins' *Pericles* to rather an early date in 1606.

A later theory is the one advanced by H. T. Baker,² that Wilkins, ca. 1607, wrote a complete drama on Pericles, probably using as his sources two dramas of the late sixteenth century, one dealing with Pericles and his wife, the other with the fortunes of Marina (p. 112). After Wilkins had disposed of his drama to the King's Company, thinks Baker, the company turned it over to Shakespeare for revision; and Wilkins in turn anticipated the publication of the play by publishing, in 1608, his novel based essentially on his own version of the drama. The revival of interest in the Pericles subject late in 1607 and in 1608, he believes, was probably due to the reprinting of Twine's *Patterne of Painfull Adventures* in 1607.

Now, although D. L. Thomas³ has given some very strong reasons for thinking that Wilkins had not anything to do with the play *Pericles*, and although Fleay's idea that the drama of Wilkins was

¹ *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 58.

² *PMLA*, XXIII, 109 ff.

³ *Eng. Stud.*, XXXIX, 210 ff.

parodied in *The Puritan* (1606) is by no means convincing,¹ nevertheless there is some reason for believing that a play on Pericles was acted by the King's Company late in 1606 or early in 1607. In the event of such a performance, the reprinting of Twine's *Painfull Adventures* in 1607, instead of renewing the interest in the matter of Pericles, would be the result of a renewal of interest attending the performance of the play; and the view of Baker and Brandes regarding the transaction, as described above, between Wilkins and the King's Company would be seriously shaken.

What evidence, then, have we for the performance of a *Pericles* late in 1606 or early in the following year?

In 1617 Foscariini, the Venetian ambassador, was tried for the neglect of his ambassadorial duties. One of the accusations brought against him was that he attended public comedies in England, and sometimes stood among the people in order to get a glimpse of a "spiritual daughter" of a certain monk.² On April 17, 1617, a certain interpreter, one Odoardo Guatz, testified that he believed "all the ambassadors who have come to England have gone to the play more or less." And obviously giving a concrete illustration of a Venetian ambassador who attended the regular theater, he affirmed that "Giustinian went with the French ambassador and his wife to a play called *Pericles*, which cost Giustinian more than 20 crowns. He also took the Secretary of Florence."³

Now let us try to determine as nearly as possible the date of this occurrence. Zorzi Giustinian arrived as ambassador in London on January 5, 1606;⁴ he was recalled August 16, 1608;⁵ he left London November 23, 1608.⁶ Boderie, the French ambassador, arrived at

¹ The "parody" of *Pericles* referred to by Fleay is the revival of Corporal Oath in V, ii, which parodies the scene of Thaisa's recovery; i.e., a corporal wounded in the leg and then drugged—a ruse planned early in the play for the sake of the plot—is a parody of a lady put into a coffin and revived by means of medicine and music. There are no verbal similarities between the two scenes, no similarities in general situation or in details such as would inevitably be the case in parody or burlesque. If the scene in *The Puritan* is parody at all, then there is no reason for considering it a parody of Thaisa's recovery any more than a parody of various other resuscitations—Wyt's recovery in *Wyt and Science*, for example, or the revival of St. George through the agency of the doctor in English folk drama.

² *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1615–17, p. 599.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 600.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1603–7, pp. 310–11.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1607–10, p. 160.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

London on May 16, 1606;¹ he remained in England on his first mission for some time after the Venetian had returned to Italy. Boderie's wife, who before her marriage to him in 1595 had been married to Pierre de Hacqueville, was, as the result of her popularity at court, a great help to her second husband in ascertaining English conditions.² Whether she came over to England with her husband in May, 1606, I do not know, but she was certainly in London early in April of the following year; and she had been there long enough to become a favorite at court.³ Evidently she remained with her husband until his return to France.⁴

Giustinian seems early to have been on intimate terms with the Frenchman. On May 18, 1606, for example, he wrote that Boderie had arrived and "has publicly announced his intention of maintaining a close and perfect understanding with me. . . . I sent my secretary to him, and as soon as the formal reception is over I will visit him myself."⁵ Before May 31 he had visited the French representative.⁶ Boderie's letter of June 3, 1606, implies more or less intimacy between himself and Giustinian (*Ambassades*, I, 76-77); a few days later Boderie and Giustinian were placed in the same compartment on their visit to Parliament (*ibid.*, 95); and late in 1606 the relationship between the two seems to have been exceptionally close, a circumstance largely due to their common animosity to the Spanish ambassador and their jealousy of Spain in the matter of precedence at courtly functions. On February 15, 1607, Giustinian referred to "the French ambassador with whom I am on intimate terms."⁷ The performance, then, referred to above, must have taken place after May 18, 1606; and there is no reason why Giustinian should not have invited the Frenchman and his wife to a play in November or December of 1606, or early in 1607.

The Secretary of Florence referred to by Guatz is apparently Lotto, agent of the Grand Duke of Tuscany.⁸ Molin, in his English

¹ *Ibid.*, 1603-7, p. 351.

² *Ambassades de la Boderie*, ed. 1750, pp. xxxvi-xxxix.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 144.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 310, 349; III, 122, 224.

⁵ *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1603-7, p. 351.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 354.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 466.

⁸ Cf. *Wotton*, ed. of Smith, I, 388, note 2.

report drawn up in 1607,¹ affirms that the Duke of Tuscany kept a secretary at the English court, "but without letters of credence, though he is recognized and honoured as a secretary. His charming manners render him highly agreeable to the King." He seems to have been in England as early as May, 1606.² Just when he was withdrawn from James's court, I have been unable to ascertain, but it seems that he was in England as late as March 4, 1608. Speaking on this date of the *petite guerre* which seemed to be inevitable between England and Florence, Boderie writes that the Florentine Secretary was called before the English counselors and informed of the fact that six large ships were to be sent to make war on his native city.³

The Secretary of Florence, then, was apparently in England during the entire period of Giustinian's residence there, but it seems hardly likely that the Venetian during the latter part of his embassy would have invited Duke Ferdinand's representative to a public performance in company with the French ambassador. From August, 1607, until his death, the Duke of Tuscany was very unpopular in England;⁴ hence it is not probable that after this date, Giustinian, who was extremely eager to retain the good will of James, and who himself was apparently somewhat jealous of Tuscany, would have invited to a public spectacle the representative of an unpopular sovereign. In August, 1606, however, Giustinian's acquaintance with the Florentine's affairs implies a certain amount of intimacy. On August 10, for instance, he wrote that the "Grand Duke's secretary is doing all he can to obtain leave to raise the crews for two large ships which his master has bought at Amsterdam,"⁵ and on August 24 he informed the Doge and Senate that the court had refused the secretary's request.⁶ As we shall see later, there is a special reason why Giustinian should have invited the Secretary of Florence to a performance of *Pericles* late in 1606 or early in the following year.

If, then, we believe, for reasons given above, that Giustinian took the French ambassador and the secretary of the Grand Duke

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1603-7, p. 520.

² *Ibid.*, p. 240.

³ *Ambassades*, III, 154.

⁴ *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1607-10, pp. 29 ff.; Smith's edition of Wotton, I, 387; Boderie, *Ambassades*, III, 154; IV, 72-73.

⁵ *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1603-7, p. 385.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 394.

to *Pericles* before August, 1607, the occurrence must have taken place between May 18, 1606, and the date just given. The time of the Venetian's special performance can be further restricted, for, as we have already seen, the play was given in a regular theater. Now an examination of the table of plague deaths prepared by Murray¹ reveals the fact that the death-rate in London from the plague exceeded thirty between the week ending July 10, 1606, and the week ending November 13, 1606; and as Murray has pretty conclusively shown,² the London theaters from *ca.* 1603 to *ca.* 1608 were regularly closed whenever the weekly death-rate exceeded thirty. From November 13 to December 4, however, fewer than thirty people a week died of the plague in London; and on November 16 Giustinian wrote that the plague had ceased and that Parliament had been summoned.³ On December 4 the death-rate had again exceeded thirty. Such remained the case until January 1, 1607. Notwithstanding this fact Parliament remained in session, and the King's Company, which had returned from the provinces, acted nine plays at court between December 26, 1606, and February 27, 1607.⁴

A question of importance to us is whether the theaters remained closed during the two weeks, November 20 to December 4, or whether they opened soon after November 20, and remained open during the period between December 4 and the following January 8. Murray inclines to the former view.⁵ But he is hardly consistent; for on the same page he writes: "Though on five occasions the weekly death-rate from the plague reached thirty between January 8 and July 9, 1607, it seems probable that the theatres remained open. From July 9 to Nov. 19, however, the plague was more severe and the players were forced to travel." It is perhaps impossible to settle the matter definitely, but it seems to me just as probable that the King's Company, returning hastily to London late in November, 1606, as soon as the death-rate fell below thirty, were allowed to perform throughout December in preparation for the Christmas performances. At any rate, the plague was not considered sufficiently severe

¹ *Eng. Dram. Companies*, II, 186.

⁴ *Murray*, I, 151.

² *Ibid.*, II, 171 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*

³ *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1603-7, 430.

to interfere with the meeting of Parliament during the period in question or with the Christmas revels at the court.

Assuming for the moment, then, that the King's Company was acting in London from *ca.* November 16 to January 1, 1607, what special reason presents itself why the Venetian ambassador should have paid more than twenty crowns for the performance of *Pericles* during this particular period? The story is a rather long one; various details must be set forth.

On October 19, 1606, Giustinian acknowledged the receipt of a dispatch from the Doge instructing him to buy ten thousand *stara* of good English grain to be shipped to Venice. "I must inform you," he says, "that for this exportation I shall require the royal warrant, which I shall take care to obtain so as to avoid the trouble that overtook the Grand Duke's agents in a similar affair."¹ On October 26 he writes that, since grain is rapidly increasing in value, he has already begun to buy; and a part of the grain purchased was some "many days ago" spoken for by the agents of the Duke of Tuscany. "As they are away seeing to the dispatch," he remarks, "I had an opportunity to secure this."² In the purchase of grain, he further observes, he is acting in great secrecy, since the rumor that he is buying grain for Venice, as had been the case with respect to the agents of the Duke of Tuscany, would raise greatly the price of the product desired.³ On November 9 he received orders to buy grain up to the amount of 25,000 *stara*,⁴ and before November 23 he had begged King James in the Doge's name for a license to export. James willingly promised to grant the desired license, but Salisbury, bitterly opposed to exportation, refused his permission and informed Giustinian that he would advise the king against issuing orders "so prejudicial to his country and his subjects," from whom came daily complaints and lamentations on the subject of the exportation of grain.⁵ Salisbury having a second time refused to allow him to ship the grain already purchased, Giustinian wrote on December 7 that he had appealed to the king, urging the royal license on the ground that "the grain was required solely to meet the needs of the Republic, and not, as in

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1603-7, p. 412.

² *Ibid.*, p. 414.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 415.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 428.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 434.

so many cases, to be sold again to the States of the Church and the Kingdom of Naples."¹ Salisbury, however, had spoken to the king on the matter, for James refused the license to export on the grounds that the granting of such a license did not strictly fall inside his province and that the exportation of a considerable amount of grain might occasion riots by the populace.² "I shall see the Earl of Salisbury again on the matter of the leave to export the grain that is already bought," concludes Giustinian. "As the whole matter lies within him I will endeavour to find out some other way by which your Serenity may be served, for this is a country in which you can obtain in one way what could not be obtained in another."

This sounds like bribery. At any rate Giustinian was successful in his labor, for on December 14 he wrote that he had obtained leave to export the grain already purchased; and he is in hopes that later on he may "obtain leave for the rest, when the price is lower." "Would to God," he exclaims, "I had to deal with no other force here than with the excellent King, a model of frankness and sincerity." On or before December 21, he had received the warrant for exportation, though it was necessary to get the document signed twice by the royal hand,³ a process of delay, thinks the Venetian, "done to exaggerate the favour conceded." On January 10, 1607, the ship bearing "600 quarters of corn" set sail for Venice.⁴

Now let us suppose that while Giustinian was strenuously working to accomplish the task discussed above, he should have conceived the idea of having a special presentation of *Pericles*, in which the hero, as a result of relieving by his shipload of corn the citizens of Tarsus, wins their gratitude to such an extent that they erect a statue in his honor and revenge with their own hands the ingratitude of their ruler and his wife toward their benefactor. Let us suppose that he should pay out more than twenty crowns for such a performance, and that he should invite to be present the Secretary of Florence, himself vitally concerned, as may well be implied from the quotations above, in the exportation of grain to Italy. Is it not reasonable to suppose that James and those informed as to Giustinian's desire to get the royal license would, in an age addicted to

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 439.

² *Ibid.*, p. 440.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 447.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 454.

seeing analogies, detect the analogy between the incident in *Pericles* and the situation in England? Would the king, when he heard of Giustinian's performance, fail to see the suggestiveness of such a performance under such circumstances—the opportunity of being to Venice, in a sense, what Pericles was to Tarsus? And would not the populace, after this special performance of *Pericles*, be less inclined toward rioting when it learned that James had charitably signed the warrant for the shipment of English wheat to serve the needs of Venice? The populace, it should be remembered, was greatly in sympathy with Venice in her quarrel with the Pope; as early as June 21, 1606, Boderie wrote (I, 138–39): “Je crois que s'il [Venetian ambassador] vouloit accepter tous les Anglois qui s'offrent d'aller servir la Seigneurie, il tireroit la moitié d'Angleterre.”

If one is convinced that the London theaters remained closed during the period November 20, 1606, to January 8, 1607, then let us suppose that soon after the theaters opened, and about the time when the ship of corn set sail for Venice, Giustinian who, as we have already seen, was in hopes of obtaining ultimately permission to export the full amount of wheat desired by Venice, and who during the period in question was especially anxious¹ to retain the graces of James as a result of the impending trouble between the Curia and the Republic, conceived the plan of showing his appreciation of the greatness of the favor conceded “by England's excellent King, a model of frankness and sincerity,” and that he should invite to be present at a play given with such an intention the Secretary of Florence, who also was quite naturally interested in the matter of exportation. *Pericles* presented at such a time and under such circumstances would assume a topical significance so far as the episode of the corn is concerned; and we may be pretty certain that those acquainted with Giustinian's exportation of grain would see in the play a graceful compliment to their sovereign.

It is possible, too, that in an age eager to detect personalities in dramas the spectators who witnessed *Pericles* with the Venetian ambassador present would detect in the production other details

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1603–7, pp. 460 ff. James openly declared himself in favor of the Republic, and in February, 1607, Giustinian proposed a league between Venice and England (pp. 470, 471). In March, 1607, he wrote that “the King waxes warmer and warmer on behalf of the Republic”; cf. Smith's ed. of Wotton, I, 81 ff.

that tended to suggest King James in connection with the character of Pericles. In Gower, for example, the daughter of the hero is named Thaise; in Twine's *Painfull Adventures* her name is Tharsia; in *Pericles* she is Marina. She was named after the sea, we are told, but it is perhaps worth while to mention in this connection that James had born to him on April 19, 1605, a daughter of whom he was extremely fond. Mary was her name; she died in October, 1607.

In Gower Taliart is ordered by the tyrant king to poison Appolonius; in Twine he is commanded to slay him either with a "sword or poysen." In the play Antiochus suggests that Pericles be poisoned, but a few lines farther on (I, i, 168-69) Thaliard remarks:

If I can get him within my pistol's length,
I'll make him sure enough.

At a performance under such circumstances as those given above, it is at least conceivable that the Elizabethans should associate this incident with the alleged plot, discovered on July 17, 1606, of Neuce and Tommaso de Francchesi against the life of James.¹ In the trial of the men, the expression used by Francchesi, "good pistols and swift horses," was, it may be mentioned, urged as the most damning bit of evidence against the plotter; and as a result it was no doubt familiar enough to the gossipers and news-venders of the time. The government, writes Giustinian on August 2, is thinking of setting Ball free, but the plotter who used the words "a good pistol and a swift horse" will not easily get out of the Tower.²

In Gower the hero attracts the attention of his future bride and her father by his skill at a "game"; in Twine, by his dexterity at tennis. In the play, however, Pericles wins recognition by his prowess in a tournament. Again it is interesting to note in connection with this deviation from the sources an incident that transpired in August, 1606. Late in July, Christian IV, king of Denmark, visited England, where he remained until the following August 21. Just before he left London an elaborate tournament was held in which he and apparently James participated; and Carleton, writing on August 20, refers to the success of Christian in the courtly pastime

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1603-7, p. 375; *ibid.*, *Domestic*, 1603-10, pp. 323-26; Nichols, *Progresses of James*, II, p. 53, note 2; Boderie, *Ambassades*, I, 203 ff.

² *Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1603-7, p. 383.

and the poor showing made by James "at the tilt."¹ On September 6 Giustinian writes that the people of England are clamoring for war with Spain. "And so far have matters gone," he reports, "that at Hampton Court, where the Queen is, a letter has been picked up in which the King is urged to declare war, to leave the chase and turn to arms, and the example of his brother-in-law, the King of Denmark, is cited, who for his prowess at the joust has won golden opinions."² The queen, says Boderie, concealed this letter from James. Boderie comments as follows:³

Si ce Paragon du Roi de Dannemarck est venu à la connoissance de celui-ce, ç'aura bien été pour augmenter la jalouise qu'il avoit déjà conçue a l'encontre de lui; car dès qu'il étoit ici, il reconnut en plusieurs occasions, principalement lorsqu'ils courroient la bague & la lance, que le Peuple lui applaudissoit beaucoup davantage, & ouït, non sans un extrême dépit, deux ou trois fois des voix confuses qui disoient, Ah que n'avons-nous un tel Roi. Et cela joint à quelques remonstrances qui lui voulut faire ledit Roi sur le traitement de la Reine, que celui-ce ne trouva nullement bonnes, a été cause qu'ils ont demeuré moins ensemble que l'un & l'autre au commencement ne faisoient état. Tout cela s'est tenu couvert tandis que ledit Roi a été ici; mais depuis son partement, le temps a fait ce qu'il a coutume de faire.

In a period, then, when the bad showing made by the king at the tournament was fresh in the minds of the people, it is reasonable to think that not only those who witnessed the play with Giustinian as chief spectator, but also James, when he heard of such a performance, would recognize in the martial prowess of Pericles a compliment doubly acceptable in view of the recent showing at the tournament in honor of James's Danish brother-in-law. And during a period, it may be noted, when thrusts at James were apparently rather frequent in the London theaters, flattery of any sort by his players would probably have been very acceptable to His Majesty.

These deviations from Gower and Twine are slight; they may be accounted for in various ways; nevertheless the question arises: Were they made for the purpose of further identifying the James who served Venice in her need with the Pericles who rescued the citizens of Tarsus? Possibly! Possibly they were made at the

¹ *Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, 1603-10, p. 329.

² *Ibid., Venetian*, 1603-7, p. 398.

³ Letter of September 1, 1606; *Ambassades*, I, 310-11.

suggestion of the Venetian ambassador himself; perhaps other changes made for the purpose of identification have disappeared in the play of *Pericles* as it has come down to us.

Now the theory outlined above is, I am aware, incapable of demonstration. I am aware, too, that certain objections to such a theory will inevitably arise. It seems somewhat strange, for example, that neither Giustinian nor Boderie refers to this performance mentioned by Guatz. If the play had diplomatic significance, then why this silence? We can only say that probably neither considered it of sufficient importance to his sovereign to be included in official dispatches, and that both ambassadors certainly did attend performances which had political or diplomatic significance but which are not mentioned in their reports. Again, no amount of warping, however vigorous, can make the story of Pericles as a whole analogous to the career of James I. It is not a question, however, whether the story as a whole is applicable to a succession of events in England, but a question whether one particular event in a play presented under special circumstances and at a particular time would assume a topical significance to a people eager to discern the topical element in the literature of the period.

It may be said in this connection that the story of Daniel's *Philotas* as a whole bears no resemblance to the career of Essex, still the Elizabethans "through the ignorance of the History," says the author, saw a resemblance between the two in various details. Hayward's life of Henry IV does not resemble as a whole the reign of Elizabeth, nevertheless when it appeared in 1599, the author, as a result of its suggestiveness in connection with this same Earl of Essex, was involved in serious trouble;¹ Shakespeare's *Richard II* contains no perceptible similarities as a whole to the events of English history during the reign of Elizabeth, but when it was presented during the Essex agitation of 1601, the queen saw in Richard a portrait of herself; it is difficult to see how Fulke Greville's tragedy on Antony and Cleopatra could have been regarded as a topical play, nevertheless it was "sacrificed to the fire," we are informed, because the author feared that his treatment of the lovers might be suspected of touching upon "the vices in the present governors and

¹ *Letters of Chamberlain*, Camden Soc., p. 48.

government." The story of Pericles, let me repeat, is as a whole radically different from the story of the reign of James I. In spite of this fact, however, is it unreasonable to believe that Giustinian, when he paid out more than twenty crowns for a performance of *Pericles*, had a definite diplomatic object in view and that this definite object was appreciated by the king and all those connected with the exportation of grain for the needs of the Republic?

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JOHN RASTELL'S DRAMATIC ACTIVITIES

Discoveries by Mr. Plomer of depositions in certain lawsuits involving John Rastell have established some interesting facts in Rastell's life:¹ that during the years 1520-35, when his printing-house was "at the sygne of the mearemayd next to pollys gate," Rastell, leaving his printing business to his aids, resided much of the year at his home in Finsbury Fields; that some time previous to 1526 he had erected in his "ground beside Finsbury" a stage for players, which, if we may judge from the mention of "board, timber, lath, nail, sprig and daubing" was no makeshift; that ten elaborate players' garments of colored silks and rich cloths, besides curtains and other stuffs, were prepared for Rastell, Mistress Rastell assisting tailors at the work; and that these costumes, according to the testimony of one witness in the lawsuit, had been "occupied three or four years in playing and disguising" before Rastell, leaving for France, lent them to one Walton.

In this theatrical venture of Rastell's there seems to have been a definite purpose, which probably produced definite literary results in the plays he wrote and printed. Rastell's letter to Cromwell near the end of his life expresses his spirit and purpose: "I regard ryches as much as I do chypps, save only to have a lyffyng to lyff out of det; . . . But I desyre most so to spend my tyme to do somewhat for the commyn welth, as God be my Juge."² The same ideal is set forth by the Messenger who speaks the Prologue in *The Nature of the Four Elements*, written by Rastell not long before 1520, that is, around the time when he must have inaugurated his theatrical venture.³ A desire to educate the people and to promote a worthy literature in the English tongue is also strongly expressed in this

¹ H. R. Plomer in *Bibliographica*, II, 437-51, and *Trans. of Bibliographical Soc.*, IV, 155-57. The papers concerning Rastell's stage are printed in full by A. W. Pollard in *Fifteenth Century Prose and Verse*, pp. 307-21, a volume of the new "English Garner."

² Ellis, *Original Letters*, 3d Series, II, 311.

³ Professor Wallace's argument in *Evolution of the Drama*, p. 16, note, that Bale's use of the word *edidit* in mentioning the play under Rastell's name does not indicate authorship is without value, for, as Professor Manly points out to me, Bale employs the word in various works to indicate authorship.

Prologue. In the same spirit Rastell simplified history, choosing chiefly facts of English history, and published his work in 1529 under the title *The Pastime of People*. His publication of plays seems to have been inspired by the same purpose, and I think it probable that he either wrote or helped to write for his own stage the majority of the plays published by him. Disregarding detailed internal evidence for Rastell's authorship of several of these plays, I wish simply to suggest here briefly the possibility that a number of the plays from Rastell's press owe at least their inception to his plan for a stage that should profit his community.

The interlude *Of Gentylnes and Noblyte* ends with the statement: "Johēs rastell me fieri fecit." Mr. Pollard takes this to refer, not to printing, but at least to production and probably to joint authorship,¹ and I believe that he is correct. In tone and in the instruction for the common people this play accords exactly with Rastell's plans. *Calisto and Melebea* concludes, "Johēs rastell me imprimi fecit," and Professor Gayley remarks that Rastell perhaps wrote the play as well as caused it to be printed.² Certainly its suitability to Rastell's program seems to me hardly fortuitous. *Calisto and Melebea* belongs to a series of translated or adapted plays printed by Rastell, all of which might have been utilized for his stage.³ There is at least strong reason for believing that Rastell and some associate⁴ translated the *Andria* of Terence, published, presumably by Rastell, about 1520. The following passages from the Prologue of *The Four Elements* and the Epilogue of *Andria* are so similar⁵ and express Rastell's aims so well that I judge the *Andria* passage to be from his pen:

¹ Gayley, *Representative English Comedies*, I, 8.

² *Ibid.*, p. lxviii.

³ Rastell's natural assistants in the work of adapting these plays would be the members of More's household or group. Cf. Watson, *Vives and the Renascence Education of Women*, for the activity of the More household at this period in translating into English works dealing with the instruction of women. *Calisto and Melebea* may be a product of the same zeal.

⁴ The translators are constantly spoken of in the plural in the Prologue and the Epilogue. These two parts are printed in Flügel's *Neuenglisches Lesebuch*, pp. 96-99, and an extract from the play itself in Collier's *Hist. Dram. Poetry* (1831), II, 365, n.

⁵ The Prologue of *Andria* enforces the similarity between the two statements.

Four Elements

But though the matter be not so well
declaryd
As a great clerke coude do nor so sub-
stancyall
Yet the auctour
The grekes the romayns with many
other mo
In their moder tonge wrot warkes ex-
cellent
Than yf clerkes in this realme wolde
take payn so
Consyderyng that our tonge is now
suffycyent
To expoun any hard sentence euydent
They myght yf they wolde in our eng-
lyshe tonge
wryte workys of grauyte somtyme
amonge
. . . .
Than yf connynge laten bokys were
translate
In to Englyshe wel correct and appro-
bate
All subtell sciens in englyshe myght be
lernyd.

Andria

And for this thiſ is broughte ito thēglishe
tong
We pray you all not to be discontent
For the laten boke which hath be vsyd
so long
Was translate owt of greke this is euy-
dent
And sith our english tong is now suffi-
cient
The matter to expresse we think it best
alway
Before english men in english it to play.

Yet they think thē self that this thing
haue done
Not able to do this sufficiently
But for it shuld be a prouocacion
To them that can do it more substan-
cyally
To translate this agayn or some other
comedy
For the erudicōn of them that will lern.

The English translation of Lucian's *Necromantia* which Rastell printed along with the Latin may also be from his pen. According to the title, the work is a "dialog of the poet Lucyān, for his fantesye faynyd for a mery pastyme"—perhaps an indication that it was intended for dramatic performance—and was "translated out of Laten into Englisshe for the erudicion of them, which be disposyd to lerne the tongis." The choice of Lucian may have been due to More's earlier translation of Lucian into Latin. Finally, the fragment of *The Prodigal Son*, translated from a Latin dialogue of Textor, is ascribed to Rastell's press and to the decade with which we are dealing. It is sufficient to say that all these translations admirably fit Rastell's purpose in his stage venture and that such work is quite in keeping with his compilation from various sources for *The Pastime*.

of *People* and *The Four Elements*.¹ Rastell and his collaborators, whoever they were, aimed, not at originality, but at instruction.

Though a strong didactic purpose in the drama would seem to associate Rastell with the old spirit of the moralities, and though *The Four Elements* is in method clearly under the influence of the moralities, Rastell's affiliations are with the new spirit of humanism, which furnished much of the material even for *The Four Elements*. It is true that Rastell probably lacked an intense passion for profound learning and for church reform; but all the plays which may be associated with his name deal with themes or are drawn from sources indicating a humanistic outlook, and the hint of the reformer's spirit in his plays is all the more significant when we remember that, in spite of the powerful influence of his brother-in-law More, Rastell finally allied himself with the Reformation. Whether or not Rastell 'was as important a figure in the early Tudor drama as I have implied, passages from his undisputed writings reveal him as one of the finest spirits produced by the impulses of the New Learning. He was seemingly the earliest outspoken champion of the vernacular; he was far more democratic than the group of greater men whose names are especially associated with the humanistic movement; he was the first of the Englishmen who showed a zeal for employing the drama to spread the newer ideals of the age—a zeal which was quenched only by the Puritans of Elizabeth's reign. At the same time, his efforts were tempered by a sweet reasonableness lacking in many Continental champions of a new Christian drama, and notably in his countryman Bale, who also used the vernacular to broaden his appeal.

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¹ Skelton's *Magnificence*, printed by Rastell, was written seemingly near the time when Rastell began the work of producing plays, and may have been presented on his stage. The fragment of *Lucrece* is probably another work from Rastell's press which, though suited to his didactic purpose, was independent of his suggestion. The title given by Halliwell-Phillipps from an old edition corroborates in some details Creizenach's conclusions as to source (*Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XLVII, 200, 201). Halliwell-Phillipps ascribes the play to Medwall and to a date about 1490.

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THE RHYTHMIC FORM OF THE GERMAN FOLK-SONGS

I

FOREWORD

For nearly a century and a half, folk-songs have engaged the interest and enthusiasm of lovers of the beautiful. This interest was in the start, as is well known, one of the many ramifications of the "back to nature" movement of the Rousseau period. In Germany, Herder was perhaps the most prominent of the early apostles of the folk-songs. Bürger, Goethe, and others followed Herder's leading, and in due time large collections of folk-songs were published and the interest broadened and deepened.

But the folk-song enthusiasm did not cease with the making of collections. Many of Germany's lyric poets—Arndt, Rückert, Fouqué, Körner, Uhland, Eichendorff, Müller, Heine, and others—were inspired by the simple beauty of these homespun songs, and their own lyric productions reflect that beauty. None who feels the song rhythm and the artless, simple beauty of such poems as "Sah ein Knab ein Röslein stehn," "Ich kenn' ein Blümlein wunderschön," "Droben stehet die Kapelle," "Ich hatt' einen Kameraden," "Du bist wie eine Blume," or of a hundred other equally beautiful lyrics of the last decades of the eighteenth and the first decades of the nineteenth centuries, and who contrasts them with the stereotyped, barren, uninspired productions of a century earlier, will deny what a boon the folk-songs have been to Germany's lyric poetry.

I wish to call attention here to one condition accompanying this reawakening of interest in the songs of the people. It was not,
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properly speaking, an interest in their *songs*, but in the *texts* of their songs; in *Volksdichtung* rather than *Volkslieder*. The collectors, from Herder on, rent melody and words asunder, discarded the former, and presented the latter as "folk-songs."¹ And it was these printed tuneless poems that became, in the main, the source of inspiration for the lyricists.

But melody-less collections of folk-songs are now no longer made. The period when folk-song texts were an inspiration to lyricists has in the main passed by. It is now the philologists, in their critical studies on the folk-songs and their effect on lyric poetry, who are the perpetuators of the "folk-poetry" idea; and its traces are easily found in many critical works even to the present day.²

Now when the philologist's purpose has been that of determining the nature of the folk-song influence on the productions of the lyric poets, this traditional attitude has been, in one respect at least, a disadvantage. For such investigation must needs cover not only the subject of *content* but that of *form* as well. And how can one understand thoroughly the folk-song forms without considering also their musical rhythm, their melodic aspect? But when the investigator's purpose is to determine primarily the nature of the folk-songs themselves, the disadvantage becomes infinitely more acute. Under such circumstances the melodies are absolutely indispensable.

That the philologists have realized this disadvantage (without, however, having striven seriously to overcome it) seems attested by the scant treatment which they have accorded to "form." There have appeared, for example, no such thorough analyses of the

¹ Herder's "Die Stimmen der Völker," Nicolai's "Kleyner feyner Almanak," Arnim and Brentano's "Des Knaben Wunderhorn," and Uhland's "Alte hoch- und nieder-deutsche Volkslieder," for instance, which were among the earliest influential collections, contained not a note of music.

² The following are a few studies of the type mentioned: Max Freiherr von Waldberg, *Goethe und das Volkslied*, Berlin, 1889; Karl Bode, "Die Bearbeitungen der Vorlagen in des Knaben Wunderhorn," *Palaestra*, LXXVI, Berlin, 1909; Susanne Engelmann, *Der Einfluss des Volksliedes auf die Lyrik der Befreiungskriege* (Heidelberg dissertation), Berlin, 1909; Georg Hassenstein, *Ludwig Uhland, seine Darstellung der Volksdichtung und das Volkstümliche in seinen Gedichten*, Leipzig, 1887; Paul Beyer, "Über die frühesten Beziehungen Heinrich Heines zum deutschen Volksliede," *Euphorion*, 18, Heft 1; Aug. W. Fischer, *Über die volkstüm. Elemente in den Gedichten Heines*, Breslau, 1905; J. H. Heinzelmann, *The Influence of the German Folkslied on Eichendorff's Lyrik* (University of Chicago dissertation), Leipzig, 1910; P. S. Allen, "Wilhelm Müller and the German Folkslied," *The Journal of Germanic Philology*, II, No. 3; III, No. 1; III, No. 4; H. Lohre, "Von Percy zum Wunderhorn," *Palaestra*, XXII, Berlin, 1902; J. Suter, *Das Volkslied und sein Einfluss auf Goethes Lyrik*, Aarau, 1897.

rhythmic likenesses existing between Heine's lyric poetry and the folk-songs, as have appeared with regard to a hundred different details of his folk-song-influenced poetic style and diction. The treatises of the philologists make note of the "simple meters," "singable" movements, strophic forms, and the like which they "have found also among the folk-songs," all of which is good as far as it goes. But such notes are at best merely fragmentary. They yield us no definite and complete concept of the folk-song forms.¹

That there have been perfectly good reasons for not considering the folk-song *in its entirety* goes without saying. Of one very evident reason—that of the entire absence of melodies from the earlier collections—I have already spoken. But there is a more fundamental reason, one which explains, I am convinced, also the lack of melodies in those earlier collections, namely, the ever-growing modern tendency to look on all literature as *printed words*, solely, which are to be *read* or *recited*. This universal obsession of the easily printed and easily read word has had great influence, I believe, in aiding *read* literature to gain its complete ascendancy and its complete dominance over *sung* literature. It seems to me that the printing-press may thus be reckoned as one of those modern factors which have converted a literature, some genres of which used to be sung, into one of almost exclusively read or recited genres.

The fostering of this all-powerful printed word has, of course, brought into existence an army of specialists who have become comparative strangers to their brother-specialists in music and who are naturally reluctant to enter the latter's field—even though such entrance be necessary, as it is in the study of that *exceptional* literary genre, the folk-song.

The printed word has also made it hard if not impossible for us moderns, who are so used to *seeing* printed lyric poetry without melodies and notated melodies either without text or at best with it printed below the notation, and who seldom if ever *hear* a real

¹ That the failure to consider also the music side of sung poetry reduces the usefulness of critical works on such poetry is recognized by Heinrich Rietsch, *Die deutsche Liedweise* (Wien und Leipzig, 1904), §§ 21 and 22, and J. B. Beck, *Die Melodien der Troubadours und Trouvères* (Strassburg, 1908), pp. 1 ff. and 193. Cf. also E. Stolte, "Metrische Studien über das deutsche Volkslied," *Program, Realgymnasium Crefeld*, 1883, p. 44; Pierre Aubry, *Trouvères and Troubadours* (translation by Claude Aveling) (New York: Schirmer, 1914), p. 2; and J. Tiersot, *Sixty Folk-Songs of France* (Boston: Ditson, 1915), p. x.

folk-song in its native environment, to realize the full import of the "oneness" of these elements. But once the real folk-song is heard, the unity becomes clear. I remember, for instance, my mother's lullaby:



Sleep, Ba - by, sleep! etc.

(which, fortunately, I have never seen in print) as one of the very few experiences in my life which have helped me to conceive the real essence of the folk-song. I have never thought of that lullaby as melody *and* text. Both elements are inseparably welded in my concept of the song. Both started at the same time on my mother's lips and both died away in the same breath. I can't see how such a song could have come into existence on the "instalment plan"—tune first, then the words, or vice versa.

But conditions are changing. Music notation is now printed in movable-type. The melodies which are found in most of the more recent collections of folk-songs divide the attention of students with the texts, though as yet the division has been unequal. And the study of the form of the folk-songs, in the light of these melodies, has started.

Franz M. Böhme has made, as an appendix to his *Altdeutsches Liederbuch* (Leipzig, 1877), a classification, though a somewhat superficial one, of the strophic forms appearing in his collection of melodies with texts. Stolte¹ has brought out several features of the folk-song rhythm and has very properly considered them, in constant association with their melodic aspects, as *music-rhythmic* characteristics. Blümml² has given us a good analysis of the real rhythm of the *Schnaderhüpfel*. And Brandsch³ has analyzed the rhythmic phenomenon appearing in many recent folk-songs and resulting from an attempt to fit the pentameter to melody. This is practically all that has been done on the folk-song as such.

¹ E. Stolte, "Metrische Studien über das deutsche Volkslied," *Program, Realgymnasium Crefeld*, 1883.

² E. K. Blümml, "Das kärntner Schnaderhüpfel, eine rhythmische Studie," *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. d. Sprache u. Litt.*, XXXI (1905), Heft 1.

³ Gottlieb Brandsch, "Ein Beitrag zur Entwicklungsgesch. d. neueren d. Volksliedes," *Archiv d. Vereins f. siebenb. Landeskunde*, XXXIV (1907), 241 ff.

Also the historians of music have contributed to a better understanding of the folk-song melodies. And though they have not focused directly on the latter, the labor of such scholars as Rietsch,¹ Riemann,² Beck,³ van Duyse,⁴ Fillmore,⁵ and Friedländer⁶ has shed a deal of light on the nature of the folk-song melodies.

So it is with this aid that we undertake what none of them, musician or philologist, has yet attempted—to make a comprehensive analysis of the folk-song forms.

Why should such an analysis be made? The reason which seems to me to be of first import is that it will become an aid in determining the nature of that one unquestioned characteristic of the folk-songs, singableness, *Singbarkeit*, or, better, *Sangbarkeit*; and will thus help to answer the perplexing question, "What is a folk-song?"

When this question is answered—at least as far as rhythmic form is concerned—it will be easier for students of lyric "art"-poetry to determine more definitely the nature of its inheritance, in matters of form, from the folk-songs.

It is with the hope that I may be able to provide such a contribution that I have undertaken this study of the rhythmic form of the German folk-songs.

With purpose stated, the next step might well be to outline the material and mode of procedure. The more recent folk-song collections, which include also the melodies, furnish us with rich material. For the present purposes I have selected probably the best and largest of these, the three-volume *Deutscher Liederhort* (hereinafter referred to as Hort), a collection of some two thousand folk-songs from the earliest to the most recent times, made by Franz Magnus Böhme (Leipzig: Breitkopf u. Härtel, 1893), based on, and forming a continuation of, the monumental labors of the great collector Ludwig Erk. To something like a thousand of these songs the melodies also

¹ Heinrich Rietsch, *Die deutsche Liedweise*, Wien und Leipzig, 1904.

² Hugo Riemann, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1904–13.

³ Johann B. Beck, *Die Melodien der Troubadours und Trouvères*, Strassburg, 1908.

⁴ Duyse, F. van, *De Melodie van het nederlandscche lied en hare rhythmische vormen*, The Hague, 1902.

⁵ John C. Fillmore, "The Forms Spontaneously Assumed by Folk-Songs," *Music* (Chicago), XII, 289 ff.

⁶ Max Friedländer, *Das deutsche Lied im 18. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols., Stuttgart und Berlin, 1902.

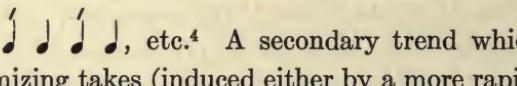
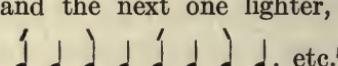
are reproduced. It is these songs, and these only, that will form the material for this investigation.

As to method there is little to say. It is, of course, mainly determined by my purpose; and that purpose being to establish the rhythmic characteristics of the folk-songs, the procedure must be one of classifying the form phases of this large body of ungraded songs and of interpreting, as far as possible, the results.¹

MUSIC RHYTHM, ITS NATURE

The first question in beginning a study of rhythm should be: With what kind of rhythm are we dealing? For there are many kinds.² This question must be answered before we may pass on to the consideration of a second one as to the formation of the rhythmic groups.

When a person hears a succession of sounds which are objectively equal in pitch, length, quality, and intervening time intervals, he mentally gathers them, for various reasons (the facilitation of apperception, etc.), into distinct subjective groups. He rhythmizes.³ The most elementary form which such rhythmizing takes has been found by experimental psychologists to be the grouping of the impressions in *twos*, one of which (usually the first) seems heavier; or

graphically:  etc.⁴ A secondary trend which this subjective rhythmizing takes (induced either by a more rapid succession of the objective impressions or by a desire to make the apperception of the slow impressions still easier) is to differentiate the successive elementary groups (of two impressions), making one of the heavier impressions comparatively heavier and the next one lighter, the resulting subjective rhythm being:  etc.⁵

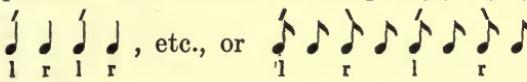
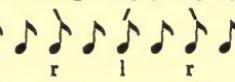
¹ Such a method is warmly advocated by Paul Levy ("Zur Unsicherheit im Begriffe Volkslied," *Germanisch-Romanische Monatshefte*, V, 12. Heft, p. 655; cf. also p. 663) as the only one by which one can come to a clearer understanding of what a folk-song is.

² Cf. for an explanation of this point F. Saran, *Deutsche Verslehre* (München, 1907), pp. 138 ff.

³ Such rhythmizing may be observed when one listens to the tick of a watch or the exhaust of a locomotive.

⁴ Cf. Saran, *op. cit.*, pp. 140 ff.

⁵ Cf. Ernst Meumann, "Beiträge zur Psychologie des Zeitbewusstseins," *Philosophische Studien*, X, 285.

The commonest objective stimulus to such rhythmizing is the human step. If the rhythmizer should accompany his own or any one else's regular tread by the beat of a tom-tom, such beating is quite likely to reflect, not the more nearly perfect regularity of the tread, but rather the rhythmized subjective *notion* of it; that is, the person will drum to the steps *left, right, left, right*, the rhythm  , etc., or  , etc. This represents what is termed *orchestic rhythm* in its most elemental and purest form.¹

But if, in continuing to use the tom-tom, the person sings also, keeping time with words and phrases to the tread of the feet and the beat of the tom-tom, a new element is added thereby to the oresthetic rhythm, namely, *language accent*, or, when measured, as here, *language rhythm*.² Hence we have in march songs and other songs of like character a mixture of two sorts of rhythm—*orchestic* and *language rhythm*.

Now it must be perfectly evident that these two sorts of rhythm are different. Oresthetic rhythm is even and colorless, whereas language rhythm is varied endlessly by such factors as the irregularities in time consumed by different syllables, gradations in loudness, differences in articulation, pauses, relative importance of words, and so on.³ It must, then, also be clear that in the combination of these two kinds of rhythm, as in a march song, there must be a compromise of some sort. Such a compromise does indeed take place; but it is a somewhat one-sided affair. For the oresthetic rhythm is as *rigid* as it is colorless. I might almost say that it is rigid *because* it is so colorless. If it possessed some of the other factors in rhythm, the preservation of its one own characteristic, regularity in the time and heft relations of its successive parts, would not be so imperative. But language, on the other hand, is supple; and it is bent, therefore, to suit the exigencies of the comparatively inflexible oresthetic rhythm. Let me give an example of such a compromise.

¹ Cf. Saran, *op. cit.*, pp. 136, 141 ff., 170.

² There is, indeed, a second element added when one sings—that of tone-succession or successive harmony. But inasmuch as the fundamental character of the rhythm in its shorter groups is not greatly altered by the exigencies of this element, we shall, for the present, omit any consideration of it as a factor.

³ Cf. Saran, *op. cit.*, pp. 93 ff.

The fundamental orcheistic scheme on which the melody of "Ringel, Ringel, Reihe" is based is:  When, however, we fit to this orcheistic frame (which represents simply the beats of the tom-tom) the words of the first verse of the song, "Ringel, Ringel, Reihe," with their language rhythm (as far as it concerns accent crests and syllabic time values) of approximately , the result is that the six syllables of the text are stretched out to coincide, as nearly as possible, with the eight elements of the orcheistic frame, and that the (lingually accented or unaccented) syllables which coincide with the orcheistic crests tend to take on the heft which their orcheistic position demands, giving us the compromise rhythmic form . Or, expressing the procedure more concisely:

Orcheistic rhythm	
plus language rhythm	
becomes	

—an aspect which is not materially altered when, instead of the hypothetical monotone, a melodic sequence of tones is sung, and the children's "round" song is there.²

The rhythmic conditions which obtain in this song obtain also in folk-songs in general; for the latter are, in rhythmic structure, close to the march song and to its near relatives the dance song and the *Reigen*. We may say, then, that *the folk-songs have a compromise rhythm which is strongly orcheistic in character*, and to which we shall refer in the following pages as *music rhythm*.³

¹ I use the symbols  and  to denote respectively a comparatively heavy and a comparatively light rhythmic crest.

² For a more detailed analysis of this sort of mixed rhythm, see Saran, *op. cit.*, pp. 156 ff.

³ We shall endeavor in this work to distinguish between music *rhythm* and music *meter*. There is, to be sure, no definite line between the two. The latter is simply the aggregate of the "essential earmarks"—a part, then—of the former. Cf. Saran, *op. cit.*, pp. 138, 147, and 200 ff. Our investigation is of both, of the "earmarks" and of the "pleasure-giving grouping of sensually perceived processes," as such, in songs—of music *rhythm*.

MUSIC-RHYTHMIC GROUPING

Now that we have answered the question as to what rhythm the folk-song has, let us consider the nature of the *groups*.

We saw above how in *orchestic* rhythm the most elementary grouping of impressions was in twos. We saw also how the next step in the development of rhythm was to consider only the crests as impressions and to group them also in twos, one of which (usually the first) was stressed more than the other. We observed, furthermore, that this *orchestic* grouping became the elemental factor which determined, in the main, the *rhythmic* aspect, at least as far as concerns the sequence of crests and—what is in this connection more to the point—the length and sequence of the rhythmic groups, of the folk-songs. I say “in the main,” for the *orchestic* rhythm does not, as we saw, have its own way absolutely. For the lingual rhythm of the text alters it slightly in various ways. But one principle remains, often in spite of lingual accent—the *orchestic* crests represent the centroids of the smallest music-rhythmic groups. The group of two *orchestic* crests (a heavy and a lighter one, with their accompanying unstressed elements) represents loosely the compass of the next higher music-rhythmic group. And, going on, two (usually, not always) of these two-crest *orchestic* groups—heavy light, heavy light—represent similarly the next higher group in music rhythm, and so on.

The bare, comparatively monotonous *orchestic* rhythm has not the variety of expression which enables it to develop far, if at all, beyond the groups which consist normally of four crests—eight impressions. Music rhythm, however, possesses in addition to its *orchestic* substratum, not only that source of infinite differentiation, language, but also its great auxiliary, melody. In music rhythm, therefore, the possibilities of rhythmizing are much wider. Hence we have, even in the comparatively simple folk-songs, a grouping which very usually goes on to as many as three denominations higher than the four-crest *orchestic* group mentioned above. And each is formed, as a rule, on the same plan as are the shorter groups, that is, by doubling the next smaller group.

But what are we going to call these groups? Perhaps we can approach the answer by eliminating, first, certain terms which we should *not* use as names of rhythmic groups.

For the smallest (one-crest) group we cannot use the term "foot," because, as we shall soon see, no two of them are, even in one and the same series, exactly alike, as feet tend to be. We cannot use "measure" (*Takt*), because that is the name of a definite melodic-metric unit (set off by bars) which may or may not coincide with the music-rhythmic group in question. Suspending decision on a suitable term for the smallest group, let us consider the next larger one. "Hemistich" will not do, for that means simply "half a line" and has no definite rhythmic signification. For the next larger group we have the possibilities "verse," "stich," "line," and "tetrameter." The first three are, for the purposes of denoting a rhythmic group, of no value; for they call one's attention simply to the *printed* page. The fourth would indicate that the group always had four crests, which it has not. The next higher group cannot be called "distich" or "long verse," for it often consists of more than two "stichs," and "long" is an attribute of elastic meaning.

Now that we have ruled out several terms as being undesirable for music-rhythmic purposes, let us see what is to be done in a constructive way. And right here is where we may well look to Saran for suggestion. He saw similar detriments in the traditional German terms denoting "metrical" units. He threw most of them over and adopted a set of terms, some of which were new in the field of rhythm, and to each of which he attached one definite rhythmic meaning.¹ Saran's terms are, for the element (usually a syllable) of all grouping, *Lasche*, and:

For the Groups, from Shortest On	For the Pauses between Two of Such Groups	The Groups Correspond Vaguely With
Glied	Gelenk	Foot
Bund	Fuge	Hemistich
Reihe	Lanke	Verse
Kette	Kehre	Long verse
Gebinde	Wende	(?)
Gesätz	Absatz (No term)	(?)
Strophe		Strophe

That new English terms are as necessary as new German ones, is, I think, perfectly evident. But I have sought in vain for some recent

¹ Cf. Saran, *op. cit.*, pp. 150, 169. He has applied the same terms, I should state, also to the rhythmic divisions of *spoken* verse and even to that of prose, but always with that clear understanding that they apply to the *rhythm* which one *hears* and not to the *printed line* which one *sees* and *scans*. Cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 83 ff.

English study in poetic rhythm, the author of which might have seen the wisdom of adopting such new terms analogous to those of Saran's, thus relieving me of the responsibility for the innovation. I trust, therefore, that the readers of this will not be estranged by the following free versions of some of Saran's terms: "element" (for *Lasche*), "member" (*Glied*), "bond" (*Bund*), "row" (*Reihe*), "chain" (*Kette*), and "set" (*Gesetzt*). For the present I shall not use translations of Saran's names for the rhythmic pauses, preferring, rather, to call a *Gelenk* a "member pause," a *Fuge* a "bond pause," etc. While I shall use these terms in analyzing the rhythm of the folk-songs, still I shall not hesitate to employ also the older nomenclature, when it is in place. When discussing the melody alone, for instance, I shall not refrain from using the terms "measure," "phrase," "period," etc. And when speaking of a graphic *metrical* scheme I shall feel free to consider its "feet."

THE MEMBER

In analyzing the member, as well as the next larger group, the bond, I shall be brief. Such brevity is justified, I believe, by the comparative unimportance of these smallest groups as such. For our purpose is to examine *form*, not *material*—to examine a structure in art, "folk-art" if you please, but *art* nevertheless. The syllables and the *shortest* rhythmic groups of them may be regarded as the material of which this structure (as well as many other kinds of structures—poetry of all genres and prose, even) is made. The peculiar combination and arrangement of this material is, I venture to say, what interests us far more. For such combinations show how the masses have *handled* their (and our and everybody's) material. They show the aesthetic lines along which the folk-poets have proceeded in constructing what was to them a thing of beauty.

The music-rhythmic member has been clearly defined by Saran.¹ And inasmuch as his *Glied* is the "member" of *all* music rhythm, hence also of the folk-song rhythm, I shall make my analysis of this group virtually a brief restatement of his.

Saran defines the member as consisting of one, and one only, accent crest, around which a few trough syllables are likely to be

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 168; cf. also pp. 82 f., 86, 151, 161, 171, and 203.

grouped. The number and placing of such trough syllables vary considerably. Some of the commonest forms of member are:

- a) where the time ratio of the elements is 1:1(:1) as, I, $\downarrow \downarrow$ (rising); II, $\downarrow \downarrow$ (falling); III, $\downarrow \downarrow \downarrow$ (rising-falling);
- b) where the time ratio is 1:2(:1) as, I, $\downarrow \downarrow$ (rising); II, $\downarrow \downarrow$ (falling); III, $\downarrow \downarrow \downarrow$ (rising-falling);
- c) those consisting of only one element, \downarrow .

These and some few other forms, which are in the main sub-varieties of the above, are the building stones, as it were, of the folk-song structure.

In order that we may see some concrete examples of the member, I shall let follow the rows ("verses") of a few folk-songs.

1. Hort¹ No. 1026.

Musical notation in 2/4 time, treble clef. The melody consists of eighth notes and sixteenth notes. Above the staff, there are two horizontal arrows with dots at their ends, indicating melodic movement. Below the staff, the lyrics are written: "Und mit den Hän - den klapp, klapp, klapp," with a hyphen between "Hän" and "den".

2. Hort No. 1349.

Musical notation in common time, treble clef. The melody consists of eighth notes and sixteenth notes. Above the staff, there are two horizontal arrows with dots at their ends. Below the staff, the lyrics are written: "Red - lich ist das deut - sche Le - ben", with a hyphen between "deut" and "sche".

3. Hort No. 354.

Musical notation in 6/8 time, treble clef. The melody consists of eighth notes and sixteenth notes. Above the staff, there are two horizontal arrows with dots at their ends. Below the staff, the lyrics are written: "Und als wir vor Leip - zig sein kom - men", with a hyphen between "vor" and "Leip".

4. Hort No. 578.

Musical notation in 3/8 time, treble clef. The melody consists of eighth notes and sixteenth notes. Above the staff, there are two horizontal arrows with dots at their ends. Below the staff, the lyrics are written: "Du, du, liegst mir im Her - zen," with a hyphen between "im" and "Her".

¹ Erk-Böhme, *Liederhort*.

5. Hort No. 1697.



6. Hort No. 1807.



I denote the members in the foregoing examples, excepting when they consist of but one element, by a $\overbrace{}$. Note, as typical examples, such members as:

<i>und mit,</i>	in No. 1, an example of (a) I.
<i>redlich,</i>	" No. 2, " " " " II.
<i>Und als wir,</i>	" No. 3, " " " " III.
<i>ich hab,</i>	" No. 5, " " " (b) I.
<i>Her-zen,</i>	" No. 4, " " " " II.
<i>din Va-der,</i>	" No. 6, " " " " III.
<i>Du,</i>	" No. 4, " " " (c).

It possibly occurs to the reader to question how we arrive at a determination as to just where to draw the line between two members. By way of answer I may say, simply, that the determining factor is the impression which the sung syllables make on the ear. That is, we seek, between two crest syllables, the nearest approach to a phonetic pause and divide the members there. As to further details in this process I shall let Saran (*op. cit.*, pp. 84 f.) have the floor.

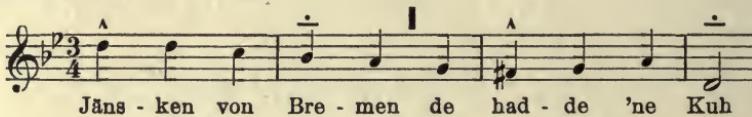
Notice in the foregoing examples how the structure of the member varies, even within one and the same row. It is the continually changing *language aspect* which causes this variability. The members would be much more uniform in structure if the melody were purely instrumental; that is, if the rhythm became more nearly orchestric. These considerations show how futile it would be, in explaining the exact rhythmic character of a folk-song, to speak of its "feet" being "iambic," "trochaic," etc.

THE BOND

The bond consists usually, as we saw above, of two members, and its form is therefore determined by the form of such component members. In short rows, it does not usually stand out prominently as a *definite* group. It is more easily recognizable, however, in the longer rows.

In the above examples, the boundaries of the bonds are designated by **I**. Those examples happen to be of rather short rows; hence their bonds are less distinct as individual groups. The following example, however,

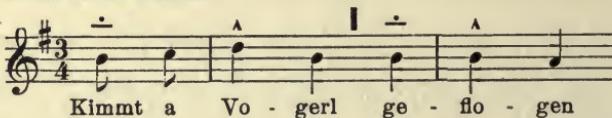
Hort No. 1164.



shows how the bond gains in distinctness in a longer row.

A peculiar and, in the more recent folk-songs, much used form of bond is $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{d} \\ \text{d} \end{smallmatrix}$ $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{d} \\ \text{d} \end{smallmatrix}$ or $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{d} \\ \text{d} \end{smallmatrix}$ $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{d} \\ \text{d} \end{smallmatrix}$, as for instance in Hort No. 1051:

NICHT ZU GESCHWIND.



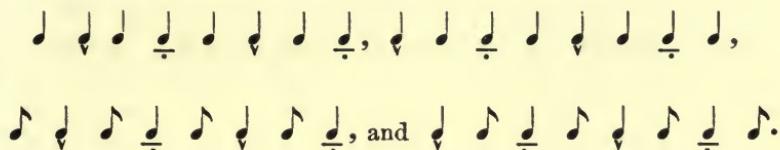
This bond must not be confused with the *member* (of *apparently* similar structure) which we have noted in the music example No. 3 above.¹ I said it does not "usually" stand out as a "definite" rhythmic group, excepting in long rows. This last-mentioned variety is, as must be evident, a notable exception. Saran (*op. cit.*, p. 170) very fitly gives such movements as this, where the bond stands out prominently, the attribute *bundmässig*.

THE ROW

The row is in many ways one of the most important if not *the* most important music-rhythmic group. It consists, usually, of two bonds and therefore of four members. It has then, theoretically

¹ Cf. Rietsch, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Saran, *op. cit.*, pp. 170 and 186; and Stolte, *op. cit.*, pp. 28 ff.

at least, the fundamental types which these component groups (in their elemental orcheistic aspect) give it; namely:



But while these full regular forms are, as a matter of fact, the *bases* of all row formations, there are, in the songs as we find them, many deviations—due to the admixture of lingual accent, etc., and to a music-metric evolution of the fundamental movements—from what strict orcheistic rhythm requires. These deviations give us the various forms of rows which we shall consider below.

As to my method of classing the many different types of row, just a word. I started this work with the vague idea that all rows would fall quite clearly into two main classes: (a) those of two-part movement (where the crest and trough syllables alternate), and (b) those of three-part movement (one crest to two trough syllables). A more thorough acquaintanceship with the row forms has, however, made it clear to me that there are these types and *others*. There are rows which, based on dotted half note , quarter note , are purely two-part, and others—though not many—which, based on $\text{dotted half note} (- \text{quarter note} \text{ quarter note})$ and $\text{dotted half note} (- \text{quarter note} \text{ quarter note})$, are purely three-part. And there are, in addition to these *pure* types, not only rows which are on middle ground between these two types and have a sort of mixture of the two movements, but also those which represent a *further development* of the pure types, especially of the three-part one. But rather than enter here into a discussion of such types, I shall simply say that the classification has, in many instances, been no simple task, and refer the reader to the pages below, where the various forms are defined and discussed.

THE ROW OF TWO-PART MOVEMENT

I should perhaps explain at the start that in the discussion of these “two-part” movements I have included, not only those where

the melodies are in two-part *time* ($\frac{2}{4}$, $\frac{4}{4}$, etc.) and where the metric "foot" has the form, | \downarrow \uparrow |, \downarrow | \downarrow |, etc., but also those where, in spite of a three-part time in the melody ($\frac{3}{8}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{6}{8}$, etc.), the two-part type of foot, or the *single* trough syllable between two crest syllables, | \downarrow \uparrow |, \uparrow | \downarrow |, etc., still persists.

These rows have, as we saw above, at least one characteristic by which they can be classed, and that is their coincidence or non-coincidence with the fundamental orchestric scheme. We must, then, ask the question as to each two-part row: How is the orchestric form filled out? And the answer to this question must class the row.

But there is, *in the interior* of these two-part rows, in general a fairly even alternation of crest and trough, as is demanded by the orchestric foundation. And even when the interior trough occurrence does vary, it is a matter of accident from row to row and seldom becomes typical. It is therefore at the boundaries, at the beginning and at the end, that typical variations from the fundamental types must be sought. At the beginning the only point with which we have to deal is the presence or absence of the beginning trough, *Anfangssenkung* (or, if we are speaking of the melody alone, the "upbeat"). Aside from this one consideration, the beginning is as regular as is the interior of the row. But at the end the variations from the forms demanded by exact orchestric coincidence become more numerous. Let us then first consider in one class the "upbeat" rows, and then in another those which do not possess that characteristic. And let us make our subdivisions of each class according to the fulness or scantiness of the row as indicated by the characteristic form of its end.

BEGINNING WITH TROUGH SYLLABLE (UPBEAT)

No. 1. The scantest row of this type is exemplified by the following:

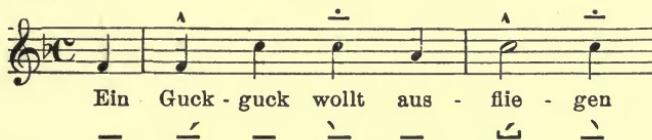
Hort No. 987.

¹ In order to present also the typical *metrical* aspect of the rows more graphically, I shall place below the text, in this section on "The Row," the meter of same in the

It has but three crests and three troughs represented by text syllables. The fourth crest and the trough which precedes it (if we disregard the lengthening of the final syllable) are lacking and their place is taken by a pause. Excepting for this shortness, the row is perfectly normal. As the *first* row of a chain, this type occurs in comparatively few songs,¹ but in its function as the *second* row of a chain it is one of the oftenest used types.²

No. 2. The next longer type, one in which the fourth orcheistic crest is represented by a syllable, though the preceding trough is still lacking, as it was in the row which we have just considered, is exemplified by the following:

Hort No. 483.



It is probably the most widely used type of row. I say "probably" because I am judging simply from the frequency of its appearance in the songs in the *Liederhort* which I have examined. I have found it in 298 songs, whereas its nearest rival for popularity, the type which we shall consider next, is represented in but 270 songs. I shall discuss this further when we consider it as a component part of the next larger rhythmic group, the chain.³

No. 3. The next fuller form, one where that fourth trough is represented by a syllable, is exemplified by the following:

Hort No. 1469.



symbols which are used in the scansion of antique quantitative verses. — = long, ~ = short, L = long +short, w = two longs, m = two longs and one short, x x x x x x etc. = time values of pauses. These symbols will have one special advantage over the music notation, namely, that they will show more clearly the length of the orcheistic pauses at the end of the rows.

¹ Examples may be found in Hort Nos. 304, 326, 392, 598a, 643, 751, 768, 948, 1025, 1088, 1142, 1354, 1393, 1402, 1423, 1510, 1643, 1654, 1676, 1699, 1733, 1785, 1792, 2053, 2079, etc.

² Examples, Hort Nos. 244, 245, 251, 256, 257, 259, 262, 263, 276, 278, 284, 285, 287, 292, 297, 298, 299, 326, 346, 350, 369, 378, 379, 381, 383, etc.

³ Examples, Hort Nos. 249, 325, 893, 912a, 958, 988, 1123, 1316, 1341, 1439, 1594, 1617, 1619, 1704, 1788, 1790, 1904, 1916, 1940, 1952, etc.

This row completely fills the orcheistic form, and we might therefore expect it to be the most popular row of the folk-songs, especially when we remember that one of the earmarks of the folk-songs is their strictly orcheistic character. We have seen, however, that in point of popularity this type of row has to yield the honor to the one we considered in the preceding paragraph.¹

All two-part rows of greater orcheistic fulness than the foregoing are redundant, cumbersome for the purposes of singing, and hence rare among the folk-songs. I shall have more to say on the subject of "redundancy" when, under the general topic of "chains," I shall scrutinize the joining of one row with another. Here, then, I shall be content simply to give a few examples of such redundant rows: Hort No. 361, "Napoleon der grosse Kaiser"; Hort No. 608, "Ich liebe dich so lang ich leben werde"; Hort No. 673, "Es gibt ja keine Rose ohne Dornen"; Hort No. 1369, "Frisch auf zum Kampf, für's Vaterland zu streiten," and to postpone all discussion of their music-metric peculiarities.

BEGINNING WITH CREST SYLLABLE (DOWNBEAT)

It must not be supposed that we have here to do with rows that are *radically* different from those which we have just considered. The inner structure of this type of row remains much the same as that of the "upbeat" type. That is, the presence or, as here, the absence of beginning trough does not *bind* a row to the use of any one type of member, as we might conclude that it does if we observe too closely the symbols of those who scan. But while this is true, it is also true that its *absence* is instrumental in giving form to the closing of the row (see p. 148 below). And this fact provides the main reason for our considering the upbeat and the downbeat forms separately.

No. 4. I find the shortest and scantest rows of this type among the songs of children.

Hort No. 1219.

Tra - ri - ro!

↑ ↓ ↑ ↓

¹ Examples, Hort Nos. 345, 352a, 367, 406, 415, 428, 447a, 448, 450a, 460b, 462, 502, 521, 531a, 532, etc.

This row has, as it happens, no trough at all and but three crests, the fourth crest being represented by a pause. In the further examples listed in the footnote below, it will be found that the rows have the same number of crests as above and, without exception, *one* trough only, for instance:

Hort No. 1568.



Note, moreover, that all the examples are in the nature of exclamations, where such non-upbeat forms seem to be so suitable.¹

No. 5. The next longer row is exemplified by the following:

Hort No. 1818.



Here we have a row of four crests, but the last two troughs are not represented by syllables.²

No. 6. The next type of row is one where the third trough is represented by a syllable, the fourth, only, remaining vacant.

Hort No. 771a.



This type is the most widely used of all the "downbeat" rows. I find 118 songs using it, as against 88 songs which use the type just preceding this. Another noteworthy fact is that of the 112 children's

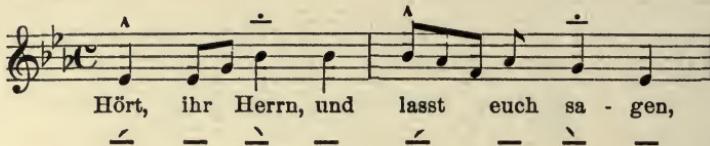
¹ Examples, Hort Nos. 838b, 1777, 1806, 1826, 1850, 1851, and 1913. Nos. 910a and 1915 have rows with *two* troughs, and No. 1532 has rows with none.

² Further examples, Hort Nos. 996, 1182, 1222, 1778, 1808, 1809, 1810, 1811, 1818 1822, 1825, 1827, 1830, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1855, etc.

songs in Hort, 26 use the row just preceding this, whereas the row at present under consideration is found in but 14 songs of children.¹

No. 7. The next longer row is exemplified by the following:

Hort No. 1580.



With this we have a row which just fills the orchestric form. That is, all four crests and all four troughs are represented by syllables. The type seems to be of recent introduction among the folk-songs. In Hort, only one, No. 1991, a slow church song, dates farther back than the eighteenth century. Many of the songs in the list below have, entirely aside from their rhythmic form, a decidedly artificial cast. That is, they seem like songs, with the making of which the masses have had little to do. And this leads me to the suspicion that this type of row is one which has come into the recent folk-songs through outside influence. This influence may have been spoken poetry or instrumental music. For both of these encourage fuller rhythmic groups than does song.

It is also interesting to note that this is the first row we have observed, which has a real feminine close. And from its occurrence solely in this rarely used row and in an even more rarely used three-part row, we may safely generalize that *feminine rhyme is of extremely rare occurrence in the German folk-songs*. This feature was what I had in mind when I spoke, at the beginning of this discussion, of the "downbeat" rows (p. 146 above), of a certain closing effect which was due to the absence of a beginning trough.²

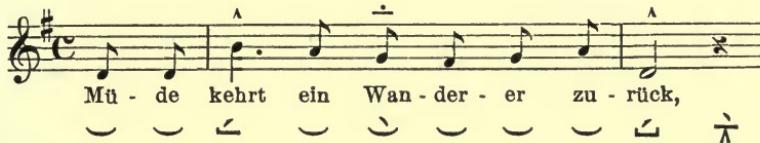
No. 8. All rows longer than those we have already considered are decidedly foreign to the real folk-songs. But in spite of this, two songs having such long rows have been taken into *Liederhort*. Here is one of them:

¹ Further examples, Hort Nos. 334, 349a, 368, 435, 510d, 582, 669, 776, 791a, 911, 959b, 1032, 1093, 1094, 1203, 1241, 1488, 1689, 1690, 1701, etc.

² Further examples, Hort Nos. 514, 566, 587, 645, 661, 681, 727, 773, 777, 781, 782a, 796, etc.

Hort No. 672. Müde kehrt ein Wanderer zurück.

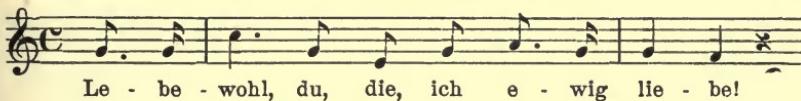
The metric symbols almost fail us in an attempt to reproduce the grotesque movement of this row. I will let the melody help do it:



Notice how the *five* (spoken) crests are violently forced into the orchestric form of only *four* crests. Notice how the melody recasts it into an upbeat row and how the important word *müde* is submerged in an artificially inserted upbeat and the unimportant word *kehrt* is raised into comparatively too great prominence. See further how five syllables are crowded into five consecutive eighth notes so as to be able to get the only moderately emphatic syllable *-rück* in on the downbeat of the following measure, and how, finally, this syllable *-rück* and its following pause are given the metric time of *five eighth notes*—an exorbitant but here necessary amount of time.¹

Simply for the sake of completeness, I shall cite the very longest row of this downbeat type which I have found. All groups in two-part movement longer than this should probably be reckoned as chains.

Hort No. 761.



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¹ Gottlieb Brandsch (*Archiv d. Vereins für siebenb. Landeskunde*, XXXIV [1907], 241 ff.) has made an interesting study of songs having this peculiar movement.

GERMANIC COIN-NAMES

I

The present study deals with coin-names which occur in the various Germanic languages. Such words as have only a general meaning, say that of 'money,' and are not used of any definite coins, are here considered only when they help explain some more definite term. A collection of the general terms might constitute a separate chapter.

In trying to explain the source of the designation given a particular coin we are often confronted with the problem: "Does the name come from a representation upon the coin, or is it from another source?" To answer this question is not always an easy matter. In many cases only a conjecture may be arrived at, and the choice between two equally good or poor explanations is not convincing. However, not all the words admit of such ambiguity or uncertainty; only those from group XXVI on, with quite a few exceptions, are derived from objects represented on the coins. Most of these are fairly sure, and, as a general thing, the dictionaries, where there is anything like probability in their favor, show a decided tendency to derive the names from this source. This is very often an easy way of 'explaining,' and perhaps too frequently resorted to. For example, the explanation found in many dictionaries for the word 'ort' (cf. III, 1) is that the coin was divided into four parts by a cross, and the idea 'quarter' was derived from this. It may be true that the coin bore a cross in the way described, but the same designation may well have arisen for a coin that did not have a cross upon it, as the other examples in this group seem to show. And so with other names.

The list contains very many borrowed words, especially from the older period. This is clearly a result of the fact that the coins are introduced into a new country and simply retain the names they have at home. In this way a great deal of confusion has been brought about. The people understand the foreign names imperfectly and consequently reproduce them very poorly; or the coin which is being

introduced is given the name of one that looks like it, that is near to it in value, and so on.

The words cited are taken from the ordinary dictionaries, as also from many dialect works. Rather full abbreviations have been employed wherever there seemed any chance of uncertainty in understanding from what source the form is taken.

I. ANYTHING OF VALUE, TREASURE (USED IN EXCHANGE): COIN CORRESPONDING IN VALUE

1. Goth. *skatts* Geldstück, ON. *skattr* tribute; money or coin of a certain size, *skatt-penningr* money paid as tribute, *skettingr* kind of coin or money, MS. *skatter* money, property, OE. *sceat* kleine Münze, Geld, Vermögen, OFris. *sket*, *schet* Vieh, Rindvieh; Schatz; Geldsumme, OS. *skat* Besitz; Geld; Geldmünze, *fehu-skat* Geldstück, *silubar-skat* Silbermünze, MDu. *schat* sum of money; certain value expressed by money, OHG. *schaz* Münze (bestimmtes Geldstück), MHG. *schaz*, *schatz* kleineres oder grösseres Geldstück, Geldsumme, obolus; Geld, pecunia, EFr. *schat* Geld; Schatz; Vermögen; Reichtum.

Ia. CLOTH (USED IN EXCHANGE): COIN CORRESPONDING IN VALUE

1. OFris. (*h*)*reil-merk* Gewandmark von vier Schillingen: (*h*)*reil*, OE. *hrægl* Kleid, Gewand.

2. OFris. *lein-merk* Art Mark, MLG. *leie-mark* Münze (zwölf Schilling): Goth. *lein*, OS., MLG. *lin* Leinwand.

3. OFris. *lesene* eine Münze, an Wert gleich einem Schilling: OHG. *lesa*, *lisina* gausapa, ON. *les* knitted wares, *lesin* embroidery, weave with a design.

4. OFris. *wēde* Gewand, Kleid; eine Münze, *wēd-merk* vierzehn Schilling: OE. *wēd*, *wēde* Kleid, Gewand, ON. *vāð* piece of stuff, cloth.

Cf. ON. *lerept*, *vað-māl*, OLG. *sculdłakan* cloth used for payment of debt, tributary money, etc.

II. DEFINITE WEIGHT (POUND, OUNCE, ETC.); DEFINITE WEIGHT OF METAL (GOLD, SILVER, ETC.): COIN CORRESPONDING IN VALUE TO THE SAME AMOUNT

1. OFris. *lād* Lot; bestimmtes Geldgewicht, MDu. *loot* lead; weight of gold and silver; name of a definite weight, MLG. *löt* Blei;

ein Gewichtsstück; Münze:der sechszehnte Teil einer Mark oder zwei Groten, MSw. *lodh* lead; lead-weight; unit of weight, MDan. *løde-mark* a coin, ‘bismar-mark’ of sixteen ‘lod.’

2. ON. *mörk* weight equal to half a pound; mark by weight or value, of gold and silver, *merkr stykki* piece amounting to a mark, NIcel. *mark* $4\frac{1}{2}d.$, Nor. *mark* certain weight; certain coin, *markar-stykke* silver coin, MDan. *mark* designation of weight, of money, MSw. *mark* unit of weight; unit of money, Sw. *mark*, *mark-stycke* mark-piece, OE. *marc* half a pound, ME. *mark* coin, NE. *mark* unit of weight, esp. for gold and silver; early money of account, *merk*, *merke* unit of money formerly in current use in Scotland, OFris. *merk* Mark (als Münze), MLG. *mark* (Geld-)Gewicht, ein halbes Pfund; Münze von verschiedenem Werte, OLG. *mark* Mark, Münze, MDu. *marc* weight for gold and silver, half a pound; money of account for coined gold and silver, of varying value, Du. *mark* certain gold and silver weight; money of account, MHG. *marke*, *marc* Mark, halbes Pfund (Silbers oder Goldes), NHG. *Mark* Rechnungsmünze:ON. *mörk* weight equal to eight ounces or half a pound, OFris. *merk* Gewicht von 16 Lot, etc.

3. OFris. *ense*, *enze*, *einze* Unze, zwölfter Teil eines Pfundes, eine vom Gewicht hergenommene Rechnungsmünze, OE. *ynce*, *yntse* das Gewicht; eine Münze:MHG. *unze*, MLG. *unse*, *untze* Unze, ein Gewicht, Lat. *uncia* ounce, twelfth part of any whole, whence NE. *ounce* a weight; in California, formerly a Spanish double doubloon, or about sixteen dollars; the old doubloon onza of Spain.

4. Als. *liber* Frank, Frankstück, Lothr. *liver* franzö. Münze von der Revolution, Swiss *liber* Münze, *fünfliber* Taler im Werte von fünf franzö. Franken; Fr. *livre* pound; French coin of account, It. *lira* balance; pound; coin, Lat. *libra* pound.

5. OE., ME. *pund* pound; weight of money, NE. *pound* money of account, OFris. *pund*, *pond* Rechnungsmünze, MDu. *pont* pound; money of account, Du. *pond* id., MLG. *punt* Pfund, talentum, MHG. *phunt* bestimmtes Gewicht, Pfund; Pfund Geldes, höchste Münzeinheit, NHG. *Pfund* id., Tirol. *pfund* gewisses Geldmass, Styr. *pfundner* der Zwölfer, Silbermünze; eine steierm. Landesmünze im Werte von zwölf Kreuzern, *pfundner-taler* ‘*pfundner*’ im Werte eines Talers, MSw. *pund* pound; unit of weight for weighing money, or unit of money:Lat. *pondus* weight, pound.

III. POINT; DIVISION OR PART; DEFINITE PART: HALF, FOURTH,
ETC., PART OF A WEIGHT, MEASURE, COIN

1. MDu. *ort* fourth part of coins, weights, and measures; fourth of a stiver, etc., Du. *oort* fourth part of a stiver; copper coin of this value, MLG. *ört* vierter Teil eines Masses, einer Münze, MHG. *ort* vierter Teil von Mass, Gewicht, Münze; bes. der vierte Teil eines Guldens, Bav. *ort örtler, örterer* vierter Teil eines Guldens; fünfzehn Kreuzer, Swiss *ort, örtli* vierter Teil; eine Münze, Nor. *ort* certain coin:MDu. *ort* extreme point or end of anything; edge, border; sharp point of a weapon; beginning, MLG. *ört* Winkel, Ecke, Zipfel, OHG. *ort* Ecke, Spitze, MHG. *ort* äusserster Punkt; Spitze, bes. der Waffe; spitzes Werkzeug, OE. *ord* stechende, schneidende Waffe; Beginn, ON. *oddr* point of weapon; spur.

2. MDu. *pricke* name of a small coin:Du. *prik* prick, stab; pin, peg of a top, *prikkel* prick, prickle, sting, MDu. *prikel* sharp iron point on a weapon, MLG. *pricke* Spitze, Stachel, *pricke* (adv.) genau, scharf, OE. *prica* Punkt, Stich, ME. *prike* prick; spike, spur; point of time.

3. MDu. *poent* half a mite, Du. dial. (Tuerl.) *inne roeē poeint* smallest coin, lit. 'a red point,' Kil. *poyn(c)t parisis* old Flemish half-mite:MDu. *poent* point, top; point or division of time; period of twelve minutes, quarter of an hour, Du. *punt* point; point of time, Lat. *punctum* point; small portion or quantity, as of time, *pungere* prick, puncture, stab.

4. MDu. *hallinc, hellinc* half a penny, mite, *gouden hallinc* gold coin of the value of twenty-seven stivers, OFris. *halling* Münze, Helbling, OLG. *halling* Pfennig, *helfling* halber Pfennig, MHG. *helbelinc, helblinc* halber Pfennig, Bav. *helbling* altes Münzstück im halben Werte des jeweiligen Pfennigs, Carinth. *helbling* id., Swiss *hälbling* die Hälfte eines Pfennigs, Heller, Als. *helbeling, heilbeling* Heller, Pfennig, Swab. *hälbling* die Hälfte der kleinsten Münze; halber Pfennig, Waldeck *helling* alte Waldeckische Münze; OE. *hielpling* farthing, NE. *halfpling* half-penny; half of an old silver penny:OE. *healf*, MHG. *halp* half.

Swab. *halber* halber Kreuzer; halber Florin.

Styr. *halbatzen* Zweikreuzerstück, Swab. *halbbatzen* zwei Kreuzer, Swiss *halbatzen* Halbbatzen, auch auf den 'fünfer,' das Fünfrappen-

stück, übertragen, *halbbätzler* Münzsorte, Styr. *halbbatzler* Groschen alter Wiener Währung.

Styr. *halbguldiner* alte Münze im Werte von dreissig alten Kreuzern, Swab. *halber-guldener* Halbguldenstück.

Cologne *halv-koppstöck* $2\frac{1}{2}$ Groschenstück.

Swab. *halbort* halber Ort, kleine Münze, Swiss *halbörtler* eine Münze, Achtelsguldenstück, *halb-ort*, etc. (cf. 1).

Styr. *halbsechser* Münze (Groschen) im Werte von sechs Kreuzern.

Als. *halbsou* kleine franzö. Kupfermünze im Werte von zwei Centimes; Zweipfennigstück.

Du. *halfje* the half; half a cent.

WFris. *healtsje*, *healke* half; half a cent.

MDu. *helvekijn* half a penny.

WFris. *healgoune* coin of the value of half a gulden.

WFlem. *haf-pening* half a stiver, coin of five centimes.

Antw. *halfstuk* two and a half franes.

Dan. *halfskilling* half-skilling.

Dan. *halfdaler* half a dollar, etc.

NE. *half-cent* copper coin of the United States of the value of half a cent.

NE. *half-crown* English silver coin of half the value of a crown; gold coin formerly current in England.

NE. *half-dime* silver coin of the United States of the value of five cents.

NE. *half-(dollar)* silver coin of the United States of the value of half a dollar.

NE. *half-eagle* silver coin of the value of five dollars.

NE. *half-farthing* English colonial copper coin of half the value of a farthing.

NE. *half-guinea* English gold coin.

NE. *half-mark* old English money of account.

OE. *healf pening*, ME. *half-peni*, NE. *halfpenny* coin of the value of half a penny, dial. *hape* a halfpenny.

NE. *half-sovereign* British gold coin of ten shillings.

NE. *demi-farthing* coin of Ceylon current at the value of half an English farthing; *demi-groat*, *demi-sovereign*, *demi-mark* coin-names,

demy gold coin current in Scotland in the fifteenth century, probably an abbreviation of *demi-mark*: *demi-*, Fr. *demi* half.

Bav. *poltrak* kleine Münze, Tirol. *pultragh* veraltete Kupfermünze im Werte eines halben Kreuzers, Styr. *polturak* kleine Münze im Werte eines halben Kreuzers: Slavic *pol* halb, and *turak* Groschen (*Tirol. Dict.* 519).

5. Styr. *zweidrittelsstück* Münze, die im Werte von 60 alten Kreuzern stand: *zweidrittel* two thirds.

6. Swab. *drittelsgulden* dicker oder Drittelsgulden: NHG. *Drittel*, MHG. *dritteil* der dritte Teil.

ON. *briðjungs-penningr* kind of coin: *briðjungr* third part of a thing.

OHG. *drimisa, trimisa, dragma*, OE. *trimes* a weight; coin of the value of three pence, MLat. *tremissis* *tertia pars assis*.

7. OFris. *fiārdunge, fiārdeng* Vierding, eine Münze, MSw. *fiārþunger* fourth part, quarter; fourth part of a silver mark, OE. *fēorbung* (also *fēorbling*) fourth part; farthing, ME. *fērðing* farthing, NE. *farthing* English piece of money equal to the fourth part of a penny, MDu. *vierdonc* small coin, MHG. *vierdunc* Viertel eines Pfundes (Geldmass), Pruss. *vierdung* Rechnungsmünze in Preussen zur Ordenszeit, vierter Teil der Mark, Hess. *vierdung* id., Swab. *vieritung* Viertel Pfund Silbers, Styr. *vierting* Viertel einer Mark Silbers; MLG. *vērdink-quadrans* vierter Teil einer Münzeinheit, bes. einer Mark; whence MLat. *ferto, fertum, ferdonum, ferthing*, etc., MDu. *ferting, fertoen* name of a silver coin.

ME. *fēorling* farthing, NE. *ferling* fourth part of a penny; fourth part of an acre, etc., *ferling-noble* quarter-noble, English gold coin, MLG. *vērlink* Viertelpfennig, MHG. *vierlinc* Viertel eines Masses; kleine Geldmünze, NHG. *Vierling* vierter Teil einer Einheit (als Mass, Gewicht, Münze), Wald. *virling* alte Münze, vier Stück = 1 Pfennig, MDu. *vierlinc* small coin.

MLG. *vēreken* englische Münze, Viertelnobel; Stralsunder Münze, Viertel Schilling, Pruss. *vierchen* geprägte Ordensmünze aus der letzten Hälfte des 14. Jhds., vierter Teil eines Halbschotters, MDan. *fereken, firik(e)* quarter-skilling, hvid, MSw. *fyrk* (quarter); kind of coin, Sw. *fyrk* small coin: MLG. *vēr* vier.

MDu. *vierdelinc* name of a small coin: *vierdeel* fourth, quarter.

Swab. *viertelgulden* Ortsgulden, etc.

MDu. *vierinc* fourth part of a penny, Westf. *vēring* Scheidemünze des Mittelalters, Waldeck *viring* alte Münze, vier Stück = 1 Pfennig, MLG. *vērīnk* Viertelpfennig.

Du. *kwartje* five-stiver piece, *vijfje*, quarter-gulden piece, fourth part of a gulden, WFris. *kwartsje* fourth of a gulden, WFlem. *kaart*, *kaartje* quarter; quarter-franc piece, twenty-five centimes, Antw. *kwaartje* id.: Fr. *quart*, MLat. *quartum*, *quarta (pars)* fourth part of a measure, etc.

Swiss *kart* kleine Münze: Fr. *quart* fourth part, quarter.

MDu. *quartier* fourth part of anything; fourth part of various coins, of a gulden, a noble, etc., MSw. *qvarter* fourth part; fourth part of a penny, stiver, skärf, Lothr. *kwärter* Viertel Pfennig, Col. *quäätsche* Viertel-Krontaler, NE. *quarter* silver coin equal in value to one fourth part of a dollar, or twenty-five cents, dial. *quarter* farthing, fourth part of a penny; NE. *quarter-noble* old English coin, equal in value to the fourth part of a noble; *quarter-guinea piece* coin of the value of a quarter of a guinea, etc.: Fr. *quartier*, Lat. *quartārius* fourth part.

Swiss *katrin* italienische Münze, *quattering* kleine Münze, It. *quattrino* farthing: *quattro* four.

8. Goth. *kintus* Viertel Ass, Heller: Lat. *quintus* the fifth, MLat. *quintinus*, *quentinus* the fifth. Cf. MLG. *quentīn*, *quintīn* Quentchen, $\frac{1}{5}$ Lot, MHG. *quintīn* der vierte (ursprünglich wohl fünfte) Teil eines Lotes, Quentchen.

9. MDu. *siseine*, *ciseine* coin: MLat. *sezana* sexta pars rei cuiuslibet, *sexenus*, *seysenus* sexta pars fructuum.

10. NE. *dime* silver coin of the United States, of the value of ten cents, being the tenth part of a dollar, ME. *dyme*, *disme*, OFr. *disme* tithe (tenth part), Lat. *decima* tenth part, *decimus* tenth.

11. Du. *cent* bronze coin of the value of a hundredth part of the gulden, WFlem. *cents*, *cens* copper coin of two centimes, Antw. *cens*, *cent* id., WFris. *sint cent*, NE. *cent* hundredth part of a dollar, esp. in the United States, a coin whose value is the hundredth part of a dollar: perhaps a shortening of *centismum* (Fr. *centime*, etc.), Lat. *centēsimus* hundredth part, *centum* hundred.

IV. NUMBER OF UNITS OR MULTIPLES OF UNITS CONTAINED
IN A COIN, OR THE NUMBER TO WHICH THE COIN
IS CONSIDERED EQUAL

The designations here would be as many as the number of coins, increased by each change in value. However, the list will be found to contain most of the ordinary ones.

The numbers, 1, 2, 3, etc., are used only when there is a change from one number to another. For example, under 1 are found the words that apply to one unit, under 2 those that apply to $1\frac{1}{2}$, etc.

1. Swiss *einer* was den Wert einer Zahleinheit hat, z. B. ein Einrappenstück: *ein*.

Swab. *einser* die Ziffer eins; Einpfennigstück: *eins*.

Styr. *einserl* Einguldennote.

In compounds, as Swiss *ein-räppler* Einrappenstück; Dan. *en-skilling*, *eneste* *skilling* farthing; WFr. *inkel-goune* gold gulden; silver coin of value of twenty-eight stivers, etc.

2. Sw. dial. *halvaning* coin of the value of $1\frac{1}{2}$ stivers: Sw. *halfannan* anderthalb.

3. NHG. *Zweier* Zweipfennigstück, Bav. *zwaier* Münzstück, zwei Pfennige oder einen halben Kreuzer im Wert, Thur. *.zweier* Zweikreuzer-, jetzt Zweipfennigstück: *zwei*.

MHG. *zweilinc* Zweier, eine Geldmünze, Bav. *zwailing* Münzstück, zwei Pfennige, MLG. *twēlink* Münze, Zweiling (zwei Schillinge?).

Swiss *zweibätzler* Zweibatzenstück, *zwei-rapp*, *-räppler* Zweirappenstück, *zwē-*, *zwō-räppler* id., Bav. *zweenkreuzerer* Zweikreuzerstück.

Bav. *zwuka* Zweiguldensilberstück: (*zwēn*), *zwō*, *zwue*, etc., MHG. (*zwēne*), *zwō*, *zwuo* zwei, plus some additional suffix.

NE. *two-guinea piece* coin of the value of two guineas: *two*.

NE. *twopence* various English coins of the value of two pence.

ON. *tví-eyringr* worth or weighing two ounces, NIcel. *tví-eyringur* coin of two 'aurar,' Sw. *två-öring* piece of two öre, Dan. *to-skilling* coin of the value of two skilling, Sw. *två-krona* piece of two crowns, etc.: ON. *tví-*, Sw. *två*, Dan. *to*.

E. dial. *deuce*, *duce*, *twopence*: NE. *deuce* in cards and other games, two, Fr. *deux* two.

4. Bav. *dritthalb-kreuzerer* Münzsorte: NHG. *dritthalb* $2\frac{1}{2}$.

5. NHG. *Dreier* Dreipfennigstück, Bav. *dreyer* ehemalige Münze, deren drei Stück einen 'schillinger' ausmachten, Berlin *dreier* Dreipfennigstück, Swab. *dreier* Münze im Werte von drei Pfennigen, Als. *dreier* Münze, Tirol. *dreierle* Groschen, Styr. *dreier* schlechte ungarische Münze: *drei*.

MLG. *dralink*, *drilink* Dreipfennigstück, Helgoland *drailøng* Dreier, Viertel-Schilling, Styr. *dreiling* eine Münze, Dan. *dreyling* old Danish copper coin, quarter-shilling: MLG. *drē*, *drei*.

Swiss *drī-ängrster* Münzsorte.

Swiss *drī-bätzner*, *-bätzler*, *-bätzling* gewisse Münze, Swab. *dreibätzner* frühere Münze.

Swab. *dreikreuzerer* Münze im Werte von drei Kreuzern, Swiss *drī-chruz(l)er* Münzsorte.

Swiss *drei-hälberlin* eine Münze.

Pruss. *dreipälker*, *-pölcher* frühere Kupfermünze, sechs alte Pfennige wert.

Styr. *dreischillinger* Münze im Werte von drei Schillingen.

Du. dial. (Zaan) *drie-groot* coin of the value of three groats.

Dan. *tre-skilling* coin of three shillings: *tre*.

NE. *three-cent piece* former silver coin of the value of three cents: *three*.

NE. *three-farthings* English silver coin of the value of three farthings, issued by Queen Elizabeth.

NE. *three-halfpence* English silver coin of the value of three half-pence, issued by Queen Elizabeth; also applied to other coins.

NE. *three-pence* current English coin of the value of three pennies, *three-penny piece*, *threepenny id.*, *thrip* three-penny piece, *trip* three pence sterling, *dripmy-bit* a three-penny piece or bit.

NE. *three-pound piece* English gold coin of the value of three pounds, struck by Charles I.

Swab. *trissert* Groschen (=3 Kreuzer): root *tri-* drei (Schwäb. Wb.).

6. Late MHG. *vierer* eine Münze, Bav. *vierer* ehemalige wälsche und tirolische Münze, die vier Berner (Veroner) Pfennige galt, Swiss *vierer* Scheidemünze im Werte von vier Hellern oder Pfennigen, halber Kreuzer, Car. *vierar* vierter Teil eines Kreuzers, Pfennig,

Tirol. *vierer* id., Swab. *vierer* kleine Tiroler Münze, Styr. *vierer* Kupfermünze im Werte von vier Kreuzern, Vierstück:*vier*.

Swiss *vier-bätzning* Vierbatzenstück.

Swiss *vierräppler* Vierrappenstück.

Berlin *vier-finder* (Vierpfunder); Viergroschenstück. Large, heavy piece of four groschens.

Du. *vierduitstenstuk* large bronze coin, equal to four doits, Zaan *vierduitstuk* id.:*vier*.

MDu. *vieriser* small coin:*vier*.

Old Dan. *fire-hvid* coin, four-hvid piece:*fire*.

Dan. *firsckilling* coin of four skillings.

NE. *fourpenny* fourpenny piece or bit, *fourpence* small silver coin, also *fourpenny bit:four*.

7. EFris. *fifthalf* fünftthalb; ältere ostfriesische Münze im Werte von $4\frac{1}{2}$ Stüber.

NE. *fourpence-halfpenny* name popularly given in New England to a small Spanish coin, the half-real, the value of which was equal to $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. of the old New England currency.

8. NHG. *Fünfer* Münze im Werte von fünf Pfennigen, Kreuzern, Hellern, Swiss *fünfer* Münze, welche fünf Einheiten wert ist, Fünfcentimesstück, Fünfhellerstück, Swab. *fünfer* eine Münze, Als. *fünfer* Fünffrankenstück, *fünferle* Fünfpfennigstück; Zwanzigpfennigstück aus Silber (Fünfsoustück), Styr. *fünfer* Münze im Werte von fünf Hellern, Kreuzern oder Gulden, *fünferin* id., Pruss. *fünfer* (LG. *füfer*) das Zwölftel-Talerstück:*fünf*.

MHG. *vünferlin* Fünfkreuzerstück.

Swab. *fünfbätzner* Geldstück, fünf Batzen, Swiss *fünfbätzner* Fünfbatzenstück, *fünfbätzler* id., *fünfbätzling*, *fünfbätzli* Fünfbatzen- bzw. Halbfankenstück.

Bav. *fünfkreuzerer* gewisse Münze.

Als. *fünflertaler* Fünffrankenstück.

Swiss *fünfräppler* Fünfrappenstück.

MHG. *vünfer-schillingin*, *vünschillinger* Fünfschillingstück, Pruss. *ünschilling*, -*schillinger* Silbermünze im Werte von sieben alten Pfennigen.

Styr. *fünf-vierdinger* eine Sorte Friesacher Pfennige.

Du. *vijfje* something that consists of five units; quarter-gulden, equal to five stivers, WFr. *feifje* kwartje, certain coin: *vijf* five.

WFr. *fifstürstik* five-stiver piece, kwartje.

WFlem. *vijffrankenaar*, *vijfrangenaar* silver coin of five francs.

WFlem. *vijfgrootenaar* old coin of the value of ten 'oordjes.'

NE. *five-guinea piece* coin of the value of five guineas: *five*.

NE. *fivepence* sum of money of the value of five pennies English; often used of five cents or the American five-cent piece or half-dime, *fippence* fivepence, *fippeny* five-penny, *fippenny-bit* fivepence; in parts of the United States in use formerly for the Spanish half-real, *fit* a fippeny-bit, dial. *fit pence* fivepence.

Als. *heijs* Fünffrankenstück in Silber (Judensprache): Hebr. *hei* fünf (*Elsäss. Wb.* I, 314²).

9. Du. *zesthalf* five and a half; formerly a Dutch coin, Gron. *zest-half* kwartje, a coin, WFr. *seksteheal* five and a half; former coin of five and a half, later five stivers: *zesthalf* five and a half.

10. MHG. *sehser* sechs Kreuzer geltendes Münzstück, NHG. *Sechser* Münzstück von sechs Kreuzern oder Pfennigen, Bav. *sechser* Münzstück, das sechs Kreuzer ausmacht, Styr. *sechserl* Münze im Werte von sechs Kreuzern, später übertragen auf die Münze im Werte von zehn Kreuzern oder zwanzig Hellern, Pruss. *sechser* (LG. *sesser*) Einfünftel-Talerstück, weil es sechs Vierpfennige galt: *sehs*, *sechs*.

Swiss *sechs-bätzner*, *-bätzler*, *-bätzling* Sechsbatzenstück.

Bav. *sechs-kreuzerer* Sechser.

Styr. *sechs-schillinger* schlechte Münze.

Als. *sechs-subiesle* Sechssolsstück, drei Batzen.

Du. *zes-stuiverstuk* coin worth six stivers: *zes*.

NE. *sixpence* English silver coin of the value of six pence; half of a shilling; in the United States, esp. in New York, while the coin was in circulation, a Spanish half-real, of the value of six and a half cents, dial. *sousepence* sixpence (*:souse six*): *six*.

MLG. *seslink*, *sesselink* halber Schilling (sechs Pfennige), Pruss. *söszling* Sechspfenniger, halbes Döttchen, Helgoland *sesleng* Sechsling, ein halber Schilling: MLG. *ses(se)*, *sos(se)*, MHG. *se(h)s* six, and suffix *-ling*.

MLG. *sesken*, *sisken* eine Münze, sechs 'miten,' MDu. *seskijn* name of a small coin, WFlem. *zeske(n)* old coin, 'half-oordje,' whence NE. *suskin* small silver or base silver coin, of Flemish origin, current in England as a penny or half-penny in the fifteenth century: diminutive of MDu., MLG. *ses* six.

11. Du. *zevendhalfje* six and a half; old coin, pietje.

12. MHG. *sibener* Münzstück von sieben Pfennigen, Bav. *sibner* id., Tirol. *simer* Münzstück: *siben*.

Styr. *siebenkreuzerer* Münze aus geringhaltigem Silber im Werte von sieben Kreuzern.

NE. *seven-shilling piece* English gold coin (originally containing seven shillings): *seven*.

13. Pruss. *achtelhalber* das frühere $2\frac{1}{2}$ -Silbergroschenstück. Containing seven and a half units (*achtelhalb*), or one twelfth of a taler of ninety units.

14. NHG. *Achter* Münze von acht guten Groschen, Swiss *achter* Münze im Werte von acht Batzen: *acht*.

Swiss *eichtiwer* Münze im Werte von drei Angstern: perhaps MHG. *ehtewer* (pl.) Collegium von acht Mitgliedern.

MLG. *achtelink* kleine Münze: *achte* acht.

Swab. *achterling* Silbermünze: *acht(er)* eight, and suffix *-ling*. Cf. NHG. *Achter*.

Swiss *achtbätzler* Achtbatzenstück.

Swiss *achträppler* Achtrappenstück.

Nor. *aateskilling* eight-shilling piece (silver coin): Dan. *otte*.

MLG. *ottelin* mailändische Münze: perhaps It. *otto* eight.

15. MHG. *niuner* neun Heller geltendes Münzstück, Swiss *nüner* Name einer Münze: *niun*, *neun*.

Swiss *nün-chräziger* eine Münze (im Werte von neun Kreuzer).

NE. *ninepence* in New England, a Spanish silver coin, about equal in value to nine pence of New England currency; E. dial. *nippence* nine pence: *nine*.

16. Swiss *nün-e-hälberle* (*schilling*) ältere Münze im Werte von $9\frac{1}{2}$ Schilling (12 Kreuzer).

17. MHG. *zehener*, NHG. *Zehner* eine Münze, Lothr. *zehner* 50-Centimesstück, Als. *zehnerle* franzö. Silbermünze, 10-Sousstück: MHG. *zehen*, NHG. *zehn*.

Swiss *zehenbätzler* Zehnbatzenstück.

Swiss *zehnchrüžiger*, -*chrüzer*, Bav. *zehnkreuzerer* Zehnkreuzerstück.

Swiss *zehnenräppler* Zehnrappenstück.

Styr. *zehnshillinger* Münze im Werte von zehn Schillingen oder Kreuzern.

Du. *tientje* ten-gulden piece; ten-stiver piece: *tien*.

Du. *tienguldenstuk* coin of ten guldens, *tienstuiverstuk* coin of ten stivers.

E. dial. *tenpenny* coin of the value of ten pence, a franc, etc.: *ten*.

NIcel. *tieyringur* coin of ten aurar, Sw. *tioöring*, Dan. *tiøre* piece of ten öre, *øre:tí-, tio, ti*.

Sw. *tiokrona* ten-crown piece; *tenner*, *tiokronstycke* id., Dan. *tikrone* coin of ten crowns.

Als. *jüserle* Geldstück, halber Frank, zehn sous: Hebr. *jud* zehn (*Als. Dict.*).

OE. *dīner*, *dign-* coin, piece of money, E. dial. *dinders* small coins found on sites of Roman settlements, ‘*denarii*,’ MDu. *dinre* coin, *denarius*, *denier* penny, Waldeck *denier* Pfennig, MLG. *denning* kleine Münze, MSw. *deninger* denarius, Lat. *denarius* containing the number ten, *sb.* Roman coin, originally equivalent to ten asses.

18. Bav. *ainlifer*, *ainlfer* Elfer, Münzstück, welches elf Kreuzer galt: MHG. *eilf*, OHG. *einlif*.

NE. *eleven-penny bit*, abbr. *levy* coin, the Spanish real or eighth part of a dollar; sum of $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents, bit: *eleven*.

19. Bav. *zwelfer* Münzstück, das zwölf Kreuzer gilt; ehemals in Nürnberg ein Münzstück von 12 dn. im Wert, Styr. *zwölferl* Silberscheidemünze von zwölf Kreuzern: MHG. *zwelf*, NHG. *zwölf*.

Bav. *zwelfkreuzerer* Zwölfkreuzerstück.

Nor. *tolvskilling*, Sw. *tolfskilling* silver coin of twelve shillings: *tolv*, *tolf* twelve.

NE. *twelve pence a shilling*, *twalfpennies* twelve pence in the old Scottish currency, equal to one penny sterling: *twelve*.

20. MDu., Du. *dertiendehalf* $12\frac{1}{2}$; old Dutch coin of $12\frac{1}{2}$ stivers, WFris. *trettsjindeheal* id.

21. NE. *thirteen*, *thirteener* twelve and one; silver shilling worth thirteen pence, current in Ireland during the early part of the nineteenth century: *thirteen*.

Westf. *drüttien* dreizehn, *drüttiener* Dreizehner, Dreizehnstück, fünf Silbergroschen, Cronenberg *drytienär* Fünfzehnpfennigstück: *drytien* dreizehn.

22. NE. *fourteen-shilling piece* Scottish merk, *fourteen* fourteen-shilling piece: *fourteen*.

23. Bav. *funfzehner* Münzstück im Nennwert von fünfzehn Kreuzern, Car. *fuchzinar*, *fuzinar* Fünfzehnkreuzerstück, Swab. *funfzehner* id., Swiss *füszenbatzler* Fünfzehnbatzenstück, etc.: *fünfzehn*.

24. MHG. *sehzehner* sechszehn Kreuzer geltendes Münzstück: *sehzehn*.

25. Bav. *sibenzehner* Münzstück im Nennwert von siebzehn Kreuzern, Styr. *siebzhener* Silbermünze, siebzehn Kreuzer wert: *siebzehn*.

26. Pruss. *achtzehner* Einfünftel-Talerstück: *achtzehn*.

27. MHG. *zweinziger*, NHG. *Zwanziger* Münze, die aus zwanzig kleineren Münzteilen (Kreuzern) besteht, Lothr. *zwanziger* id., Als. *zwanziger* Frankenstück: *zweinzelc*, *zwanzig*.

Swiss *zwäntig-rapp*, *-räppler* Zwanzigrappenstück.

Styr. *zwanzig-schillinger* Kippertaler im Werte von 150 Kreuzern.

E. dial. *twenty-penny* two-franc piece: *twenty*.

28. Bav. *vierundzwanziger* Kopfstück, das vierundzwanzig Kreuzer gilt, Swab. *vierundzwanziger* Geldstück im Werte von vierundzwanzig Kreuzern, Styr. *vierundzwanziger* Name einer Münze: *vierundzwanzig*.

29. Du. *achtentwintig* silver coin of twenty-eight stivers or one gold gulden, WFr. *achtentweintich* silver coin: *achtentwintig*.

30. Styr. *dreissiger* Silbermünze im Werte von dreissig Kreuzern: *dreissig*.

Bav. *dreissig-kreuzerer* Münze (im Werte von dreissig Kreuzern).

Swiss *drässig-bätzler* Dreissigbatzenstück.

31. Styr. *dreiunddreissiger* Silbermünze (im Werte von $\frac{1}{2}$ Kronentaler): NHG. *dreiunddreissig*.

32. Als. *vierziger* Zweifrankstück, franzö. Silbermünze (im Werte von vierzig Pfennig): *vierzig*.

33. NE. *fifty-cent piece* coin of the value of fifty cents, Sw. *femtia* banknote of fifty, etc.: *fifty*, *femtia*.

34. Du. *dubbeltje*, *dubje* two stivers, ten-cent piece, WFr. *dubbeltsje* silver coin of two stivers, EFr. *doppelke*, *düppeltje* Zwei-stüberstück: Du. *dubbel* double, twice; MHG. *döppelin* kleine Münze, Bav. *döpplein* kleine Scheidemünze, Swab. *doppler* id.: NHG. *doppel*, *doppelt*, Lat. *duplus* twice as much, double, whence also Span. *doblon*, Fr. *double* names of various coins, and from these MDu. *doppel* name of various gold and silver coins, *dobbeldoer* coin of the value of two schellings, Lothr. *dubbel*, Als. *duble* Heller, halber Sol, Swab. *dubel*, Styr. *doble* Geldstück, MDu. *dobbloen* gold coin, Als. *dublon*, etc.

Swiss *doppeldickpfänning*, *doppelpfänning* gewisse Münzen; Styr. *doppeldölpel* spanischer Taler im doppelten Werte eines Dölpeltales; Swiss *doppelchrōn* 52 Batzen; Swab. *doppeljünfer* Münzsorte; Styr. *doppelmarzell* alte venezianische Münze; Als. *doppelplappart* gewisse Münze; Bav. *doppeltes piessel* denarius argenteus; Als. *doppeltaler* Fünfmarkstück; Swab. *doppelvierer* eine Münze.

NE. *double-eagle* gold coin of the United States, worth two eagles.

NE. *double-crown* gold coin current in England in the seventeenth century.

NE. *double-royal* coin of twice the value of a royal.

35. Swiss *quadrupel* eine Goldmünze: Fr. *quadruple* vierfach, sb. das Vierfache; Goldmünze im Werte von vier Louis d'or und andere Goldmünzen.

V. GOLD, SILVER, COPPER, ETC.: COIN MADE OF GOLD, SILVER, COPPER, ETC.

1. Swab. *blech* dünne Metallplatte; flaches Gerät aus Blech; dünne Münzen, Bracteaten, Bav. *blech* Blech; Geld, rotw. *blechlein*, *blechling* Kreuzer, NHG. *Blech* dünn geschlagne oder gewälzte Metallplatte; Geld, Du. *blikmunt* coin made of thin plate (*blik*), etc.: MHG. *blech* Blättchen, Metallblättchen, Du. *blik*, *blek* thin metal plate.

Cf. MLat. *bracteatus* (*nummus*) Hohlmünze, Lat. *bractea* dünnes Metallblech, Blech, whence NHG., etc., *brakteat* Hohlmünze von Gold- oder Silberblech.

2. E. dial. *brass* copper coin, halfpence; money: *brass* a metal.

3. ON. *eirpenningr* penny of brass, NIcel. *eirpeningur* copper coin: ON. *eir* brass, Goth. *ais* Erz; Geld.

4. ON. *ertog*, *örtug* name of an old coin or piece of money, Sw. *örtug*, *ortug* coin: OLG. *arut* Stückchen Erz, OHG. *aruzzi*, *arizzi*, MHG. *arze*, *erze* Metallschlacke, ungereinigtes, unbearbeitetes Metall, plus some suffix or word, and perhaps originally a coin made of such metal, or an amount of metal equal to the value of a certain coin.

5. OFris. *gelden*, *golden*, *gulden*, *gouden* Gulden, MDu. *gulden*, *guldijn* name of an originally gold coin, later also of silver, *gulden van Florensen* florin, Du. *gulden* certain silver coin, dial. *gulle*, *gulleke*, WFris. *goune* id., MHG. *guldin* (*phenninc*) Goldmünze, Gulden, NHG. *Gulden*, Bav., etc., *gulden*, *guldener*, *gulinger* Gulden, Dan. *gylden*, Sw. *gyllen*, NIcel. *gyllini* florin, gulden: OHG., OE., OFris., etc., *gold* Gold, OHG., MHG. *guldin*, OFris. *gelden*, *gulden*, *golden*, OE. *gylden*, *golden* golden.

MHG. *golt-guldin* Goldgulden, aureus denarius, MDu. *goutgulden*, Du. *goudgulden* gold coin, WFris. *goudgoune* id., Swab. *goldgulden*, Als. *goldgulden* Gulden in Gold, Goldgulden.

Styr. *guldengroschen* Name einer Silbermünze, Swab. *gulden-groschen* Silbertaler.

Swab. *goldchrōn* Münzsorte, Styr. *goldkrone* Goldmünze mit aufgeprägter Krone.

OFris. *goldpannig* gewisses Geldmass, ON. *gullpenningr* gold penny, NIcel. *gullpeningur* gold coin; (pl.) gold money, MSw. *gul-pänninger* coin of gold, Swab. *guldenpfennig* Silbergulden.

ON. *gullskillingr* gold skilling.

Sw. *guldstycke* piece of gold; yellow-boy, Du. *goudstuk*, WFris. *goudstikje* piece of gold, golden coin, etc.

Styr. *guldentaler* Silbermünze, Swab. *guldentaler* $9\frac{1}{2}$ Gulden.

6. Dan. *kobber* das Kupfer; kupferne Scheidemünze, WFris. *koper* copper coin, Du. dial. (Tuerl.) *koper* money, NE. *copper* a metal; copper coin; penny; cent; copper money; small change; Bav. *küpferling* nummus aereus: *kobber*, *copper*, *Kupfer*, etc.

MSw. *kopparmynt* copper coin, copper, old Dan. *kobberdøjt* small (Dutch) copper coin, NIcel. *kopar-peningur* copper coin, MHG. *kupfermünze*, etc.

7. Du. dial. (Antw.) *nikkel* (*ikkel*) coin made of nickel, of five, ten, or twenty centimes, NE. *nickel* a metal; in the United States a coin representing the value of five cents, made of an alloy of nickel

and copper, NHG. dial. *nickel* Zehnpfennigstück aus Nickel, Als. *nickel* id., *nickele* Fünfpfennigstück.

8. OLG. *silbarling* Silberling, piece of silver, OHG. *silbarling*, *silberling*, MHG. *silberlinc*, NHG. *Silberling* biblische Münze, Du. *zilverling*, WFris. *sulverling* old coin, in the Bible, NE. *silverling* old standard of value in silver; piece of silver money; in the passages cited from the Bible, either a shekel or half-shekel: Goth. *silubr*, ON. *silfr*, OE. *seolfor*, OHG. *sil(a)bar*, etc., silver. Compare OSlav. *sürebrinikū*, *srebrinikū* Silbermünze.

NE. *silver* a metal; silver coin; hence, money in general, Ger. dial. (Berlin) *silber* (pl.) Silbergroschen.

MHG. *silberlin* kleines Silberstück.

Swiss *silberchrōn* ehemals $2\frac{1}{2}$ Gulden, Styr. *silberkrone* Silbermünze mit aufgeprägter Krone.

NHG. *Silbergroschen*, Als. *silbergröschel* Zehnpfennigstück, Als. *silbergroschen* Zweisousstück.

Waldeck *silbergulden* eine Münze.

Sw. *silfvermynt* silver coin; a silverling (esp. in Bible).

MSw. *silfpänninger* silver penny, Sw. *silfver-penning* silverling; pieces of silver.

Als. *silbersou* Fünfpfennigstück.

OE. *seolfor-stycce* piece of silver, coin, MSw. *silfstykke* silfverstycke, piece of silver, WFris. *sulver-stik* silver coin, etc.

NHG. *Silbertaler*, Sw. *silfverdaler*, NE. *silver-dollar*, etc.

9. ON., NIcel. *eyrir*, OSw. *örir*, öri, oyri, Sw. öre, Dan. øre Gewichts- oder Münzenheit, whence MLG. *ore* kleine skandinavische Münze, OE. *ōra* Danish monetary unit: Lat. *aureus* (*nummus*) gold coin, *aurum* gold.

10. Bav. *carldor*, *maxdor*, NHG. *Louisdor*, *Friedrichsdor*, Dan. *Christian d'or*, *Frederik d'or*, etc., various names of gold coins, after the French *Louis d'or* golden Louis, gold coin of Louis: *or* gold, *d'or* golden. Cf. the above.

11. MDu. *billioen*, *balioen* gold and silver mixed with other metals; false gold, false money, MLG. *baliun*, *balliun* geringhaltige Silbermünze; Silber oder Gold, welches nicht den gesetzlichen Feingehalt hat, Du. *biljoen* coin made of silver and copper; base coin, Swiss *bilion* mit Kupfer vermischte Silbermünze: MLat. *billio*, Fr. *billon* debased metal.

12. OLG. *medilla* kleine Münze, MDu. *maelge*, *maile* small coin, half a penny; also, silver coin, OHG. *medili*, MHG. *medele*, *melle* kleine Münze, Heller, Swiss *mettelin* Goldmünze, Fr. *maille* kleine Kupfermünze, E. dial. *maille* gold coin; MLat. *medalia* halber Denar, kleine Münze:Lat. *metallum* metal, gold, silver, iron, etc. Lit. 'coin of metal.'

VI. COLOR

a) WHITE, BRIGHT, SHINING; LIGHT, BRIGHT
OBJECT:BRIGHT, SILVER COIN

1. OFris. *albus* Weisspfennig, MHG., Swab., etc., *albus* Weisspfennig, nummus albus, Cologne *albes* altdeutsches Geldstück, Waldeck *albus* Scheidemünze, MDu. *alb* small coin, 'blank,' MDan. *album* small coin, 'hvid,' NE. *album* in law, white (silver) money paid as rent; MLat. *albus* (*nummus*) Weisspfennig, Lat. *albus* white, bright.

2. OFris. *blikert* kleine Münze: *blīka* blicken, OE. *blīcan* schimmern, glänzen, ON. *blīkja* gleam, twinkle.

3. MDu. *blanke* silver coin, 'alb,' Du. *blank* certain coin, WFRis. *blank* coin of the value of six doits, MLG. *blank* eine Münze, MHG. *metzblanke* Silbermünze von Metz, Swiss *blanker* alte fremde Scheidemünze, *blankener* id., *metz-blankener* 'blank' der Stadt Metz; OFr., Fr. *blanc*, It. *bianco* names of coins: MHG. *blanc*, OHG. *blanch* glänzend weiss, weiss.

4. MHG. *blaphart* Art Groschen, Bav. *plapphart(er)*, *plappert* ehemalige Scheidemünze, Swiss *plapper(t)* Name einer alten Scheidemünze, je nach Zeit und Ort von verschiedenem Werte, Styr. *blaffert* kleine Münze ohne Bild und Zeichen, Westf. *blafferd* ehemalige Münze, MDu. *blaffaert*, Du. *blafferd* name of a coin: MLat. *blaffardus*, Fr. *blafard* bleich, OHG. *bleih-varo* bleichfarben (Weigand⁵, II, 436).

5. E. dial. *daisies* (pl.) silver money: *daisy* small flower with a yellow disk, and white or rose-colored rays.

6. Styr. *flinserl* Metallblättchen, das zum Aufputz verwendet wird; Flitterchen; Silberguldenstück: MHG. *vlins* zitterndes Fliessen Schimmern, *vlinsen* zittern, schimmern.

7. ON. *hvītr penningr*, MSw. *hviter pānninger* penny of silver, silver penny, Dan. *hvide penge* silver money, Nor. *kvitt*, Dan. *hvid*,

Sw. *hvitten*, *vitten* kind of silver coin, MLG. (*de, en*) *witte* albus, Weisspfennig, MHG. *wīzpfenninc*, *wīzer phenninc* Münze, Ger. dial. *weisspfennig* kleine Baar- und Rechenmünze, denarius albus, Als. *weisspfennig* alte Strassburger Münze von geringem Werte, Swiss *wīsspfännung* niederländische Silberscheidemünze. Cf. *albus* No. 1.

MHG. *wīzez gelt* mehr silber- als kupferhaltiges Geld, Du. dial. (Antw.) *wit geld*, WFris. *wijtjild* silver money, moneta argentea.

ON. *hwít mörk* white money, of pure silver, as opposed to *grätt* (gray) silver.

MDu. *wit-stuver* small silver coin.

NE. *white shilling* a shilling.

E. dial. *white money* silver coin; *white Geordie* a shilling; *white siller* (silver) silver coin; *white sb.* of coin:silver, *whitening* silver; money in general, small change.

NHG. (Gaunerspr.) *weissling* Silberzwanziger.

Cf. ON. *skīrt silfr* pure, bright silver (in money):*skīrr* clear, bright, pure.

8. NE. *shiner* one who or that which shines; coin, esp. a bright one; sovereign, dial. *shine* a coin. Cf. the following.

9. Styr. *scheinkreuzer* Kreuzer der österr. Währung vom Jahre 1811: NHG. *scheinen*.

10. NHG. *Schimmel* Silbermünzen, Taler: MHG. *schimel* Schimmel, Glanz; weisses Pferd.

b) DARK, GRAY:SILVER COIN

1. EFris. *blaue* altes preussisches Zweigutegroschensilberstück: MLG. *bla, blaw* blau, dunkel, finster.

2. E. dial. *greygroat* silver groat, fourpenny piece:*grey* of a white color with a mixture of black.

3. ON. *grā-penigr* coin of small size and value:*grār* gray.

4. MDu. *meeuwe* mew, gull; small coin, *placmeeuwe* silver coin, MLG. *plackenewe* (**place-mewe*) holländische Münze: Du. *meeuw* mew, gull.

c) YELLOW; YELLOW BIRD, ANIMAL, FLOWER:YELLOW (GOLD) COIN

1. NE. *canary* small singing bird with yellow plumage; sovereign (gold coin).

2. Swiss *dischlin-vierer* Geldstück, den Kindern in Bern am Ostermontag ausgeteilt: *dischli* Distelfink.

3. Swab. *fuchs* Fuchs; Goldmünze, *gold-fuchs*, *-fuchslein* Art Fuchs; lebhaft goldartig gefärbtes Tier; Goldmünze, Tirol. *fuchs* rothaariges Tier; Goldmünze, Als. *fuchs* rotes oder braunrotes Pferd; Goldstück, Du. dial. (Antw.) *vosken* gold coin. Cf. d, 2.

4. WFr. *giel-gou* oriolus galbula, golden thrush, loriot; (pl.) *giel-goukes* gold coins, gold money.

5. Westf. *gele-gös* Ammerling, Goldammer; Goldstück: Bremen *geel-gösken* Grünfink, Grünschwanz, kleiner Vogel, wovon das Männchen eine gelbe Brust hat.

6. Du. *geelvink* sort of finch; a geeltje or gold coin, esp. in plural for money in general, Antw. *geelvink* gold-piece, pièce d'or, Swiss *gelwfink* scherzhafte Benennung eines Goldstückes.

7. Swab. *gelbvogel* Goldammer; Goldstück, Swiss *gelwivögel* Goldstücke.

8. NE. *yellowhammer* yellow bunting; flicker; gold coin, yellow-boy.

9. NE. *yellow-boy* gold coin: *yellow*.

10. NE. *yellow* of a bright color resembling gold, sb. a guinea-coin; *yellow George* a guinea, *yellow-beel* lit. 'a yellow bill'; a guinea.

11. Du. *geeltje* animal of a yellow color; gold-piece, ducat; WFr. *in geile goune* shining gulden: *geel* yellow.

12. Du. *goudvink* certain bird of a yellow color; gold coin, Antw. *goudvink* pièce d'or, NE. *goldfinch* thistle bird; gold piece; sovereign.

13. Swab. *goldvogel*, *-vögelein* Goldstück, Swiss *goldvögeli* id., WFr. *in gouden fügel* a certain (gold) coin.

14. E. dial. *goldy* golden, of a golden color, sb. goldfinch; yellowammer; sovereign (gold coin).

15. Du. dial. (Antw.) *ijsvogeltje* gold-piece of ten francs: Du. *ijsvogel* kingfisher, halcyon, small European bird with brilliant plumage. Or perhaps so called only on account of the coin's brilliancy.

16. Styr. *katerfink* Name einer alten Münze. Doubtless a large gold coin.

17. NE. *marigold* flower with much yellow color in it; piece of gold money.

18. NE. *ruddock* robin-redbreast; gold coin; also *red ruddock*, *golden ruddock*.

d) BROWN, RED; ANYTHING OF A BROWN, RED COLOR: COPPER COIN

1. NE. *brown* of a dark or dusty color, *sb.* dark color; halfpenny, *brown money* coppers (copper coins).

2. Westf. *foss Fuchs*; Kupfermünze, Cologne *fuss* alte Kupfermünze, Cronenberg *fus* rothaariger Mensch oder rothaariges Tier; Pfennig, Du. dial. (Zaan) *vosje* value of a quarter of a cent. Cf. c, 3.

3. NE. *red* object of red color; copper coin, *red cent* id. Cf. Du. dial. (Antw.) *geen roō duit* not a penny (red doit).

4. Swiss *bejoggel* Scheidemünze, Kleingeld. From It. *baiocco* copper coin: *baio* chestnut-colored, brown, bay.

Cf. Du. *roodeloop* diarrhoea accompanied by the loss of blood; cents, bronze (copper) coins.

e) DARK, GRAY (OBJECT): COIN THAT CONTAINS LITTLE LIGHT METAL, HAS LOST ITS LUSTER, OR IS OF BASE METAL

1. NE. *black-dog* bad shilling or other base coin: *black* of a dark color, opposed to white.

2. MSw. *blaă penningha* copper coins: ON. *blär* dark, black.

3. E. dial. *gray* halfpenny, with both sides alike, used by sharpers in 'pitch and toss.' Because the coin has lost its luster, is dark or gray.

4. NE. *maggie* magpie, bird having black and white plumage; halfpenny, perhaps *make*, *maik* halfpenny.

5. MLG. *mörken* kleine (kölnische) Münze, MDu. *moor*, *moorkijn* name of a small money-value, MHG. *mörche* kleine Münze; Lat. *mauriculus* (*seu niger thuronensis*), that is dark, black coin.

6. E. dial. *old milk* penny old penny of the time of the Georges: *old milk* skim milk; that is, not bright or new coin.

7. MDu. *swart* black, dark, *sb. swarte* name of a coin, *swarte tornoys*; Styr. *schwarzmünze* Münze aus der Zeit Friedrichs III. mit geringem Silbergehalt; Swiss *schwarzer batzen* gewisse Art Batzen; Styr. *schwarze petaken* gewisse fremde Münzen; NHG. *Schwarzpfennig* Kupferpfennig im Gegensatz zum Silber- oder Weisspfennig, etc.

VII. HOLLOW, CONCAVE; FLAT, DISH-LIKE OBJECT;
ALSO, INFLATED, RAISED OBJECT:BRACTEATUS

1. Swiss *büggeli* eine Münze, Angster, *büggeli-angster* Angster in Form einer Hohlmünze: *büggel* Wölbung.
2. Swiss *höger* alte Scheidemünze im Werte von vier bis fünf Rappen: *hoger* Höcker am menschlichen Körper.
3. MLG. *hol munte* Blechmünze, Bracteat, MDan. *hulpenning* Bracteat, Swab. *holpfenning* eine Münze, Du. *holmunt*, NHG. *Hohlmünze*, etc., coin of gold or silver plate, with a raised stamping on one side: *hol* hollow, concave.
4. Swiss *pfüs-bäckle* Hohlräpplein, deren zwei einen Rappen ausmachen: *pfüs-*, *büs-baggig* bausbackig, *büs-bäggler* bausbackiges Kind, NHG. *Pausback* Wesen mit aufgeblasnen oder wie aufgebläht dicken strotzenden Backen.
5. Styr. *skarnitzel-pfennig* Schüsselpfennig, Hohlpfennig: *skarnitzel* Papierdüte, Düte, *skarnitzel glas* dütenförmiges Trinkglas.
6. Hess. *schüssel* Münze, *goldene schüsseln* Regenbogenpfennige, Swiss *schüsseli-pfänning* Name der ehemaligen Bracteaten oder Hohlmünzen von dem Werte eines Pfennigs, Styr. *schussel-pfennig* Münzsorte: MHG. *schüssel*, NHG. *Schüssel* flaches Tischgeschirr. Cf. Nos. 7 and 8.
7. Swab. *himmels-schüsseln* Münzen, napfförmig vertiefte alte Goldmünzen.
8. NHG. *Regenbogen-schüsselchen* kleine rohe Goldmünzen schüsselförmiger Gestalt.

VIII. ROUGH, HARD, CROOKED: COIN THAT IS ROUGH,
HARD, CROOKED

1. NE. *hardhead* small billon or copper coin of Scotland, of the value of about three halfpence English money: from the rough or hard figure of a head on the coin.
2. NHG. *Härtling* harter Taler. Cf. Swab., etc., *harte taler* gewisse Art Taler.
3. E. dial. *crookie* sixpence: from rough or crooked shape; possibly *crokard* name given to base coins imported into England by foreign merchants.

4. Swiss *rüchling*, *rüchlinger Härtling*; Brausekopf; Mensch von barschem, grobem, rohem Charakter; Münzname.

5. Swiss *rübel* Kraushaar; ehemaliges Geldstück im Werte von $\frac{1}{2}$ Gulden: so gennant, weil auf dem Geldstücke Max mit gekrausten Haaren gezeichnet ist.

IX. CLIPPED, SQUARE-CUT, IN CONTRAST TO ROUND, STAMPED COIN

1. MDan. *klippe-penning*, *klipping* four-cornered coin, made by clipping, Sw. *klipping* square-clipped coin, MLG. *klippink* vier-eckige Münze, nicht durch Schlagen gewonnen, sondern durch Zerschneiden der Zeine mit der Schere, also *klippen-*, *klippeken-pennink*, Ger. dial. (Hess.) *klippe* die (meist viereckig geschlagne) Blechmünze geringsten Gehaltes und Wertes: ON. *klippa*, Dan. *klippe*, Sw. *klippa* scheren, mit der Schere schneiden.

In contrast with this is Sw. *rundstycke* doit, small coin, lit. 'round piece.'

X. THIN, THIN OBJECT: THIN COIN

1. MHG. *angster* schweizerische Scheidemünze, Swiss *angster* alte Scheidemünze, *angster-pfännung* Münze im Werte eines Angsters: Lat. *angustus* eng, dünn, schmal. Cf. Bav. *ang-ster* hohe Flasche mit engem Halse, Krug.

2. WFr. *bek(ke)snijer* worn-out coin, old dubbeltje, with which fighters cut one another in the face (that is old, thin, sharp coin): Du. *bekkensnijden* cut in the face (in fighting). Also to XX.

3. NE. *bender* one who or that which bends; a sixpence: because it is thin and bends easily.

4. Swab. *dölclein* Lothringer Münze: NHG. *Dolch* messerartige zweischneidige Stichwaffe. Possibly a small, thin coin.

XI. BROAD, HEAVY, THICK, LARGE THING, PERSON, OR ANIMAL: BROAD, HEAVY, THICK, LARGE COIN (CF. XIII)

1. NE. *broad-piece*, *broad* English coin first issued in 1619 by James I, so called after the introduction in 1663 of the guinea, which was narrower and thicker: *broad*.

2. Swiss *dick-pfänning*, *dicker pfänning* Bezeichnung verschiedener Silbermünzen, Swab. *dick-pfenning*, *dicker pfenning* Pfennig, im Unterschiede von den blechdünnen Bracteaten, Styr. *dickpfenning* Name einer Silbermünze; Swab. *dickgulden* eine Münze, *dicker gulden* 19 Kreuzer; Styr. *dickgroschen* Name einer Münze; Swab. *dicktaler* dicker Pfennig.

3. Du. dial. (WFlem.) *dikke* a thick stiver, piece of ten centimes: *dik* large, thick.

4. E. dial. *half-a-thick-'un* half a sovereign (thick, heavy coin): *thick*.

5. OFris. *grāta* eine Münze, MDu. *groot* name of a coin, Du. *groot* certain former coin of the value of half a stiver, MLG. *grōte* Münze, grossus; EFris. *grote*, *grot*, *grotten* grossus, old Dan. *grot* certain coin, ME. *grōte* groat, NE. *groat* English silver coin of the value of four pence: OFris. *grāt*, OE. *grēat*, OHG. *grōz* gross, dick.

Cf. OFris. *grāte-merk* Grottenmark, Mark in Grotten; Bremen *grote penninge*, *grote schware*; Swab. *grosse taler*, etc.

6. MHG. *gros*, *grosse Groschen*, Swiss *gross* kleine Silbermünze, *groschen*, *gröschli* die deutsche Scheidemünze, *grössler* Scheide- und Silbermünze, NHG. *Groschen* ehemalige deutsche Silbermünze, Als. *groschen* Zweisousstück aus Kupfer, *gröschle* Zweipfennigstück, MLG. *grosse(n)* Groschen, Du. *gros*, MSw. *gros* kind of silver coin, NE. *gros* silver coin struck by Edward III, *grosset* groat: MLat. *grossus (denarius)* Dickpfennig von Silber oder Gold, MLat. *grossus* dick, whence also OFr. *grosset*, Fr. *gros*, It. *grosso* Groschen.

7. NE. *gourde* Franco-American name for a dollar, in use in Louisiana, Cuba, Hayti, etc.: Fr. *gourde* fem. of *gourd*, OFr. *gordo* numb, slow, dull, Span. *gordo* thick, large, fat, plump.

8. MHG. *soldīn* kleine Münze, MLG. *soltink* byzantinischer Goldsolidus; MLat. *soldus* Goldmünze von verschiedenem Werte, *adj.* fest, dicht (ursprünglich Dickmünze im Gegensatz zu der aus Metall geschlagenen), Lat. *solidus* dicht, fest, hart, whence also It. *soldo*, Fr. *sou* kleine Münze, Waldeck *sol* solidus, Schilling, Antw. *sol* piece of ten centimes, *solleken* piece of five centimes, Lothr. *su* sou, Als. *sou* Kupfermünze im Werte von fünf Centimes, *sünle*, *sünerle* kleines Geldstück, E. dial. *sous(e)* sou, halfpenny, Als. *subatzel* Sousstück, etc.

9. OFris. *swēre* schwer, *thi swēra panning* Art Pfennig, MLG. *swāre*, *swāren* Kupfermünze in Bremen, Oldenburg, etc., Bremen *sware* Bremer kupferne Scheidemünze.

10. NE. *buck* male of the deer; big, strapping fellow; coin, esp. a dollar.

11. NE. *bull* male of the domestic bovine; five-shilling piece.

12. Pruss. *brummer* grosse Fliege; alte Kupfermünze, sechs alte Pfennige wert.

13. NE. *hog* swine; shilling, or perhaps a sixpence. Cf. *hog-money* XXIX, 10.

14. Du. dial. (Tuerl.) *mastok* piece of five centimes: Fr. *mastoc* heavy, stout, rough fellow.

15. E. dial. *tumbling tams* thick copper halfpennies: *tam*, *tom* the male of various beasts and birds, *tom-pin* very large pin, *tom-toe* the great toe. See also XIV, 11.

16. NE. *stag* male of various animals, esp. of the deer: an English shilling.

XII. LARGE (FLAT OR ROUND) OBJECT: LARGE COIN

1. E. dial. *disk* thin circular plate of any material; half-crown piece, Fr. *disque* flat, circular object; piece of money.

Cf. WFRis. *skiiv* disk, *roune skiven* coins: MDu. *schive* flat, round object, disk, slice.

2. WFRis. *foartsjillen* en *eftertsjillen* fore- and back-wheels of a four-wheeled vehicle; guldens en daalders, guldens and dollars.

3. Bremen *flinder*, *flinderken* altes Bremer Viergrottenstück, EFris. *flinderke*, *flinnerk* Schmetterling, Tagfalter; alte ostfriesische Scheidemünze; WFRis. *flinter* papilio; (pl.) gold coins. Or the name may be from the brightness of the coin, esp. in the case of the WFRis. form.

4. Als. *ochsenaug* (Ochsenauge); Fünffrankensteinstück. Cf. the following.

5. WFlem. *peerdoog(e)*, Antw. *peerdsog* (horse's eye); piece of five francs.

6. Als. *pläpper* breiter, dünner Stein, mit dem die Knaben über das Wasser werfen; Geldmünze, Medaille; jedes grössere Geldstück.

7. Du. dial. (Antw.) *plaat* five-franc piece:Du. *plaat* flat, hard object; flat piece of metal. Cf. Bav. *plätti* Geld.

8. Swiss *rad* Rad; Fünffrankenstück, *redli*, *rederli* (dim.) kleine Scheidemünze, Kupfergeld, Bav. *radl* silberne Siebenkreuzermünze, Berlin *rad* Taler, Swiss *hinderrad* Hinterrad; Fünffrankenstück (Kutschersprache), *vorderrad* Zweifrankenstück.

9. Du. dial. (Boek.) *vullisblik* name for a four-doit piece, bronze $2\frac{1}{2}$ -cent piece:Du. *vulnis-*, *vulnis-blik* dust-pan, chip-pan.

10. Du. dial. (Boek.) *spuit-lood* numbered counter which firemen give to the chief as proof of their presence at a fire; leaden counter; rix-dollar.

11. NE. *wheel* circular frame or solid disk turning on an axis; dollar; *cartwheel* large silver coin; five-shilling piece or dollar; *coach-wheel* large coin, as a crown, half-crown, or dollar.

12. Du. dial. (Antw.) *karrewiel* cartwheel:five-frank piece.

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[*To be continued*]

THE "GENOVEVA" THEME WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO HEBBEL'S TREATMENT

When and where the real Genoveva theme originated has been the subject of lively discussion. For our present purposes we need not go into that at length; for, while reduced to its simplest elements the theme reaches back to the very beginnings of community life, a review of the literary reactions evoked by it since it was first coupled with the name of Genoveva will suffice for our study.

But we cannot pass the matter by in such summary fashion when the question is asked, "What is the Genoveva theme?" Bruno Golz¹ speaks of it as the "Leiden einer unschuldigen Frau" and cites parallels in the exposure and rescue of innocent women in the Thidreksage and elsewhere. Richard Meszlény² scores Golz for this superficial view, maintaining that the theme is the disloyalty of the trusted man toward the husband who has left property and wife in his hands. In this, Meszlény is unfair toward Golz. Both critics are right, only they are approaching the subject from different standpoints. In fact, it is of great importance that we recognize from the outset that the theme contains two distinct elements, and that this accounts for the very different treatments it has received. Golz, in writing a history of Genoveva in German literature, naturally stresses that part of the theme which had attracted almost all of those who handled the subject. Meszlény, having Hebbel's Genoveva in mind, lays emphasis on the other side.

According to Seuffert,³ who seems to know more about the legendary Genoveva than anyone else, the legend was first written somewhere between 1325 and 1425 by a monk of Laach. On a copy of this MS Marquard Freher seems to have founded his Latin version of 1613. This work contains practically all the characters found in the later redactions, with the same names. Better known than Freher's legend, however, was that of the French Jesuit, René de

¹ *Pfalzgräfin Genoveva in der deutschen Dichtung*, Leipzig, 1897.

² "Friedrich Hebbel's Genoveva," *Hebbel Forschungen*, Nr. IV, Berlin, 1910.

³ *Die Legende von der Pfalzgräfin Genovefa*, Würzburg, 1877.

Cerisiers, which appeared in 1640. Here are to be found many points that continue on down through Hebbel's drama: the reluctance of Genoveva to marry; Golo's first declaration of love before Genoveva's portrait; Golo's nurse as an accomplice; Genoveva bears a son in prison and calls him Benoni (in later German versions translated to Schmerzenreich); Siegfried, wounded, has to stop in Strassburg, where Golo visits him and where they both visit the witch, sister of Golo's nurse; the ghost of Drago appears—to Siegfried, however, etc.

Cerisiers formed the basis of the German *Volksbuch* which was, of course, the source of information for the important Genoveva literature of the next two centuries: the works of Müller, Raupach, Tieck, and Hebbel.

As early as 1597 there is proof of the dramatization of the Genoveva theme. From that time to the middle of the eighteenth century we find numberless notices of the presentation of the material all over Germany in various forms—in Italian, in German, and in Latin. Some were music dramas. Most of them were presented by Jesuits, who from Cerisiers on showed a predilection for the subject. A glance at the titles of these school dramas as they are preserved to us will show what attracted playwrights and audiences of the seventeenth century: *Innocence Rewarded*, *Suffering Innocence Triumphant*, etc.

It can easily be imagined, however, that by the time of the Sturm und Drang this phase of the subject ceased to be that which appealed to writers most. Hence we find an improvement in the conception and treatment of the material. In fact with Maler Müller's *Golo und Genoveva* we may say that the first literary treatment of the subject appeared. For this reason, and because of Hebbel's attitude toward Müller's conception, we may look at this play rather carefully.

Like Hebbel, Müller carried the theme of Genoveva in his mind for some time before writing his drama; also like Hebbel, he found that the work when completed did not meet with the approval of those who read it—for very different reasons, to be sure. Ballads, an isolated scene of the drama, and other evidences of his interest in Genoveva are to be found among his early writings. Written in 1775–81, the play was not published until 1811. Tieck saw the MS in 1797, and he it was who prepared it for publication.

It is a typical *Sturm und Drang* piece, both in treatment and in form. To a marked degree it shows the influence of *Götz von Berlichingen* and *Werther*:¹ note the fact that it is a Ritterdrama; compare Mathilde and Adelheid; and Golo is a Werther to all intents and purposes, while Genoveva and Siegfried are counterparts of Charlotte and her husband.

The following brief summary of the action may be a help toward understanding Müller's contribution to the theme and form a basis for further discussion. Act I is taken up with Siegfried's departure for the war. Genoveva begs to go along, but is refused. The real farewell, so vividly portrayed by Hebbel, is not represented on the stage. The situation is also obscured by numerous minor characters, and their relations rather obtrude on our attention. Golo, as soon as he knows he is in control, begins to be fired with love for Genoveva, wishes he might flee, but yet will not. The event of the portrait is changed: Genoveva, wishing to cheer Golo up, for whom she genuinely sympathizes in what she takes to be melancholy at being left behind, shows him a work of art—the picture of three saints. Golo is not enthusiastic, the maids rally him on his lack of appreciation, and attribute it to the fact that he thinks he can paint better. Golo replies by fetching a mirror and placing it before Genoveva and Julie, muttering a vague something about his love. Genoveva suspects nothing.

Act II is marked by the arrival at Pfälzel of the moving spirit of the play: Mathilde. She has come at Genoveva's invitation, which is a dramatic point, since she is to be Genoveva's undoing. She is the patroness of Golo, who, as it develops at the end of Act IV, is her illegitimate son. She is a Machtweib, a Lady Macbeth, a Marwood, an Adelheid. Ambitious for her son, she humors him, bullies him, encourages him, tries to arouse him from his stupor of love. Finding this impossible, she then tries to satisfy his desire. Thus that course of intrigue is entered on, which soon admits of no possibility but to continue it to the fatal conclusion. As a woman who is beautiful, magnetic, bringing everyone under her sway, and yet one who scruples at nothing to reach her end, Mathilde is well portrayed.

¹The author intended to dedicate it to Goethe. The friendship between himself and Goethe was broken off, however, before the publication of the play.

The events of Act III are as follows: Golo declares his love in the garden and is rejected. Genoveva's cry for help is heard by Dragones, who runs to the spot, only to be wounded by Golo, who escapes. Others rush up and fall on Dragones. Genoveva faints. Mathilde starts the suspicion of intrigue between Genoveva and Dragones. These two are put in custody. Later when Genoveva has rejected shameful proposals from Mathilde in Golo's behalf, Genoveva is put in a dungeon, and Dragones is poisoned (dying on the stage). Mathilde used one of her lovers to poison Dragones.

In Act IV Siegfried is informed of the state of things. A servant of Mathilde procures the count's orders to kill Genoveva. Golo tries to induce Genoveva to flee with him. In vain.¹ The matter of Genoveva's guilt is submitted to trial by combat; Genoveva's champion falls before Golo (on the stage) and Mathilde urges Golo to hurry up the killing of Genoveva. She is turned over to two murderous fellows, from whom the old gardener rescues her, the murderers giving her up on the condition that she go away. In remorseful fury Golo would assassinate Siegfried whose face is a constant reminder of his evil deed. Mathilde stops him in this mad plan only to be stabbed herself. She tells him she is his mother. Golo flees, and Mathilde finds it expedient to leave Pfälzel.

In Act V² the action takes place years later. Siegfried is given a letter which Genoveva had written when she received her condemnation. A hunt is ordered. Golo, driven desperate by remorse, goes defiantly to the hunt. It is a double chase. Some hunt the game, others Golo. Genoveva and Schmerzenreich are found; Golo gives himself up. But he dies like a man. Genoveva and Siegfried return to a happy married life.

It will be seen from this outline that Müller's work is at least characterized by some marked innovations. He took the material, used what he liked, followed now the German, now the Dutch tradition, and supplied some inventions of his own. One inestimable contribution of Müller is the changing of Genoveva from a saint to a pure woman.³ The Genoveva of the saga tried to dissuade Golo

¹ This scene, which Müller had already treated in ballad, is here better presented. There Genoveva had to buy the life of her child with a kiss. Here Golo puts the child back in her arms on seeing her despair.

² In the course of this act Mathilde meets a terrible end, dying at the hands of a betrayed lover, the same who poisoned Dragones.

³ Cf. Seuffert, p. 166.

from his evil desires. Müller's Genoveva cannot bear the sight of Golo when she at last learns his intent. On the whole, however, this character has not been successful in any writer's hands.

The main departure Müller made from the saga was in the character of Mathilde. The nurse of Golo has here become his mother, and a woman of rank and power. No one can deny that Mathilde is a dramatic figure. She is the favorite character of the author. Her defiance of all law makes her the true *Stürmer und Dränger*. Meszlény, who rolls strange metaphors as a sweet morsel under his tongue, calls her a comet-like parabola. But Müller makes a mistake in emphasizing this character, just as Goethe does with Adelheid. The result is that she overshadows, nay, even effaces Golo, who, as Hebbel insisted and Tieck endeavored to show, is the real tragic character. Müller must have felt this too, though not in time. Note that when Mathilde passes out of the action, Golo becomes another man. He, like Hebbel's Golo, feels that justice must be dealt out to him, and longs for it, and goes out to meet his fate, utterly indifferent whether he lives or dies. After he has given himself up, his accusers would cut him down like a beast, but he overcomes them and could kill them. Instead he lets them kill him.

Just before his death Golo utters a sentiment that reminds one strongly of Hebbel: "Ihr Elenden," he says to his executioners, "die nicht fühlen, wie jammervoll dem Unglücklichen ist! Ihr schmähet mich, schaut auf mein Verbrechen, aber nicht auf das Schicksal, das mich bis dahin trieb." This is the view of the *Stürmer und Dränger*. A man must act in accordance with the nature God gave him. Werther could not help loving Charlotte, and could not help killing himself, because he could not otherwise keep away from her. Similarly Judith could not keep from loving Holofernes. In this view Hebbel is in accord with the *Stürmer und Dränger*.

Müller lets the strings go here and there. The construction is loose, filled with minor characters, and marred by promises that remain unfulfilled. Beside Hebbel's compact piece, Müller's shows up badly. Note the space wasted in getting under way. The first act is too circumstantial, and the whole treatment is long drawn out—a fault that seems inherent in the *Genovevastoff*, since everyone who handled it found difficulty in bringing it within proper

bounds. But Müller's drama cannot be said to be dull reading. It has vigor and is not wanting in picturesque qualities. The song, "Mein Grab sei unter Weiden, Am stillen dunkeln Bach!" has a weird effect on the reader as the plot advances.

It was this song that haunted Tieck after the rest of the play had paled in his memory. It will be remembered that Tieck read the almost illegible MS of Müller's play in 1797. The next year he read the *Volksbuch*, and in 1799 he finished his own *Leben und Tod der heiligen Genoveva*. Apropos of the *Volksbuch* and the impression it made on him when he first read it, he afterward said:

Ich las es ohne Absicht in einer müßigen Stunde, und meine Imagination ward vorzüglich von der Schilderung der Einsamkeit, den Leiden der Frau in dieser und dem wundersamen Zusammentreffen mit dem Gemahl in Bewegung gesetzt; der lieblich fromme und schlichte Ton des Büchelchens rührte mich ebenfalls, und allgemach verknüpften sich Erinnerungen, Vorsätze und poetische Stimmungen mit diesem Märchen. Der schöne Gedanke des wiederholten Liedes in Müllers 'Genoveva' fiel mir wieder bei; aber so sehr ich auch mein Gedächtnis quälte, so konnte ich mich durchaus nicht erinnern, ob es jenes Gemälde der Einsamkeit, das mich in der Legende vorzüglich angezogen, angebracht, oder wie er das Wiederfinden des Grafen, das Verhältnis zum Golo behandelt hatte.¹

There is little reason to doubt the sincerity of this statement, or to suppose that Tieck was very much influenced by the play of Müller. The foregoing quotation is interesting, however, as showing Tieck's attitude toward this theme. If Müller in his drama appears as the true Stürmer und Dränger, the author of *Das Leben und Tod der heiligen Genoveva* is in every sense of the term an exponent of Romanticism. It has been pointed out that Müller wrote before the Middle Ages were well known, and that his Genoveva lacks the proper milieu. Tieck lived in the period when the Middle Ages were all-absorbing study and his Genoveva is all milieu. No one would claim for Tieck the name of dramatist. Despite the fact that he regarded his *Genoveva* as his most important work, its chief merit, like that of all his writings, is the interpretation of a past age to his own. No author's treatment of the Genoveva theme was so popular as Tieck's, in its day.

We will not stop to consider Tieck's many additions and inventions, by which he advances the dramatic conception not at all. Such scenes as those in the Saracen camp have nothing to do with

¹ *Schriften*, I, 27.

the Genoveva theme. No more has that of the two shepherds playing and singing to pass away the time. If we wish to get at Tieck's treatment of our theme we had best consider his characters.

First of all Genoveva. We have seen that Müller developed the conception of this character from that of the saint to that of the woman. Tieck, however, goes backward. His is a history of *Saint Genoveva*. He goes to much pains to show her piety. She was loath to leave the monastery. She finds pleasure in long talks with the chaplain, and is studious of the lives of the saints. She has visions of Christ and heaven. But she is not consistently drawn. Her vision of Christ becomes later identified with Golo. She indeed feels, as to be sure the young wife of an old count might feel, a secret inclination for this dashing, bright-eyed, talented knight. As a result of this human trait we might expect a mental conflict. But saints do not have such disturbances, and Genoveva remains the saint.¹ Tieck here gives rise to expectations he does not satisfy: one might suppose that he was about to make Genoveva a dramatic character. Such is not the case, and she remains in Tieck's hands what she was in the hand of all the rest—impossible dramatically.

In Golo, Tieck has succeeded better. He takes care to get the reader's approval of this character in the beginning. Manly beauty, bravery, big-heartedness, fidelity—these qualities are shown us in charming fashion. He is himself not aware of his passion for Genoveva at first. Like Müller's Golo, he finds himself standing near her door without knowing why he is there. He even wishes to console Genoveva. Note another trait which is due to Tieck's invention. Golo would have Genoveva's love, but when Gertrud suggests subtle means of approaching his lady, he refuses to go as a thief in the night.² He longs for Genoveva, but his longing is at first honorable—as a true man for a true woman, not as a rogue for another man's wife.³ As the play advances, this nobler feeling is beaten down by the blind desire for the object of his love. Here we have a truly dramatic conflict which reminds us of Hebbel. Müller, we have seen, failed sadly at this point, though his Golo develops better dramatic

¹ She leaves Golo's declaration of love to go study the Bible with Drago.

² So did Müller's Golo until assured Genoveva wanted him.

³ Cf. such remarks as: "Ist Liebe ein Verbrechen wenn sie keusch bleibt?"; "Sagt ihr hasst mich nicht und all mein Sinnen ist beruhigt."

qualities toward the end. But the end of Golo's career is not the dramatic point; it is where he enters the lane that has no turning.

Despite all Tieck's efforts, however, his Golo is not a strong character. Tieck had stressed his good characteristics too strongly to make a thorough villain of him. He tries to be hard with Genoveva in her need in prison, but relents. And even in his worst despair and fury he sets up two peasant lovers with a comfortable living. He is a confirmed sentimentalist at heart—just such a mediaeval gallant as a Romanticist would portray.

Gertrud needs but a word. Tieck seems to have profited by Müller's mistake in making Mathilde so prominent. Beside the latter, Gertrud is indeed a pale figure. She is a gossipy old woman, who loves Golo, but loves the countess also. She saw no special wrong in encouraging Golo in his love for Genoveva. The two are young and belong to one another, whereas the count is old and "blöden Sinnes." She had no idea that Genoveva could resist Golo's charms and that the result would be more than a quiet little intrigue. She never ceased to be astonished at the proportions the tragedy took. She was in no sense a friend to drastic measures.

Drago is represented as a thoroughly pious, rather bookish person.¹ His being accused of intrigue with Genoveva is too absurd. Also the manner of surprising the two together is poorly motivated, whereas in Müller and Hebbel it is well done.

Tieck followed the *Volksbuch* closely, adding things, but changing little. The episodes of the *Volksbuch* become scenes in the same order in Tieck's drama. Thus a loose dramatical construction was inevitable. He even resorts to the epic form (in the monologues of St. Boniface) when he finds the dramatic too cumbersome. It is evident then that a more dramatic conception of the material is not what Tieck is to be commended for. What was it then? We have spoken of the matter of milieu; Tieck should be credited with some success in getting into the spirit of the age he portrayed, and of reproducing that spirit. But he did more. He lent a finer tone to the moral problem, put that problem on a higher plane. That he could not debate that question successfully in his play lay as much in the fact that he was no philosopher as in deficiencies as a dramatist.

¹ Note the Romantic trait that a cook should be a seeker after knowledge.

Tieck affected mysticism and mediaeval religious feeling, rather than felt them. He was fond of Jacob Boehme's writings, but more for the sentiment than for the real results of the mystic's thought. At least, Tieck shows no evidence of having traced out the problem of good and evil to its source. Hence his tragedy fails to convince us that it might not have happened.

We have now to turn to a dramatist who did attempt this problem.

Müller ignored the religious quality of the legend. Tieck reinvested the theme with this quality, whether superficially or not we shall not stop here to discuss. Hebbel in his turn has written a drama that is thoroughly imbued with religion. This is to be seen throughout: from the scene where Golo throws the responsibility of his future actions on God by climbing the tower, to where Genoveva teaches Siegfried the Christian spirit of forgiveness in the pater-noster.¹ Over against this spirit of religion, as representing the whole, we have the rebellion of Golo, his sophistry, his struggle, as representing the individual. Hebbel's dualism is clear enough here to need no elaboration.

Around the struggle of Golo the plot of the whole drama is woven. The analysis of this character is the chief thing, and monologues and asides are not spared to set forth the workings of Golo's soul. Hebbel has been criticized for this: it has been said that the analysis is cold-blooded; that Golo is not natural; that his actions are too clearly in accordance with the law which Hebbel is here demonstrating, etc. These objections are not without basis. Golo was too vividly in Hebbel's mind for him to have written otherwise. And it would seem that if Hebbel has to answer the charge of being subjective anywhere it is in his Genoveva. One editor has said that the speeches of Golo are one confiteor after the other and that his asides and monologues are equivalent to entries in Hebbel's diaries.² To understand this we must remember Hebbel's state of mind at the period of the writing of Genoveva. In the summer of 1840 Elise, whose approaching confinement was a double bond between him and her, was away from Hamburg. At the same time he felt strongly attracted to Emma Schröder. "Wie ein Tropfen Kühlung für unendliche Glut, wie ein Trunk, der alle Sinne schweltt, erschien ihm das

¹ *Nachspiel*, pp. 279 f.

² Richard Specht, *Hebbel's Werke*, II, 79.

Verhältnis zu Emma," says Werner.¹ Hebbel was torn between duty and desire, and his conflict is reflected in Golo's.

Furthermore, in Genoveva we have both objects of his love at this time. The attractive, beautiful Genoveva is Emma Schröder; the suffering, saint-like Genoveva is Elise. All those qualities in Elise which he had admired he now saw in magnified proportions. If anyone doubts this, let him read an entry in the diary dated September 3, 1840, where the qualities of Genoveva will be found attributed to Elise. He speaks of Elise as a spring of exhaustless love, a soul without a trace of egoism, of whom he was in no wise worthy. "Ach, wenn ich sie oft quälte, sie satanisch im Tiefsten verletzte—immer sprangen nur schöne Funken aus ihrer Seele hervor," and he felt "als ob ich einen Engel gegeisselt hätte, der sich nur dadurch rächen mag, dass er seine herrliche Natur zeigt."² Compare also *Tagebuch*, December 20, 1841, where he confesses that without Elise there would have been no Genoveva. He might also have included Emma Schröder in this statement.

We are not to suppose that Genoveva originated in his mind just at this time. The elements of the plot—the suffering of an innocent woman, the conflict between love and duty, the fundamental idea of evil's being caused by the greatest good, namely, love—all these had been in his mind for years, and can be found in such youthful productions as *Die Räuberbraut*, *Barbier Zitterlein*, and *Anna*. Particularly *Mirandola*—a fragment—seems to have been intended for the vehicle of such ideas as later were depicted in Genoveva.

In February, 1839, Hebbel read some treatment of the Genoveva subject by Müller. Werner³ is doubtless right in his opinion that he may never have seen Müller's drama *Golo und Genoveva*, but only the ballads and the single scene mentioned above. However that may be, his well-known entry in the diary, February 2, 1839, expresses disapproval of the way the theme had been handled. He had not read Tieck's drama, he said, but did not expect much of it. From this entry (which we shall consider carefully, presently) it will be seen that Hebbel had already worked out the theme of his Genoveva

¹ Hebbel's *Werke*, I, xxx; cf. letter to Elise, July, 1840.

² Cf. letter of same date.

³ Hebbel's *Werke*, I. xxxi,

with remarkable clearness. Nearly two years later (September, 1840) he read Tieck's drama. No more satisfied with this than with Müller's, he set to work to write a version in accordance with his own ideas. By March the work was done. That is, of course, not including the *Nachspiel*, which was written 1851.

Hebbel had been drastic in his criticism of Müller and Tieck. Did he justify his right to criticize by constructing a new and better drama on this almost hackneyed subject?

In a very abstract but pertinent introduction to his monograph, Meszlény sets forth the method of the real poet in approaching his material:

Strictly speaking, the dramatic material consists in the causality which portrays the relations of the people in question to one another and to the universe—all this in the abstract and freed from the limitations of time and place.

In contrast to this causal Urform, to the *theoretical* Urstoff, stands the *practical* Urstoff, which portrays the causality within the limitations of time and place.

Now it is a common error to think that a poet is *attracted* by his material, and that that is the *prima agens* of his poetic working. Just the opposite is the case. He approaches the material with personal hostility. If the thing lies before him finished, complete, it does not challenge his artistic powers. But if he sees in a material what it might be if artistically handled, he hates the form it is in. For Shakespeare the Scandinavian version of *Hamblett* was a perversion of a good tragedy. If now this Urform (*practical* Urstoff) be considered the thesis, the antithesis would be the abstract form which the poet deduces from the practical—the thing as it ought to be, but as yet without the limitations of time and place. The synthesis, of course, would be the completed work of art: the new practical form, with new or at least corrected limitations of time and place, fitted to the abstract formula deduced by the poet from the practical Urstoff.

This analysis of the poet's method is more than a clever conceit on the part of our critic. As an ironclad formula, as a mechanical scheme, we should discard it at once—the equation of poets cannot be rendered in any set terms. Yet its application to the work of

any author might produce interesting results. Its aptness in Hebbel's case will escape no one who is familiar with Hebbel's method of composition. It will without question be worth while to apply this scheme in some measure¹ to Genoveva, especially since in this way, as well as in any, we may arrive at an estimate of the play's worth. We have already had a look at the practical Urstoff, which for Hebbel consisted chiefly of the *Volksbuch* and of Tieck's dramatic poem. We shall now see how this practical Urstoff affected him—what sort of theoretical Urform it evoked—comparing at the same time his finished work with this proposed program.

Hebbel was familiar with the Genoveva *Volksbuch* from his Wesselburen days, and must have formed his conclusions as to the poetic possibilities of the material fairly early. Not until February, 1839, however, when he was reading Müller, did he express his opinion on the subject. Of Müller's work he says: "Seine Genoveva ist ein nichts. . . . Der es am wenigsten verdient, der Pfalzgraf, geht als der allein Glückliche aus der Katastrophe hervor." Thereupon follows a discussion of the subject in which Hebbel develops its possibilities as he sees them. ". . . ich habe oft über diesen Stoff nachgedacht und finde seinen dramatischen Gehalt nur im Charakter des Golo. . . . Der dramatische Dichter kann den Golo des alten *Volksbuchs* nicht brauchen, nur, wenn es ihm gelingt, diesen flammenden, heftigen Charakter uns aus menschlichen Beweggründen teuflisch handeln zu lassen, erzeugt er eine Tragödie." This condition is easily fulfilled. "Golo liebt ein schönes Weib, das seiner Hut übergeben ward, und er ist kein Werther. Darin liegt sein Unglück, seine Schuld und seine Rechtfertigung." In other words, Golo, a perfectly innocent man, becomes involved in circumstances for which he himself is not responsible, but which none the less bring him to sin and misfortune. His very love is a sin, a fact that he is the first to recognize. He feels it all too keenly, and he cannot help being angry at the object of his love. The result is, "die Harmonie seines Innern ist einmal gestört, er kann sich selbst nicht mehr achten." Then the hour comes when he confesses his love to Genoveva; after this there is no turning back. Genoveva cannot keep this secret—"ein Weib, das ein solches Geheimniss bewahren soll, steht über einer Mine, sie ist eine Blume mit

¹ We shall follow our own ideas in so doing. Meszlény rides his hobby too recklessly, and we do not care to follow him.

einer brennenden Kohle im Schoos." Golo must keep on now, if for no other reason than to save himself. "Dazu kommt, das eben der edelste Verführer am wenigsten an die Heiligkeit des kalten Weibes glauben kann; warum soll sie höher stehen, wie er, und, wenn sie durch irgend Einen fallen muss, warum nicht durch ihn?" One misdeed leads to another, each more terrible than the other, but each more forgivable than the preceding, because necessary. "Genovevas Schicksal muss erfüllt werden, damit Golos Hölle ganz werde; kann er nicht ganz selig seyn, so will er doch ganz verdammt seyn."

Hebbel sums up the case succinctly as follows:

Dies sind die Hauptmomente; eine ungeheure Blutthat, die aus einem holden Lächeln, einem falsch ausgelegten gütigen Blick entspringt; himmlische Schönheit, die durch sich selbst, durch ihren eigenen Glanz, ihren göttlichen Adel, in Marter und Tod stürzt. Golo wird sich seiner heimlichen, das Licht scheuenden Liebe zum ersten Mal mit Schrecken bewusst, als Genoveva von ihrem Gemahl Abschied nimmt und in dieser bangen Stunde, wo Angst und Furcht des Kommenden sie überwältigt, ihr ganzes, still-glühendes Herz mit seinem unendlichen Reichtum gegen den Scheidenden aufschliesst. Des Himmels reinster Blick entzündet die Hölle. Erschütternd und tragisch in höchster Bedeutung ist dieser verhängnissvolle Augenblick; erschütternd und tragisch in jedem Sinne und auf jedem Punkt ist das Schicksal Golos, der nicht weniger, wie Genoveva selbst, durch die Blüte seines Daseyns, durch sein edelstes Gefühl, das durch böse Fügung missgeboren in die Welt tritt, unabwendbarem Verderben als Opfer fällt. Genoveva kann und darf nicht im Vorgrund stehen; ihr Leiden ist ein rein äusserliches, und zugleich ein solches, das die tiefsten Elemente ihres Wesens, die religiösen, befruchtet und entfaltet. . . . Sie ist ein durchaus christlicher Charakter, den der Scheiterhaufen nicht verzehrt, sondern verklärt.

Hebbel claimed that it was indignation at Tieck's Genoveva that called forth his,¹ which is in a measure true. According to Meszlény's theory then, Tieck's drama should be the practical Urstoff. But after all, Müller and Tieck are only incidental; neither of them may be said to have influenced the foregoing analysis, the mature and finished nature of which points back to the *Volksbuch* of the Wesselburen days as the point of departure. In other words, Hebbel reached his conclusions on this subject early and practically independent of other dramatists. Hebbel's drama was not written until nearly two years after the program here set forth. But if we turn to his drama we find that he has followed this plan in every respect, so much so that one might take the above for a *review* of

¹ *Tagebuch*, September 13 and December 31, 1840.

his work by the author rather than a prospectus. It is for this reason that we have quoted so copiously: whatever we might have said in giving the theme of Hebbel's *Genoveva* would have been but a paraphrase of this entry in the diary.

In any case, it would be a work of supererogation to point out Hebbel's dramatic conception of his subject in the play: it obtrudes everywhere, so that he who runs may read.¹ The reader cannot doubt for a moment that Golo is the principal character, and that his struggle is one that can only lead to a tragedy. The saint-like character of *Genoveva* is made clear the first time she appears on the scene. We know at once that there will be no guilt in her case. And since Golo, even in the first act, proves to be uncompromising, thoroughgoing, and "kein *Werther*," we foresee an irreconcilable conflict. From this conflict the woman must come transfigured; but Golo must pay with his life for following his natural impulse.

Broadly speaking, the *Genoveva* theme is one of the eternal triangle: two men and one woman. If we review the work of the three dramatists we have considered, we see that they have treated the subject in essentially different ways. Müller spoiled the unity of his play laying stress on a character which should have been subordinate. None of his main characters stand out prominently. Golo is a weakling, Siegfried is a mere figurehead, and *Genoveva* is simply a beautiful woman—nothing more. Tieck at least makes Siegfried picturesque, a type of knighthood. Golo is a well-defined character and vies with *Genoveva* for first place in our attention. *Genoveva* is somewhat indefinite: she has human traits, but the author piles up evidence to prove that she is a saint comparable to any found in the legends of the church.

Both Müller and Tieck handled the question in the conventional way. Golo is a sinner; he is tried before the moral law, found guilty, and punished accordingly. Not so with Hebbel. His Golo must face the same moral law just as the others do. He is also found guilty, though guilty in a very different way: his guilt consists only in that he lives; for since he lives, he is subject to overpowering circumstances. In short, the fault is in the moral law, and not in the individual. Whereas Müller and Tieck must condemn this character, Hebbel justifies him.

¹ The poet was aware of this fault in both *Genoveva* and *Judith* and was wont to look back on them as experimental pieces.

Genoveva alone, of all Hebbel's characters, escapes these conditions. She is not of the earth earthy, but is one of those divine spirits that come forth once in a millennium, when God tries men to see if one perfect one can be found. She rises superior to the conditions of ordinary mortals, and hence her suffering, however great, is not tragic.

What of the third member of this group? In the entry in the diary quoted above Hebbel does not pass over the character of the count. He calls him guiltiest of all. Why did he not recognize the pure soul of his wife when she opened it to him, he urges, "Es ist ungleich sündlicher, das Göttliche in unserer Nähe nicht zu ahnen, es ohne weitere Untersuchung für sein schwarzes Gegentheil zu halten, als es in weltmörderischer Raserei zu zerstören, weil wir es nicht besitzen können." This point of view is unquestionably an innovation. Other writers seem to have considered the credulity of Siegfried only as added proof of the success of Golo's machinations, and his action as what one would expect of an outraged husband. There is absolutely no evidence that Müller blamed Siegfried, as the ending of the play shows. If Tieck's play ends differently it is for the glorification of Genoveva, not for the punishment of Siegfried. Hebbel alone lays emphasis on this phase.

The question naturally arises whether Hebbel justified this opinion of his when he came to write the drama. We are inclined to feel that he did not. In the first place, he was not so keen on this particular point then as when he wrote his adverse criticism of the happy ending of Müller's drama. In the next place, he became more and more taken up with the characters of Golo and Genoveva for reasons set forth above: in the summer of 1840 they were intensely real personages for him. Siegfried, on the other hand, was entirely imaginary. Thus it happens that the character of Siegfried becomes more subordinate in the author's mind. The play ends with Golo's self-imposed punishment, not with that of Siegfried, as one might have expected from the concluding words of our much-quoted entry.¹

Supposing, however, that Hebbel kept his original conception of Siegfried in mind in writing his drama, it can hardly be said that he succeeded in carrying it out. It fails to be convincing. After

¹ "Er allein darf durch die Katastrophe gestraft werden, und er wird gestraft, denn er findet die beweinte Verstossene nur wieder, um die zermalmende Ueberzeugung zu gewinnen, dass das Band zwischen ihm und ihr für Zeit und Ewigkeit zerrissen ist."

all; what is his case against the count? The worst he can say is that he did not recognize the innate purity of his wife. Who did? Every one doubted her, though everyone had believed in her completely at first. But Genoveva had let him look into the depths of her soul, Hebbel says. This is not true. Genoveva, who loves her husband in a way, cannot bring herself to open her soul to him. Leaving the service of God reluctantly to enter upon matrimony, even the kiss due to Siegfried is but half given him, the other half is consecrated to God. Thus it has been up to the moment of separation. Then, with a foreboding of what is coming, she tries to make good her former lack of intimacy. She succeeds partially, and the count, who loves her without quite understanding her, loves her the more now. That she does not wholly succeed lies as much at her own door as at Siegfried's. Neither is so much to blame. They have been married but a short time, and the readjustment of two very different natures has not yet taken place.

Golo is a witness of the parting scene, and flatters himself that he understands Genoveva though her husband does not. He really has about as good a chance. But how far he is from knowing the woman with whom he has to deal! He thinks that she, too, should be impure because he is, and from this fallacy proceeds his undoing. Certainly he is not less guilty than Siegfried. No one can deny that Siegfried makes a mistake in condemning Genoveva. So does Othello in judging Desdemona. In both cases the circumstances are such as to try a man's soul, and who can say that the best man would not err in such a crisis. And since Hebbel shifts the matter of guilt from the individual to circumstances, why not give Siegfried advantage of this as well as Golo?

Hebbel was never satisfied with his Genoveva, and those have not been wanting who concur with him in this feeling. At the same time it must be admitted that his treatment of the theme is more truly dramatic than any other, so far. By the same token it is highly improbable that anyone else will come forward with an improvement, since Hebbel has left little to be added, at least as concerns dramatic conception of the Genoveva theme.

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17. Vocabulary.

aguuya. G 280^v *E despues que esto todo fizo, tomo una guyja que estava sobre el altar e ferio con ella la ymagen de Polo.* (K 99 *Et quant il eut chou fait, si prist vn [S 1, 45, 34 vne] aigle d'or moult grant, qui estoit sour l'autel au conseil, si en feri si durement l'ymage appolin en mi le vis, ke . . .*)

It seems unlikely that the translator of O should not have known how to render *aigle*, or that, from a *pruritus emendandi*, he should have substituted *guija* for *aguila*. O probably read *un aguiya* (OPort.-Gal.)¹ *de oro*. Supposing then that article and noun were written quite closely together in O, so that the scribe, in copying, could wrongly divide the phrase after *una*, while at the same time he mistook *y* for *ij*,² the result would be: *una guiya* (later *guyja*). Or, as in the case of *oeste tu > oyste tu* and in still others to follow, the scribe changed arbitrarily the unfamiliar word (phrase) to a word (phrase) that in form came near the original, while in meaning it would suit the context somehow: *un aguiya > una guyja*. *de oro* of course had to be deleted in either case.

¹ Cf. e.g. Crón. Troy. 1, 329 *Hüa agýa* (VL 819 *aguýa*) *douro*.

As for the loss of intervocalic *l*, cf. *taes* FJuzgo VII VL 25 Esc. 6. According to Hanssen, Conj. Leon. 8, Esc. 6 represents an Asturian version.

² The opposite, i.e., to mistake *ij* for *y*, has happened in *ryon* G 268 for OPort.-Gal. *rýon* (OCast. *vision*).

al. G 269 *Señor, así como eres tu solo Dios que non devo yo y al creher, demuestra . . .* (K 70 and H 2,¹ 163 *on ne doit autrui aourer.*)

al with personal meaning is frequent in OPortuguese-Galician.

ancorar. G 258^v (Vespasian had asked Joseph and his people what he should do with Caiaphas, whom hé had promised that he would neither burn nor hang him) *los unos dezian que . . . e los otros dezian que lo ancorase(n), e asy non serya quemado nin enforcado.* (K 39 and H 2, 117 *Et s'il le faisoit noier, il ne serroit ne ochis ne ars [S 1, 18, 33 ne ars ne pendus].*)

Of *ancorar á uno*=to drown, I have noted the following OPort. instance: Livro de Linhagens (Nunes, Chrest. arch. 69) *Enton rei Ramiro filhou ūa moo² que trazia na nave e ligou-lha* (sc. aa rainha) *na garganta, e ancorou-a no mar.* And two more examples in Ms. h-I-13: SEnperatriz 528, 57 (the empress told the knight who is courting) *que bien sopiese que su corasçon et su amor nunca averia en tal guisa (ante querria ser ancorada³ en la mar).* (G de Coinsi 45, 1398 *Ainz se leroit noier en mer.)* 559, 4 jurava (sc. el enperador) *que non avia clérigo en Rroma nin abad que dél quitase su mugier que lo non feziese ancorar en medio del rio.* (G de Coinsi 114, 3596 *Sovent jure . . . Qu'en Rome n'a ne cleric ne prestre, Se sa fame de lui dessoirre, Noier nel' face en mi lou Toivre.)*

Before finding the examples from Nunes and SEnperatriz, I had considered *ancorar* as *acorar*⁴+epenthetic *n.* (G has some curious cases of epenthetic *n.*) I now need not hesitate to connect *ancorar* with *áncora.* The metaphorical use is not surprising. What I do wonder at is that I find no parallels in other Romance or Germanic languages.

aqui, interj. G 280 *e dixo* (sc. el dios de la batalla): “*Gentes locas, e(n) que andades demandando? Aquí⁵ un cristiano, e es en*

¹ =Hucher, *Le Saint-Graal;* v. 2, 1877.

² Cf. Mat. 18:6, *expedit ei, ut suspendatur mola asinaria in collo ejus, et demergatur in profundum maris.* Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*⁶ 696. C. Michælis de Vasconcellos, in a written communication, refers me to the German Household Tales.

³ Baist, Rom. Forsch. 2, 380, suggests the reading *acorada.*

⁴ Cuveiro and Valladares attest *acorar* =*sofocar* for Galicia. The former has also *acorado* =*sofocado, casi ahogado.* The Dicc. Aut. gives *acorar* =*sofocar, ahogar, ò matar,* but limits the use of the verb to the “*Réino de Murcia.*” The other meanings of *acorar* do not concern us here. Consequently, even in substituting *acorar* for *ancorar*, we should still be dealing with a non-Castilian verb.

⁵ *Aquí* cannot stand for *A (Ha) aquí*, if the OSpan. word-order, as I think, requires *Aquí a (ha).*

vuestra compaňia . . ." (S 1, 45, 23 and H 2, 205 *il a en uostre compagnie j. crestien qui . . .*) 300 "Fuyt que¹ aqui Lançarote, onde viene por levar la rreyna." (S 6, 280, 34 *Fuijes fuijes vees chi lancelot qui vient . . .*) D 68b *e dixole* (sc. la donzella al rey): "Señor, aqui la espada, e sabed de verdad ca, segun yo creo, no ha tan buenas dos espadas en el mundo . . ." (M 1, 198 *Et la damoisiele revint au roi et li dist: "Sire, veschi l'espee. Et sachies vraiment que je ne cuic pas que . . ."*) Cf. CMaynes 516a *A tanto aque el rrey do viene.*

For OPort. *aqui* (*aque*), "siehe da," cf. CMichaëlis de Vasconcellos, ZrP 19, 536. For OGAL. *aqué=hé aquí, ved, hé aquí que; aqué-m'* *aquí*, etc., cf. Cant. Maria Glos. s.v.

assunar. G 292^v "Verdat es," dixo el juez, "que nos somos asonados² por oyr lo que diras de mi madre." (S 2, 16, 22 *Et nous sommes ichi assamble por oir ce que . . .*) D 168a³ (the king speaks) ". . . por al no fize assonar la mi corte de tanta gente sino por ver las marauillas que oy auernon en mi casa . . .".

Concerning OSpan. *asonar*, Cuervo, D. s.v., observes: "Per. antec. (Usábase en estas acepciones: α , Poner en música; β , Hacer asonada, y *refl.* Juntarse ó levantarse en asonada ó en són de guerra)." I am interested only in the second meaning: "to call to arms," "to unite for hostile purposes."⁴ Evidently that is not the meaning required in our passages.

On the other hand, OPort. *assūar* meant originally "to unite," "to unite for peaceful purposes."⁵ So did OGAL. *assūar*: Cant.

¹ D 317a reads: "*¡Fuyd, fuyd, que he aquí a Lançarote que viene acorrer a la reyna!*" Just for that reason I believe that the *que* of O does not stand for *que e* (*he*).

² D 9b *ayuntados*.

³ I leave aside some less obvious cases: D 108b. 109a (*asonada*). 170a. 171a. 172a (*posados aquí ni asonados*). 230a.

⁴ *Apellidar*, Cuervo, D. s.v., offers a welcome parallel.

Of instances of *asonar* with this sense, Cuervo has none later than the fourteenth century. (One misses the important definition of *asonada*, given in 2 Part. 26, 16 [=v. 2, 285].) Moreover, they are almost confined to the language of the chronicles. (I add from Prim. Crón. Gen. 507a 16 [*assunado*—VL *asonado, asentado*]. 659a 2. 669b 53 [*asonadas*]. 762a 35.) It is also noteworthy that, apart from the chronicles, *asonar* (*asonada*) seems to occur only in works that show strong western influence, such as Alfonso XI (334. 557. 1985. 2276), La Gran Conquista de Ultramar (cf. CMichaelis de Vasconcellos, Rev. lus. 1, 126), and D (11b. 23b. 39b. 73a. 248b. 249b. 322a [twice]. 325b. 331a [three times]. 331b [three times]).

⁵ Cf. Rev. lus. 1, 125. The verb has quite early developed the meaning "to unite for hostile purposes." (One may compare OFrench *accueillir* and *assembler*, s. Jaberg, ZrP 27, 60.) This meaning prevailed.

CMichaelis de Vasconcellos, Rev. lus. 1, 131, derives *assuar* from *ad-su(+)un-are*. I cannot help thinking that both Port. *assuar* and OIt. *assunlar* (*assunar*) (e.g. Cron. Imp.; Fra Paolino Minorita, De Reg. Rect.) come from OProv. *azunar* (<*adunare*). The latter is cited by Mussafia, Z. Kunde d. nordit. Mundarten 130. (Also by Meyer-Lübke, no. 209.) But where is Prov. *azunar* attested?

Maria 1, 201b *auia mui grant gent' assüada, que saydade uēeran demandar.* 2, 292b *et mandou assūar toste o pobo grand' e mēudo.* *E con grandes precissões foron et dando loor . . .* 317a *estauan assūados, por fazer sa oraçon.* 517b *toda a gente que ý era assūnada deron mui grandes loores.* Crón.Troy. 2, 172 *des que ome naçeu nunca ueu tā grand auer ajuntado nēasuado en hū lugar.* (RTroie 25498 *Par grant esguart ont fait la mise: Quant el fu aünee e quise, Si grans aveirs ne fu veüz.*) And *assunar* in an instance from Ms. h-I-13: SEmperatriz 531, 27 *Et comenzaron á dar baladros, et en poca de ora y fué grant gente assumada* (l. *assunada*). *Allí ovo grant lloro et grant llanto et . . .* (G de Coinsi 51, 1591 *Ne covient pas les genz mander, Trop en i vient en pou de terme.*) I believe then that O read in the cases mentioned above *assunados*, respectively *assunar*.

avental. D 64b *y estonce le tiro el yelmo y el auental de la loriga, que le diesse el viento en el rostro.* (M 1, 183 *Lors li deslace le hiaume et li oste et li abat la ventaille pour le vent recueillir.*)

The *ventaille* is part of the *coife*.¹ To the French *coife* corresponds the Spanish *almófar*² with this exception, that, while the *coife* did not cover the mouth, the *almófar*, according to Menéndez Pidal, CMCid 2, 459 (cf. also Menéndez Pidal, PMCid 104), did so at times. At any rate, the *almófar* seems to have been without a *ventaille*. Hence the inconsistency of the translator of e.g. the Crónica Troyana. Mostly he connects, like the translator of O, the *avantal* with the *loriga*: 1, 215 *Et oduque monasteus otomou apressa porlo auantal da loriga por lo sacar da batalla.* (RTroie 8551 *Li dus le prist par la ventaille Por traire[l] fors de la bataille.*) 238 *logo foy presso. et des enlaçaronlle oauantal da loriga.* (RTroie 9771 *La ventaille li deslaçoënt.*) 285 *et deulle tan esquiuo colpe con aespada quelle tallou acabeça. et oauantal da loriga.* (RTroie 12309 *Trencha la teste o la ventaille.*) 354 (RTroie 16219). 2, 141 (RTroie 23921). Once *avantal* is connected with *gorgeyra*:³ 2, 146 *Et desi tomou o porlo auantal da gorgeyra porlo leuar preso.* (RTroie 24241 *Saisi l'aveit par la ventaille.*) And once *avantal* is used alone: 1, 317 *et foyo ferir por*

¹ Cf. Schultz, *Höf. Leben* 2, 51.

² Not the Spanish *coifa*, which answers to the French *ganbais* or *ganbison*.

³ The translator has in mind French *gorgière*. An anachronism, as far as Benoit is concerned, cf. Schultz 2, 55.

sobre oelmo que acabeça et oauantal¹ departeu en duas partes. (RTroie 14074 *Le chief o tote la ventaille Li trenche si qu'en douz meitziez Est a la terre trebuchiez.*) I note further that *ventaille* is rendered by *loriga*: 1, 270 *ossange lles seja por çima das mallas das lorigas.* (RTroie 11548 *Par les mailles de la ventaille Rendent le sanc.*) By *elmo* et *almofar da loriga*: 1, 343 *et nonsse quiso desarmar. senon tan solament do elmo et do almosfar da loriga.* (RTroie 15599 *Ne se vousst onques desarmer Fors seulement de sa ventaille.*) By *gorgoyros*:² 2, 40 et *deu lle porla garganta et pasouille aloriga. et talloulle os gorgoyros.* (RTroie 18839 *Ne li a fait nul autre mal, Mais l'os e la veine orguenal Li a trenchié par la ventaille.*) Finally, on some occasions, *ventaille* has not been translated at all: e.g. 1, 225 *teseus . . . agillou sen maijs tardar por meo da batalla seu elmo enlaçado et seu escudo ao colo . . .* (RTroie 9086 *Theseüs vait par la bataille L'eaume lacié e la ventaille, L'escu al col . . .*) 318 (RTroie 14143). 324 (RTroie 14530). 2, 117 (RTroie 22760). Cf. Florencia 409 *desy metió mano á la espada et comenzó de dar con ella muy grandes golpes á diestro et á siniestro, de guisa que contra su golpe non podian durar.* (Florencia [Wallensköld] 1382 *et fier sur aus et maille; Vers son cop n'a duree ne coise ne ventaille.*) 414 (Florence 1726).

[A few questions that I am unable to answer may here be submitted to the reader.

Why did *ventaille* not pass into OPortuguese-Galician and OSpanish in the form *ventalla* (cf. *bataille* > *batalla*, etc.)?—That in OLeonese *ventaille* did not become *ventaja* (cf. *bataia* Alex., FJuzgo, etc.), was probably due to the concurrence of *ventaja* < *aventaja*, *avantaja* < F. *avantage*. But could the same “*deutlichkeitstrieb*” have objected to *ventalla* as being still too near Span. *ventaja* or Port.-Gal. *ventagem*?

Outside of France, *ventaille* appears earliest with German authors, e.g. Wolfram. The forms are, according to the dictionaries: *ventaille*, *fintaile*, *fantaile*, etc.³

¹ VL 748 *oavental*. Cf. CMichaëlis de Vasconcellos, Rev. lus. 1, 298: “Avental. Está por *avantal* que hoje ainda é popular no Minho, Douro e Tras-os-Montes e é derivado de *avante*. Cfr. hesp. *delantal* e *delantar* de *delante*.—Significa pois à letra—a cosa que se põe por deante.”

² The Vocabulario of Crón. Troy. refers from *Gorgoyro* to *Gorgeyra* = *Gorguera*. This looks to me like a mistake. More probably *os gorgoyros* translates *la veine orguenal* (= trachea), and *ventaille* was not rendered.

³ The definition of the dictionaries (MHGerm.: Benecke-Müller-Zarncke, Lexer; It.: Tommaseo-Bellini; MEngl.: Stratmann, Mayhew-Skeat; Engl.: Murray), connecting the word with the helmet, is wrong. To use Foerster's words on Lancelot (1899) 2755: “Die *ventaille* hat mit dem Helm nichts zu tun.”

Then in Italy: *ventaglia* Cento Nov. Ant. (1825) 90.

Latest in England. Murray's earliest instance¹ is from Gawain and the Green Knight: *auentayle*. Chaucer (Skeat) has *aventayle*² Troilus and Criseyde 2, 407, 1558; *aventaille* The Clerkes Tale 4, 425, 1204. The form without the prefix occurs with Spenser³ (*ventayle* FQ 3, 2, 24).

It. *ventaglia* shows clearly the association with *ventus*. But what about the German and (early) English forms?

Further, are there other translations (adaptations) of *ventaille* into OPortuguese-Galician or OSpanish?—Curious is G Conq Ultr. 261b *Estonce enlazaron los lugares de los lorigas que eran de enlazar, é aquellos llaman los hombres d'armas ventanas, é pusieron las manos en las espadas*. The passage makes the impression of a paraphrase. By the redactor? Or by the translator?

Lastly, if *avental* (*avantal*) = apron for *ventaille* = wind-hole arose from a misunderstanding, how are we to explain the fact that both the translator of O and that of the Crónica Troyana committed the same error?]

To conclude, *avental* is only western, and *avantal* most probably so.⁴ Covarrubias (1673) does not register *avantal*. The Dicc. Aut. quotes three instances from authors of the seventeenth century.⁵ Terreros (1786) remarks: “Avantal, V[éase] Delantal, que es el modo comun con que hoi se dice en Madrid, y otras partes.”

ay, interj. G 260 *llamol* (sc. a Josep) *el Nuestro Señor e dixole*: “Ay, Josep, yo [so] tu Señor e tu Dios, aquel que descendiste tu de la cruz . . .” (K 44 “Joseph, ie sui tes diex, tes sauueres, . . .”) 299 *Entonç se levanto* (sc. Lançarote) *del lecho*. “Ay, Señora,” *dixo el*, “a y aquí alguna loriga?”⁶ (S 6, 275, 16 *Ha dame fet Lancelot*

¹ Murray's dating of the work “c. 1340” is altogether too early.

² Murray (probably following Morris 5, 65, 1571) reads *aventaille*. As for the etymology he says: “A[docted from] A[nglo] F[rench] *aventail = OF. esventail air-hole.” Indeed, *aventail* has not been recorded so far. And the only example of *aventaille*, quoted by Godefroy, appears in the Latin “Will of Sir John de Foxle, of Apuldrefield, Kent. Dated Nov. 5, 1378.” Is the word OFrench, respectively Anglo-French, or MEnglish?

³ Hamilton, *Mod. Phil.* 3, 545, quotes an earlier example from *Laud Troy-Book* [of about the year 1400]. I did not recall the existence of this article until after the completion of my discussion.

⁴ For western *avan*, *devan* over against Cast. *ante*, cf. Gessner 30 s.v.

⁵ An earlier instance is Montoro (Cotarelo) [s. XV] 244.

⁶ D 315a *Y estonce se yrguio de la cama, e dixo: “Ay señora! ¡aquí no ay ninguna loriga!”*

avez uous ceens hauberc . . .) D 185b *e tanto que el honbre bueno lo vio, preguntole: "Ay amigo, è que nueuas me traes del torneo?"*

To use *ay*¹ in this generalized sense (=lo, behold!), not implying the idea of “ pena, gozo, mofa, sorpresa, desprecio, ira y admiración ”² on the part of the speaker, is Galician³ and Leonese, but not Castilian. Cf. Saco Arce 215: “La interjección *ai*, entre sus muchos usos, se emplea tambien para llamar á alguno ó despertar su atencion, v.g.: *Ai rapaz, ven logo . . .*” Similarly Alvarez Gimenez 78 with the additional statement: “En castellano se suprime la interjección.”

bouça. G 260 (God speaks to Joseph) *Agora vayaste a tu pueblo e fallaras albergue en aquella mata. E cada uno avera lo que quisiere en ssu boca.* (S 1, 20, 34 *ua a ton pueple & si les fai herbergier* [K45 and H2, 127 *en che bos*] & *cascuns aura ce quil uoldra en son habitacle* [K and H item].)

The corruption cannot go back to the translator of O. His familiarity with the word *habitacle* is shown by G 273^v *esta casa siempre fue morada de diablos* = K 81 *cheste maisons a este tous iours habitacles des dyables.* I conclude then that he used in our passage a synonym of *morada*, in form not very different from the *boca* of the scribe. Such a synonym I would see in Port.-Gal.⁴ *bouça*. I learn from De Pratt, Rev. lus. 16, 220: “*bouça, no Minho, . . . é uma certa extensão de terreno delimitada por um muro de pedra solta ou simples marcação de pedras e valados, onde se cria mato, para todas as aplicações usuais nas aldeias, e pinheiros ou carvalhos.*” The reason, too, why the translator chose the word *bouça* for *habitacle* seems clear. Because the *habitacle* was situated in a *mata* (cf. the text⁵), and because a *bouça* is an inclosure *onde se cria mato*.

¹ Originally the adv. of place *aquí?* Cf. *aqui* and Engl. *here*, Murray s.v. 8: “Used elliptically in calling an attendant, etc. . . . Hence, to call attention to or introduce a command: =Gr. *ἄγε*, L. *age*, Fr. *tiens*, *tenez* . . .”

² R. Ac. Esp., Gram. 211.

³ I would compare Cant. Maria 2, 249b *E por aquest' jai, amigos! démos-lle grandes loores . . .* 412a *onde uos rog' jai, amigos! que o querades oýr.* 543b. 493a *Enton sse foi o abade et chamou os monges seus et disse-lles: —/Ai, amigos! Cras m'irei eu par Deus,* . . .

⁴ Cuvelio and Valladares have only: “Bouza—matorral, jaral.” How very incomplete these dictionaries are, is easily demonstrated by comparing them with the *Vocabulario* of *Crón. Troy*.

⁵ More precisely in the “distrito de Viana-do-Castelo” (Rev. lus. 14, 149), i.e., quite near the Galician frontier.

⁶ *mata* occurs also in the chapter-heading and five times in the chapter preceding. Cf. further *mata* s.v.

ca, adv. G 286 *El peccado . . . nunca folgara, [fasta] que todas vos confonda ca, si Dios non vos guarda.* (S 2, 7, 37 *li diables . . . ne finera iamais deuant ce quil vous aura toutes engignies se diex ne vous garde.*)

I take it that *ca* is the OPort.-Gal. *ca<ecc(um)-hac=cá no mundo*, here below, Germ. *hienieden*.¹

ca, conj. a) =that. G 265 *E dixo ca* “*porque tu obedesciste a tu mugier [mas] que a mi . . .*” 293 (Merlin to the mother of the judge) *E el clero dixolo a vuestro marido por vuestro consejo ca teniedes que por algun(d)a saña que vos avya dexava de yazer convusco.* 299 *Ca bien gelo dezia su coraçon ca los del linaje del rrey lo tomarián.* D 68b e sabed de verdad *ca*, segun yo creo, *no ha tan buenas dos espadas en el mundo.*

b) =than. G 269 *tu feziste mas por ellos ca ellos por ti.* Cf. SEnperatriz 511, 92 *tambien cuidara engannar mas ayna por él la santa enperatriz ca² por otro omme.*

ca =that and =than, at the time to which our texts belong,³ are only Portuguese-Galician.

ca=coma, cf. under *come*.

caraturas. D 59a *aprendio* (sc. la hija de Iguerna) *encantamientos e caraturas.* (M 1, 166 *elle commencha apprendre des enchantemens et des charroies.*)

Cf. Florencia 441 (Miles to Florencia) *Puta, è cómmo sodes encantador? carántulas me avedes fechas.* (Florence 4085 “*Pute,*” *dist li traïtes, “con iestes enchantee! Charaudes avez fetes . . .”*) . . . *Certas, diz Miles, de follia pensades: todas vuestras carántulas et vuestras melezinas cuido yo toller. . . . Desfazet ayna las carántulas.* (Florence 4104 *Desfetes les charaudes sens nulle demoree.*) . . . *quanto vos dezides non vos valdrá cosa, sy non desfezieredes las carántulas.* (Florence 4120 *Desfetes les charaudes, qu'atre choze n'i a.*) 442 *Par mi cabeça, diz Miles, venida es vuestra fin, ssy las carántulas non desfacedes.* (Florence 4133 “. . . Par mon chief,” *ce dist Mille, “vostre fin est venue, Se plus i a charaude ne fete ne tenue . . .”*)

¹ Cf. Span. *aqui:* G 257v *el terrenal vengador es venido, e aquel te vengara de tus hennigos aqui. Mas la vengança de aca suso sera peor.* Cuervo, D. s.v. 1.c. Engl. Here, Murray s.v. 4. Germ. *Hier*, Grimm s.v. 4.

² Baist, Rom. Forsch. 2, 380, would read *que*.

³ For an earlier use, see Menéndez Pidal, CMCid 1, 393 §194, and Hanssen, Gram. hist. § 658.

The Spanish dictionaries (Covarrubias, Dicc. Aut., Acad., Terreros,¹ Salvá) give no fitting meaning. For that we have to turn to Santa Rosa (1865): "Carantulas. Imagens, linhas, cifras, ou caracteres magicos, que na baixa latinidade se disseram: *Caragma*, *Caranisa*, *Carauda*, e *Caraula*. E o magico, que d'estes caracteres, ou imagens usava foi dito *Caragus*, ou *Carajus*, isto he, *Praestigiator*, *Sortilegus*. Estes *Caragos* faziam os seus encantos, particularmente ás sementeiras . . ." A later entry reads: "Carautulas. Caracteres, letras." Moraes says: "Caràntulas. ant. Figuras, caractéres magicos, ou de similhantes embusteiros." And: "Caratola. Encantamento, bruxaria." In each case one instance from Fernão Lopes (s. XV).

- *come.* G 265 *para fazer tan alta cosa come² la persona del onbre.*

come is OPortuguese (Hanssen, Gram. hist. § 656) and OGalician (García de Diego § 105). *coma*, another OPort.-Gal.³ form, appears as

ca. G 272 *e fezieron* (sc. los angeles) *demostrança ca por ferir.*

corisco. D 111b *E auia(n) dende tan gran pesar, que mucho quisiera que corrisco lo firiesse assí que lo matasse.* (M 2, 31 *il en avoit si grant duel . . . qu'il vausist bien que fouldrés del chiel descendist seur lui qui le foudriast.*)

Cf. SCatalina 296 (the saint speaks) *e fas, sennor, que este fuerte tormento sea destroido e despedaçado por golpe de corisco (?) en tal que . . .* (Fr. text *par colp de foudres del ciel . . .*)⁴ 297 *e quebrantaron* (sc. los angeles) *las rruedas con un grant golpe de corisco (?).* (French text *li angeles . . . hurta cel torment d'un grant coup d'estorbeillon.*)⁵

Salvá alone has "Corrisco ant. Relámpago ó rayo." But the word is Portuguese-Galician.

The spelling with *-rr-* does not require any comment.

The Portuguese meaning "lightning, flashing, flash" (Michaelis) is attested for OGalician by such cases as Cant. Maria 2, 431a *do corisc' assí é Que en quen fer' log' afoga ou talla ou queimar faz . . . tal era come pez tornado d'aquel corisco.* Crón. Troy. 2, 215 *Et perdeu*

¹ He remarks: "Comunmente dicen carántula." Besides Terreros, Salvá alone mentions this form.

² Ms. *come.*

³ A very early Leon. instance in *F Avilés* 91, 8.

⁴ Lat. text *celestis ictu fulminis.*

⁵ Lat. text *vehementi turbinis ictu.*

aquela uez trijnta et sete naues et tolleu llas ocorisco. (RTroie 27634 *Trente set nes i a perdues, Foudre de ciel li a tolues.*) It is possible that in SCatalina 497 *corisco* corresponding to *estorbeillon* we have an early example of the modern meaning "turbion de agua ó granizo."¹

As far back as 1867, Schuchardt, VV 2, 207, had for Port. *corisco*, -ar referred to "*coruscus, non scoriscus*" App. Prob. 198, 32 K. [= Heraeus 24, 161], etc. He again referred to this fact in ZrP 29 (1905) 323 note.

coxa. D184b . . . *le corto la malla de la cota con toda la pierna, assi que el cuerpo cayo de la vna parte, e la coxa de la otra.* (Graall 50 . . . *lhe talhou a mea da louriga com a coxha assi que o corpo cayo ao huu cabo e a coxha ao outro.*)

coxa is Portuguese and Galician.² Cuveiro gives "Coxa—muslo."

culame. G 291^v *E la dueña non yba si non en camisa e (e) de un culame cobierta.* (S 2, 14, 34 & *la damoisele estoit toute nue en sa chemise dun mantel afublee.*)³

The word is exclusively⁴ OPortuguese-Galician. Cf. Cant. Maria Glos. s.v. *Curame*: "C.—Capa berberisca, especie de albornoz.⁵ De esta capa ó manto grande, que cubria los demás vestidos, hacen mencion documentos de los años 1303 y 1307, citados en el Elucidario. Segun ellos, las damas principales usaban de esta especie de ropon, llamado tambien *cerome* . . ."

desganar. G 284 e *desganol un fijo en dormiendo, que era muy fermoso.* (M 1, 5 and S 2, 5, 17 *Lors vint li dyables a un moult biel fil que il avoit, si l'estrangla en son lit.*)⁶

Cf. Florencia 465 (Miles tells of the hermit) *Et diónos un poco de pan de órdio negro et duro que comimos, mas á pocas me non esgaño.* (Florence 6252 *Pain d'orge nos dona a lessive poitri. Par foi, nos en menjames, fain nos destraignoit si; Se nos n'en mengisson, de fain fuson peri.*)

¹ Cf. Cant. Maria Glos. s.v. *Corisco* and Valladares. Cuveiro has only "Corrisco—(ant.) relámpago."

² Meyer-Lübke's statement s.v. *coxa* that L. *coxa*=hip gave an "aspan. *coxa*"=thigh is wrong. Diez s.v. *Coscia* says rightly: "sp. fehlt."

³ D 9a e *la dueña yua cubierta con vn manto, y en camisa.*

⁴ Cf. CMichaëlis de Vasconcellos, ZrP 28, 428.

⁵ The explanation given in CBaena (1851) s.v. *Culame* is wrong.

⁶ D 4b e *fuele a matar vn fijo que tenia muy hermoso.*

No Spanish dictionary records *desganar* (with a fitting meaning) or *esgañar*.¹ On the other hand, Moraes has: "Esganár. Afogar apertando as fauces, estrangular." Cuveiro: "Esganar—apretar el pescuezo á alguno para ahogarle ó sofocarle—ahogar." Finally, Puyol y Alonzo, Glosario de algunos vocablos usados en León, Rev. hisp. 15, 4: "Esgañar. Estrangular; ahogar, apretando el cuello fuertemente."

The etymon is **excannare*. For *canna* = Kehle, cf. Meyer-Lübke no. 1597. For *c->g-*, cf. e.g. Sp. *gañon*, *gañote*, "Kehle," "Luftröhre," "Speiseröhre," *gañiles*, "Kehle der Tiere" ib. To L. *-nn-*, of course, corresponds Port. *-n-*, Sp. (Leon.) *-ñ-*. An exact parallel is F. *égorger*.

endonado. D 215a (Merengis to Erec) *vuestra hermana rescibio muerte en donado*.

Concerning Sp. *endonar*, CMichaëlis de Vasconcellos, Rev. Ius. 11, 7, remarks: "O português conhece apenas o particípio, na locução adverbial *endōado*, *endoado*, que equivale ora a 'de graça, por favor'; ora a 'debalde, em vão'; ora a 'sem motivo, inutilmente; injustificadamente' (*gratis*; *umsonst*; *unnützerweise*). Nos Cancioneiros galego-portugueses e no Graal ela ocorre muitas vezes . . .

Às vezes ha apenas *dōado*, *doado*, e de longe em longe *dōadamente*. O castelhano desconhece estes adverbios. Na versão do Graal o traductor² omite-os, ou substitue-os por outros parecidos (como *em balde*, *por demas*)."³

The one example, referred to in *Cant. Maria Glos.*, is quoted by CMichaëlis de Vasconcellos, op. cit. 8. The instance from Villasandino (*CBaena* 114b), wrongly explained by the *Glosario*, was correctly interpreted by Diez, *Port. Kunst- und Hofpoesie* 126.

ensejar. G 294^v *E trabajavase* (sc. Blaxe) *de lo* (sc. a Merlin) *enseñar de muchas guyas*. *E Merlin le dixo*: "Quanto me mas prouares tanto mas te maravillaras." (D 10b *E Blaysen lo començo a prouar de muchas guisas*. *E Merlin le dixo*: "Quanto me mas prouares, tanto te mas maravillas.")—M 1, 30 *Si se mist en moult grant painne*

¹ On interchange of *des-* and *es-* (respectively *es-* and *des-*), see e.g. Cuervo, Apunt. § 917; Munthe, Anteckn. 56.

² Cf. op. cit. 6 note 1: "Do confronto [do Graal] com o texto castelhano [=D] resulta que esse é tradução do português, retocado para a impressão com pouca perfeição."

³ A note gives several examples; ours has been overlooked.

d'essaiier [S 2, 18, 22 *dassaier*] *Merlin en mainte maniere* [S *en maintes manieres*]. *Tant que Merlins dist a Blaise:* “*Ne m'essaie mie. Car quant plus m'essaieras, plus t'esmiervilleras . . .*”)

Evidently D and the French MSS. have the correct reading (*prouar; essayier*). If D and G derive from O, O cannot have read *enseñar* or *prouar*. O must have contained a synonym of *prouar*, which the redactor of D understood. The scribe of G, however, did not, and changed it in his usual manner. Such a synonym would be *ensejar*.¹ I quote from Moraes: “*Ensejár . . . Ensaiar, experimen-*tar.” My Galician authorities (Cant. Maria, Crón. Troy., Cuveiro, Valladares) do not mention *ensejar*.

enxeco. D 251a *E si no queredes morir o recibir mas desonrra desta, quitavos de su enxeco.* 315b *Y quando Boores vio venir a su señor Lançarote armado, que fuera desarmado, entendio que fuera algun enxeco.* (S 6, 276, 18 *si saparchut bien maintenant quil a eu [aucune] encontre.*)

O must have read *enxeco* also in the following cases where D now reads *excesso*: 185b *Y el padre le pregunto: “¿ Y que excesso vuo entre vos?”* (Graall 53 O *padre o pergunto que eyxeco ouuera antre elles.*) 204a “*Agora os podeys ya tornar de aqui, dixo el, sin mayor escesso . . .*” (Graall 91 “*Ora uos podedes daquj tornar,*” disse el, “*sem prender mayor eixeco . . .*”) 264a *e fuesse quanto pudo, e no por su miedo, mas porque se queria tirar de su excesso.* 272b “*. . . nunca te faltara guerra ni excesso . . .*” 277b “*. . . y he miedo que os verna ende excesso . . .*”

The Dicc. Aut., followed by Terreros s.v. *Enjeco* and Salvá² s.v. *Enjeco*, has: “*Enxeco. Lo mismo que Descomodidád ò molestia. Es voz antiquada.*” There follow two examples from Chron. Gen.³ Among the many glossaries I have consulted, only those of G Conq Ultr. and of Lucas Fernandez record the word. The former under *enseco*,⁴ the latter under *enxelco*. Neither, to be sure, is an unimpeachable witness for *castellano puro y castizo*.

¹ OPort.-Gal. *ensajar* could have offered no difficulty.

² I have been unable to discover a second authority from which Salvá also copied.

³ I.e. Tercera Crón. Gen.—Incidentally I have noted in Primera C.G. (432a 23) *ca ouieron miedo que se leuantasse dend algun despecho* (VL *enxeco*).

⁴ Of the two cases referred to, I can verify only the first.

On the other hand, the word is common in OPortuguese-Galician. Cf. e.g. Santa Rosa s.v. *Enxeco*, *Eyxeco*, e *Eyxequo*, who gives the meanings "Damno, perda, desgraça, reixa, dissensão, queixa, guerra, contenda." Cant. Maria Glos. s.v. *Enxeco*: "Apuro, conflicto."

escaecer. G 287 *penso* (sc. el diablo) *como la podria fazer escarnecer de lo que el onbre bueno la enseñava.* (D 6a y *penso como le podria fazer olvidar lo que el honbre bueno le dixerá.* M 1, 12 *il se pourpensa que il ne le porroit engingnier de li faire oublier* [S 2, 8, 33 *sil ne li faisoit oublier] chou que li preudom li ot dit* [S *ensengiet*], *se il ne le courechoit.)*

In view of the reading of D and M (S), I do not hesitate to replace *escarnecer de* by *escaecer*. Upon this word, Cant. Maria Glos. comments thus: "E.-Olvidar. El P. Santa Rosa de Viterbo, Elucidario, vió esta voz (que hoy en portugués y en gallego¹ se escribe *esquecer*) en un documento de Almester de 1287. Usó este verbo el Rey D. Diniz . . . En el idioma castellano² de la Edad-media, *escaecer* significaba cosas diferentes . . ."

D has, moreover, the following instances: 233b *Mas Nuestro Señor, a quien no escaesce, embio allí aquella dueña . . .* 241b *Y el honbre bueno . . . dixo: "Hijo . . . ¡por Dios! ¡Mienbrevos de mi!"* "Señor, dixo el, sabed que me no podeedes escaecer . . ." 332a *la reyna . . . dezia algunas veces: "¡Ay señor Lançarote! ¿e como os escaecio? que yo no cuye que vos me dexassedes tan luengamente en seruidunbre . . . E si vos catassedes a la vuestra bondad . . . menbrar os yades de mi . . ."* 332b ". . . os ruego que . . . le digays que en remenbrança de nuestro amor, que le embio el corazón a quien nunca escaecio." 333a ". . . Y cierto tu metiste en mi corazón tal duelo, que jamas ende no me saldra; ca esta muerte no me podra escaecer . . ."

Finally, *escaecer* occurred probably once more in O (on the same f. 287) in a passage that may have read: *E quando el peccado vyo que con la grand saña se le escaeciera todo lo que el onbre bueno le enseñara, fue ende muy ledo,* but which now reads: ". . . con la grand saña se le escayeran todos los bienes . . ." (D 6b *Y quando el diablo vio que pormia y que se le olvido todo lo que el honbre bueno le enseñara, fue*

¹ In Modern Asturian *esqueicer*, cf. Munthe, Anteckn. 72. Rato has *Esgaecer* and *Esqueicer*.

² In Castilian works of such authors as Gil Vicente and Sâ de Miranda, *escaecer* is, of course, a "lusitanismo," cf. Sâ de Miranda (CMichaëlis de Vasconcellos), Gloss. s.v.

muy alegre.—M 1, 12 *Et quant li dyables sot que ele avoit tout oublié por le grant ire ou elle estoit chou que li preudom li avoit commandé* [S 2, 9, 14 dit], si en fu moult liés.) A Port.-Gal. *escairse* (respectively Sp. *escaerse*), “to forget” not being recorded, I take it that this time the scribe changed *escaecer* to **escaer*, which he used as a synonym of *descaer* or *descaecer*, “perder poco á poco la salud, la autoridad, el crédito, el caudal, etc.” (Ac.).

esmorecer. G 290^v *Quando la madre esto oyo; enflaquesciole el coraçon, e esmorescio, e afroxaronsele los braços.* (M 1, 21 se li failli tous li cuers, si s'en esfrea [S 2, 13, 24 & sesfrea] et li osta ses bras de son col [S si esclasca les bras].)¹ D 77b *y esmorescia e acordaua, e quando pudo acordar, dixo a Balalin . . .* (M 1, 227 *Cele se pasme et repasme. Et quant elle est a chief de pieche revenue de pasmison et elle a pooir de parler, elle dist a Balaain . . .*) 81a *y esmoreocio con gran cuya que sintio; e bien penso luego morir.* (M 1, 239 et se pasme de la grant angoisse qu'il sent et cuide morir en la plache.) . . . dio vn gran sospiro como esmorecido e abrio los ojos. (M 1, 240 *il giete un soupir aussi comme uns hom qui vi[e]nt de pasmisons et oevre les ieus.*) 100a *e truxo el cauallo sobre el dos vezes, e truxolo tan mal, que el cauallero esmoreocio.* 134a *e truxo tanto el cauallo sobre el, que se esmoreocio de la cuita que sufria.* (M 2, 103 et cil se pasme de l'angoisse qu'il sent.) 154b *Quenta la hystoria que se esmoreocio alli Bandemagus del gran baladro que oyo.*

Cf. Rrey Guillelme 195 *esmoreciase* (G d'A 938 *se pasme*). 212 *cayó syn esmorecer* (G d'A 1775 *chiet morrz sanz pasmeison*). Florencia 414 *yazia esmoreçido* (F 1759 *se pasme*). 416 *cayó esmorecida* (F 1924 *Pamee chiet*). 417 *veyan esmoreçer* (F 1967 *se pasme*) . . . *esmoreçida* (F 1971 *pamee*). 427 *esmoreçiôse* (F 2799 *chiet pamez*). 447 *esmoreçian* (F 4615 *s'en sont . . . pame*). SEnperatriz 520, 7 *esmoreçido*² (G de C 28, 847 *pasmez*).

The verb is OPortuguese³ and OGalician (Crón. Troy. Voc.: “Esmorecerse. V[éase] amortecerse [=Desmayarse].”).

¹ D 8a *enflaquesciole el coraçon e fallescieronle los braços.*

² Baist, Rom. Forsch. 2, 380, suggests *esmor[t]ecido*. The latter is given only by Salvá: “Esmortecido ant. Amortecido.” It would be supported by *esmortida* Alex. P 2623. But the hemistich *jazia [l. jazie] esmortida* is wrong. Alex. O 2494 reads *azie amortegida*. From P and O, I infer that O originally read *esmorecida*. And I consider both *esmortecido* and *esmortido* as “ghost-words.”

³ A “lusitanismo” with Sâ de Miranda 9, 46.

esmorido. G 268 *E su rrepostero fue tan espantado que non pudo fablar palabra. Ante cayo en tierra como esmorido.* (S 1, 29, 3 and H 2, 161 *ausi comme mors* [K 67 *autresi que se il fust tous mors*.])

Of **esmorir* only the past. part. seems to occur. Santa Rosa: "Esmorido.¹ Desmaiado, afflito (esmorecido?)." Cant. Maria Glos.: "Esmorido.—Desmayado . . . Síncopa² de esmorecido."

falar (fallar). G 255 *un cavallero . . . oyo ende fallar.* (K 32 *un chiualers . . . en oi la parole.*) 294 *E la madre del juez, tanto que llego a su casa, fallose³ con el clérigo e contole todo.* (D 10a *e la madre del juez tanto que llego a casa, y hablo con el clérigo e contole quanto le auiniera.*—M 1, 29 and S 2, 18, 3 *Si tost que ele fu venue a son hostel, si parla au prouvoire en conseil et li dist . . .*)

Another instance is 261^v *E esto gradescio* (sc. Josep) *mucho a Jesu Cristo. E en tal guysa como oyentes fallo e fallecieron sus cavalleros a Evolat e dexieronle que feziese paz.* (K 48 *Si encommencha a rendre grases a son creatour de che qu'il auoit fait uenir laiens a si boin point. Et quant li rois eut parle a tous ses barons, si ni puet trouer point de conseil, anchois li estoient fali tot en trauers. Et disoient ke as egyptijens ne assambleroient il mais. Car il auoient trop grignour forche ke il n'auoient, si ne lor porroit se meskeoir non. Et bien i paroit, che disoient, qu'vene fois lor en estoit il ia mes-auenue si laidement ke il ne quidoient mie que iamais peust estre amende.* Ensi com uous poes oir, *li falirent tout, & dirent, ke tel pais com il peust, quesist vers les egyptijens.*) Evidently *fallo* corresponds to *eut parle.* It is probable that the eye of the copyist wandered from the translation of *estoient fali . . . Et disoient* to that of *falirent . . . & dirent.* But there is more confusion. Under the circumstances, *fallo e* will be cancelled in the final text.

falar is OPortuguese-Galician and OLeonese (Gessner 32).

fallar. G 290 *e dixo* (sc. la madre de Merlin): "*Espanto me fija deste moço.*" (M 1, 20 and S 2, 12, 39 "*Cis enfes me fait grant paour.*")⁴

¹ Cf. e.g. Graall 70 *caeo em terra esmorido* (D 194a *dexose caer en tierra*). 101 *ficou ende esmorido* (D 209a *quedo todo atordido*).

² Which is, of course, wrong.

³ Cf. Moraes s.v. *Fallár:* "Fallar-se com alguem; conversar, saudar-se, praticar, entender-se, aconselhar-se."

⁴ D 7b *e dixo:* "*Espantome deste niño.*"

Cf. SCatalina 269 *E los christianos fillaron los cuerpos de noche e soterraronlos.* (270 *Li crestien pristrent par nuit les cors et les ensevelirent.*) Rrey Guilleme 226 tanto que llegar(e)mos¹ al puerto luégo el sennor entrará en la naue e fillará asy de las donas commo del auer quanto quesier' de lo que se pagar'. (G d'Angleterre 2387 "Mes se vos port i volez prandre, *L'an le vos voldra mout chier vandre: Mout l'estovra achater chier, Qu'an la nef vandra reverchier Premiers li sire et puis la dame: Ja n'i avra si chiere jame Ne nul si precieus avoir, Que li sire ne puisse avoir . . .*")

I would read *filla* G 290 instead of *fija*. Cf. for OPort. *filhar*, Santa Rosa: "Filhar. Tomar, receber, conquistar. He do seculo XIII, XIV, XV. Tambem se escreveo *Ffiler* no anno de 1318." For OGal. *fillar*, Crón. Troy. Voc.: "Fillar. Tomar, coger."²

la, adv. G 272 *E la voz lo llamo, e el cato la³ e vido aquel onbre . . .* (K 78 *la vois le rapiela. Et il esgarda, si vit chel home . . .*)

la, "there, yonder," is common in OPortuguese-Galician.

mata. G 260 *llegaron a una mata que era a una legua de Bata-tierra. E aquella mata avya nonbre de tiempo antiguo la mata de las celadas; ca en aquella mata fue preso Erodes . . .* (K 44 *vinrent a .i. petit bos [S 1, 20, 24 bois] qui estoit a demie lieue de bethanie, si auoit non [S si estoit li bois apeles] li bos [S 25 les bos] des agais. Et si estoit apieles par chel non pour chou que en che bos [S Car en cel bos] fu agaities herodes . . .*) D 80b *vna gran mata muy fermtosa e grande.* (M 1, 238 *une forest et biele et grant.*)

For OPort.-Gal. *mata*, "forest," I refer to Cant. Maria Glos.: "Mata.—Selva . . . Se conserva la voz *mata* (bosque) en el habla portuguesa."⁴ Modern Leon. *mata*, "Monte alto," is attested by Alonso Garrote 202.

ninguen. G 288 *E cate toda la casa e non falle ende ninguyen.* (M 1, 14 *si recerquai ma chambre derechief, et alai a l'uis, si le trouvai*

¹ *llegarmos* of the Ms. (fut. subj., CMCid 1, 347) should have been left unchanged, cf. Staaff 287.

² Ochoa, CBAENA Glos. s.v. *Fyllar*, observes: "*fyllar guerra*, guerrear, *fyllar entençon*, trabar disputa ó disputar.—151." Turning to the page indicated, we find the phrase *fillar entençon* in an entirely Galician poem by Villasandino. This fact has been overlooked by Diez, Wb. s.v. *Filhar*, where, following CBAENA, he speaks of an "altp. *fyllar guerra* krieg unternehmen."

³ Ms. *catola*.

⁴ Thus also Simonet 344.

OUDIN (1675) puts *mata* = "Buisson, hallier"; *bois* = "Bosque, floresta."

fremé, ne onques n'i trovai riens nee . . . [S 2, 9, 43 si ni trouuai ame nule].)

No Spanish dictionary records *ninguien*. Of grammars, only that by Menéndez Pidal, § 102, 3, mentions *ninguién* (as analogical to *quien*, and old). The authority of Menéndez, as he kindly informed me, is Rengifo [1726, p. 269, *En*]. The only example I have noted, is Diego Durán, *Égloga nueva* (Kohler) 302, 179 *ninguen*: *bien*: *den*. The form is clearly OPortuguese-Galician.

o bien. G 299^v *E dixo ella:* “*Ydvos e pensat de mi; ca yo bien se que ayna avere menester la vuestra ayuda.*” “*O bien,*” *dixo el,* “*mas si a vos ploguyere, levarvos he comigo . . .*” (S 6, 276, 7 *Et ele dit que bien sen puet aler se il ueut.*)

Cf. Florencia 406 *Señor, dixo vn su duque . . . : aqueste es Esmere, et su hermano, et estos otros sson sus compañones.*—*Oh! bien, dixo el enperador, veo que están bien guisados de batalla.*—*Señor, dixo Esmere, entendet mi razon: por vuestra grant mercet un don me otorgat.*—*Oh! bien, dixo el rey, de grado.* (Florence 1150—“*Sire,*” *dist un suen dru . . . ,* “*Ce sont li dui vaillet, fis au roi Felipon.*”—“*Voire,*¹” *dist l'emperere, “bataille est de session.”*—“*Sire,*” *dist Esmerez, “entendez ma raison: Par la vostre merci, je vos requier un don.”*—“*Vos l'aiez,*” *dist li rois, “s'il valoit Besanson.”*”

Elsewhere I know *o bien*, expressing approval, assent,² only in OGalician. Cant. Maria 1, 29a *O Emperador lle disse:*—*Moller bôa, de responder uos é mester.*—“*O ben (diss' ela), se prazo ouuer en que eu possa seer conssellada.* 49a *empreguntado foj* (sc. o crérigo) *se era ren o que oya* (sc. o bispo) *d'él. Respos':—O ben.* 2, 332b *El respondeu escarnindo:*—*Crérigo, iqué torp' estás!* *O ben, de Deus et da Uírgen renegu', e aquí me dou . . . Que non aian en min parte . . .*

obumbrar. G 262^v (the angel speaks) “*Maria, el santo spiritu descendera en ti, e la virtud del alto Señor te alunbrara.*” (K 51 *la virtus dieu le haut en-umbrera* [S 1, 23, 10 *sen omberra*] *dedens ton cors.*)

Again the corruption (*alunbrara*) cannot go back to O. K 59 *l'aumbrement* (S 1, 25, 33 *lombrement*) *del saint esperit* was rendered correctly by G 265^v *el asonbramiento del sancto spiritu.* For palaeographic reasons then, and as *lectio difficilior* I conjecture for G 262^v

¹ Cf. Florence 2077—“*Voire,*” *ce dist Florence . . . and Florencia 418—Verdat es, dixo Florencia . . .*

² For Span. *bien*, etc., with this sense, s. Cuervo, D. s.v. *Bien* 6.

not asonbrara, but *obumbrara*. “*Obumbrár . . . Assombrar . . .*” (Moraes).

oferenda. G 262^v *e aduzieronle muy rrica oferenda.*

An OPortuguese-Galician form. Likewise OLeonese:¹ Alex. 2321 *Daruos emos offerendas.*² FJuzgo 195 VL 1 Esc. 3.³ Staaff 45 (1248) 24 and 39.

non saber parte. G 256^v *non sabemos del* (sc. de Josep) *parte.* (K 35 *ne il ne sauoient qu'il estoit deuenus.*) D 54a *no supieron* (sc. su compaña) *del* (sc. del rey) *parte.* (M 1, 149 *ne ne sot [sc. li rois] quel part il [sc. ses compaignons] estoient.*) 88b *no sabredes parte de vuestra bestia.* (M 1, 265 *vous ne sarés que vo beste sera devenue.*) 95a *los hombres desta tierra no saben della* (sc. de la montaña de Sanguit) *parte.* 148a (the father is searching for his son) *y desto no sabia el hijo parte.* 200a *y en poca de hora alongose* (sc. la bestia ladradora) *tanto dellos, que no supieron della parte.* 220b *e no supo dellos* (sc. de sus canes e hombres) *parte.* 263b (Galaz struck Bandalis so, that he) *dio con el e con el cauallo en tierra tan gran cayda, que no supo de si parte.*

Cf. Florencia 453 *nunca de ella pudieron saber parte.* 466 *nunca la despues vy nin sope della parte.* SEnperatriz 531, 34 *la mesquina de la enperatriz era ende tan espantada que non sabia de sy parte.* (G de Coinsi 52, 1606 *L'empereriz, la lasse dame, De ce que voit moult se merveille Qu'à poines set se dort ou veille.*) 532, 44 *el omezian, que aquella traicion feziera, fué al lecho et fizose como que non sabia dende parte.* (G de C 52, 1629 *Li murtriers qui fet la dornoille, Au lit aqueurt, moult se mervouille De ce qu'il voit par son semblant . . .*) CMaynes 507b *E desque vio que non podia della saber parte . . .* 516a *nos nunca sopimos parte de Galeran.* 525a *E ellos dixieron que non sabian del parte.*

The phrase is current in OPortuguese: Joan Garcia de Guilhade, Rom. Forsch. 25, 671, 176.⁴ Joan Soarez Coelho (Nunes 276).

¹ A sporadic occurrence in a Castilian document as in an “*Ordonnance de l'évêque de Burgos, 1260,*” Férotin 234, does not matter.

² The hemistich is wrong. P is lacking. To keep *offerendas*, one can easily read *Daremos.*

³ Cf. Gessner 33 s.v. *offerecer.*

⁴ Editor's note: “[*Não*] saber parte de =[*não*] ser informado de; cf. a locução moderna *dar parte.*” The latter expression is also Spanish, cf. e.g. DQuix. I 2 *Y assi sin dar parte a persona alguna de su intencion, y sin que nadie le viesse . . .* And in a positive sentence: II 16 *don Quixote le rogó, le dixesse, quien era, pues el le auia dado parte de su condicion, y de su vida.*

Graall 83 *E em pouca dora alongouse tam mujto delles que nom souberom della parte* (=D 200a). 95 "Estes quatro sam assi perdudos que nom sabe delles homem parte" (=D 206a; cf. infra). Eufrosina, Rom. 11, 364. Hist. d'abrev. test. velho (Nunes 93). Duarte de Brito (Leite, Text. arch. 60, 20) sento pena de tal sorte, que nam sey parte de mym.¹ 62, 10. Fabulario port., Rev. lus. 8, 110 *húa sserpente . . . jazia tamto fria com o rregelado, que nom ssabia de ssy parte.* 127. And in OGalician: Crón. Troy. 2, 91 *ome nō se podia oyr nē sabia desi parte.* (RTroie 21378 *l'om n'i oist Deu tonant.*) 190 *Et todos diziā et jurauā que dela* (sc. de poliçena) *nō sabiā parte.* (RTroie 26403 *Tuit diēnt qu'il n'en sevent rien.*) . . . *Et eneas nō se quiso nada descobrir nē dizer que dela* (sc. de poliçena) *sabia parte.* (RTroie 26421 *Ne li voust onques descovrir Ne dire qu'il en seüst rien.*)

no saber parte ni mandado is likewise of Portuguese-Galician origin. D 206a *no sabe honbre dellos* (sc. de Lançarote, Galaz, Perseual, Boores) *parte ni mandado.* 327a *no saben del* (sc. de Artur) *parte ni mandado.*²

partir. G 261 *Mas ellos le* (sc. a Evolat) *guerreavan tanto quel tomarañ tanta tierra ya que partia(n) con ellos.* (K 48 and H 2, 131) *Anchois le guerrioient li egyptijen, si li auoient grant partie tolue de sa terre* [S 1, 21, 37 & *li auoient tolu la moitie de sa terre qui marchissoit a aus.*])

A Portuguese construction,³ cf. Moraes s.v. *Partir*: "P., v.n. . . .

¹ Editor's note: "nam sey parte de mym =não sei notícia de mim, não sei inteiramente nada de mim, não sei o que é de mim." Better Nunes, Gloss. s.v. *Parte*: "não saber de si parte, não dar acordo de si, ter perdido os sentidos."

² Of OPort.-Gal. *nom saber mandado* (cf. Nobiling, Rom. Forsch. 23, 358), I have noted Aliras Nunes (Nunes 191) *non saben aqui d'ela* (sc. da verdade) *mandado.* Cant. Maria 2, 297a *D'aquest' o marido d'ela sol non sabía mandado.* One may compare SMaria Eg. 317 *e fuyo* (sc. Maria) *a furtu syn mandado de su padre e de su madre* (*'enfoi en larecin [sanz seu de pere ne de merel].*)

non saber parte nin mandado occurs also in SDomingo (Fitz-Gerald) 293 *nin mandado nin parte non sabia* (l. *sabien*) *de su toca.* Prim. Crón. Gen. 323b 17 *fueron de guisa bueltos et toruados que non sabien de si parte nin mandado.* 335a 52 *fueron tan espantados que non sopieron de si parte nin mandado.* 728b 31 *nunca del depues podieron saber parte nin mandado.* But Gonzalo de Berceo "hat viel Fremdes in seiner Sprache und kann nicht als Gewährsmann für den castilianischen Sprachgebrauch betrachtet werden" (Gessner 32 s.v. *mazana*; cf. also Hanssen, Misc. 4). And the other cases are cited from such parts of Primera Crónica General as show especially strong Leonese influence, cf. Hanssen, Dos Problemas 27-28.

³ Also Medieval Latin and OFrench, cf. Du Cange (Favre): "Partiri, Conterminare, unde nostris *Partir*, eodem sensu. Charta Phil. PULC. ann. 1294. ex Chartul. Pontiniac.: In bosco de Montegneio, qui *Partitur cum comite Autissiodorensi*, etc. Alia ann. 1285. Ibid.: *La mitié ou bois de Montigny, qui Part au conte d'Auceurre . . .*" (Godefroy does not mention the construction. But, in my opinion, the following example, put by him under "se partager," belongs here: *III. pieces en la voie de Val Ligni qui partissent a Perron Manieget et a la maison de Vaurrains.*) Finally OProvencal (likewise with the prep. *a*, but refl.), cf. Levy s.v. *Partir* 7.

confinar: v.g. *partir uma terra com outra*; estar nos confins da outra . . ." Likewise OLeonese: Staaff 12, 18 (1222) *Otra* (sc. tierra) *en Ualdoruan que parte con dona Teresa.* 24. 73, 12 (1258) *Otra tierra trasle palacio que parte con dona Marina.*

plus. G 292^v (Merlin to the judge) "mi madre non merescio por que muera. E sy creer quesierdes, dexares mi madre e quitarvos hedes de preguntar por la vuestra." E el juez dixo: "Non me escapares asy. Pues [l. Plus] a vos conviene dezir." (M 1, 26 "Ensi ne m'escaperé mie, plus [S 2, 16, 20 car plus] vous couverra dire.")¹

Cf. *plus generales* Alex. 9 (P 9 *mas g.*), *plus de los Yrcanos* 1000 (P 1028 item). *plus de mill* 1201 (P 1341 *mas de m.*). *Plus blanco* 1244 (P 1385 *mas b.*). *Plus claro* 1307 (P 1449 *mas c.*). *Plus claras* 1368 (P 1510 *mas c.*). *plus tiernos* 1791 (P 1932 *mas ciernos*).² It is noteworthy that in the seven cases quoted the Aragonese scribe of P, to whom *plus* must have been a familiar form,³ replaces it six times by *mas*.

Apart from *Da plus bela Villasandino* (CBaena 24a), I do not know of an OPort.-Gal.⁴ *plus*.

por ende. G 272 fezieron (sc. los angeles) *demonstrança ca por ferir.* E *por ende el* (sc. Josafas) *non dexo de entrar.* (K 79 *Et il ne laissa onques pour chou qu'il ne vausist autre passer.*) 276^v E *quando el peccador va al clérigo e dice sus peccados e los dixa de todo en todo e despues nunca torna a ellos, aquel bien ha penitencia.* *Mas por ende non es bien manifestado.* Ante le conviene . . . (K 88 *Ichil vient a repentanche, mais pour chou n'est il mie vrais confes; Anchois . . .*) 286^v ". . . muchas vegadas fue rrogada de mi padre e de mi madre para casar. E *por ende non quise . . .*" D 71a "Dueña, dixo el pescador, este niño es de gran guisa, e conviene que lo criemos lo mejor que pudieremos, y si Dios quisiere que lo supieron aquellos donde viene, mucho nos puede ende bien uenir otra cosa." "¡Ha! dixo ella, que lo aria ende [l. uenir]." "Otra cosa ha, dixo ella, que loaria⁵ ende], este niño no

¹ D 9b "No escapareys assi con vuestra palabra hermosa, a dezir vos conviene."

² *plus* SDomingo (Sanchez) 230; SMillan 15; 438, can be explained by the fact that Gonzalo de Berceo came from La Rioja.

³ Cf. Morel-Fatio p. xxviii; Hanssen, *Gram. hist.* § 478.

⁴ An OPort. *pus* (Meyer-Lübke no. 6618) is likewise unknown to me.

⁵ M 1, 206 *Et encore loeroie je mieus que . . .*

puede ser que no sea muy ayna conocido; lleuemoslo al señor de la tierra . . . ca si despues supiesen que lo fallamos y lo no lleuamos, destroyrnos ha." "Por ende, si me ayude Dios, dixo el pescador,¹ este es el mejor consejo que ha." 265a ". . . Ciento, yo nunca oy decir a ningun honbre tanto mal del como a vos, e por ende no se que vos ay crea, fasta que mas vea del."

pour chou K 79 and 88 has the meaning "trotzdem," cf. Tobler, V.B. 2, 26. A Castilian, unless he was translating mechanically, would have rendered it by *sin embargo* or the like.² On the other hand, a Leonese, so familiar, as we have seen, with OPortuguese-Galician, could very well render it by OPort.-Gal. *poren* (which the Castilian scribe would have changed to *por ende*) or by *por ende* (which existed by the side of *poren*).³ For though Santa Rosa does not give *porem=com tudo*, and Cant. Maria Glos. limits it expressly to Modern Portuguese, it belongs to the old language. Cf. Estoria Geral (Leite 46, 8) *Mas elles, por que nom achauā nem hūu que os d'elle quisesse nē podesse defender, porem⁴ nō sse ousauā contra elle leuantar.*

ADDENDA

braadar (bradar). G 272^v *Entonce se levanto Josep donde yasia faziendo oracion e fuese contra su fijo. E quando Josafas lo vido venir, tendio la mano contra el e començol abraçar e dixol: "Aqui, padre, non vos llegues a mi . . ."* (K 79, S 1, 33, 24, and H 2, 177 & li commencha a crier.)

O undoubtedly read *abraadar*, if not *abradar* (cf. Cornu § 254).

braadar is OPortuguese-Galician.

Ad **desganar**. My friend Northup reminds me of It. *scannare*. [Not to be found in Diez, Körting, or Meyer-Lübke. Pianigiani connects the word correctly with *canna*. The meaning "to stifle to death, to strangle" is, however, lacking.]

Ad **escaeacer**. G 288 (Merlin's mother tells the holy man) *comô por ela saña que ovo que acaescio [l. le escaeocio] que non se syno.* (M 1, 14 "Et pour le grant ire ou j'estoie je m'oubliai a seignier . . ." S 2, 9, 40 & *por le grant ire & le duel quele ot soublia a seignier.*) 288^v (the holy man to Merlin's

¹ To *pescador* corresponds in M 1, 206 *li sires*. The latter should not have been replaced by *la dame*.

² *porende=com tudo* Sâ de Miranda 125, 586; 697, 440; 322, 108 is a "lusitanismo," though not designated as such by the editor.

³ Cf. Santa Rosa s.v. *Por ende* and Crón. Troy. Voc. s.v. *Ende*.

⁴ =*com tudo*, Leite, Gloss.

mother) *E dixol asi: "Guardate que te non fallesca [l. escaesca] nada de todo quanto te mando . . ."* (D 7a "Guardate no se te olvide lo que te mande . . .") —M 1, 15 *Garde que tu n'oublies mie . . . S 2, 10, 36 noblie mie . . .*)

Ad *por ende*. G 270^v (a voice to Joseph and his people) *soy yo vuestro padre e dios spiritual, que vos conpre en el mundo por mi carne que dexe martiriar. E por ende uve grant amor convusco que ningund padre non lo podria aver mayor convusco asi como con hijos.*

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[To be concluded]

THÉOPHILE GAUTIER: *LE PAVILLON SUR L'EAU.*—

Concluded

67. Il *roula* sa pièce de *vers*, l'enferma dans le calice d'une *fleur* et *enveloppa* le tout d'une large *feuille de nénuphar* qu'il posa délicatement sur l'eau
ayant écrit quelques vers elle les enveloppa dans une fleur qu'elle roula ensuite dans une feuille de nymphea-nelumbo . . . elle jeta le rouleau dans l'eau (p. 23)
68. elle éprouvait la satisfaction de l'être (aimée) par un homme de mérite
Une belle ne peut distinguer qu'un homme de mérite (*DC*, I, 128).
69. Ju-Kiouan *envoya par le même moyen*, vers le pavillon opposé, une réponse en vers,
Tchin-Seng . . . se hâta d'en faire (des vers) quelques-uns en réponse; il les mit dans le même rouleau pour les renvoyer par la même voie (p. 24)
70. Le bonheur n'est souvent qu'une ombre dans l'eau
L'Ombre dans l'eau, *tel est le titre du conte chinois d'où Th. G. a tiré sa nouvelle* (*CC*, II, pp. 7-64).

Il y a d'autres passages où l'inspiration pour être moins directe, n'en est pas moins évidente; pour s'en convaincre pleinement, il sera bon d'en remarquer la place dans la nouvelle ainsi que dans l'original.

71. à quelle époque, c'est ce qu'il importe peu de savoir sous le règne d'un empereur de la dynastie de Youan (p. 7)
72. Tou et Kouan, que reliait une parenté éloignée Ils avaient épousé les deux sœurs (p. 8)
73. Plus jeunes, ils se plaisaient à se réunir avec quelques-uns de leurs anciens condisciples, et, pendant les soirées d'automne, ils . . . célébraient par des improvisations la beauté des reines-marguerites tout Chaque jour, quand les affaires publiques étaient expédiées, Pe se livrait à son plaisir favori, boire et faire des vers. Au bout de quelques mois, il s'était formé une société d'amis qui comme lui aimaient le vin et la poésie, et ils passaient le temps ensemble à célébrer les saules et les fleurs. On était alors au milieu de la neuvième lune; un des clients de Pe lui avait envoyé douze pots de reines-marguerites odorantes, et il les avait

en buvant de petites tasses de vin

fait placer au bas des degrés de l'escalier de sa bibliothèque. Là étaient aussi rangées des amaranthes avec des rosiers et des orchis. . . . Pe trouvait un plaisir extrême à les considérer. Chaque jour il venait goûter, en buvant, cet innocent amusement. Un jour qu'il était en cet endroit, et précisément occupé à composer des vers, on vint lui annoncer la visite de Gou, docteur de la grande Académie impériale, et de See, l'un des inspecteurs généraux de l'empire. . . . Il était du même âge que Pe et partageait son goût pour le vin et la poésie. Ces trois magistrats étaient liés par la plus étroite intimité, et dans les intervalles de loisir que leur laissaient les affaires, c'était à qui chercherait les autres pour passer le temps ensemble. . . . Pe les invita à passer dans sa bibliothèque pour voir les reines-marguerites. . . . Gou et See se récrièrent en amateurs sur la beauté de ces fleurs, et quand les trois amis se furent arrêtés quelque temps à les considérer, Pe ordonna à ses domestiques d'apporter le vin pour régaler ses hôtes . . . des pinceaux et des écritoirs, et prenant place avec Gou et See, ils se proposèrent d'écrire chacun des vers à rimes libres sur les reines-marguerites qu'ils avaient tant admirées (*DC*, I, 91-98).

74. D'année en année, Tou prenait de la gravité;

(le caractère de) Kouan était grave et sévère (p. 8)

75. Kouan, au contraire, semblait se regaillardir avec l'âge

Tou était d'une humeur enjouée et aimait le plaisir (p. 8)

76. Peu à peu les deux amis s'étaient pris d'animosité l'un contre l'autre

chaque jour amenait de nouvelles disputes et des querelles continues (p. 9)

77. Les choses en vinrent au point qu'ils n'eurent plus aucun rapport ensemble

Ils continuèrent néanmoins à vivre quelque temps ensemble (p. 9)

78. L'intérieur n'était pas moins somptueux

je me suis défait des appartements superbes que j'avais bâti pour moi-même (*TEC*, p. 8). Il fit l'acquisition d'un terrain situé en dedans de la porte de la ville de Nanking, où il bâtit une maison superbe avec des pavillons d'été et l'entoura de jardins qui en dépendaient; il meubla ensuite la maison de la manière la plus somptueuse (*Tendres époux*, *CC*, I, 200).

79. les femmes de Tou et de Kouan avaient chacune donné le jour à un enfant. Madame Tou était mère d'une charmante fille, et Madame Kouan, d'un garçon le plus joli du monde
80. ils s'imaginèrent que cette résistance venait peut-être d'une inclination préconçue (cf. section 42)
81. nul jeune homme ne se promenait le long des treillis de Ju-Kiouan
82. il ne faisait pas assez de vent pour agiter une feuille de tremble
83. mais comme on ne peut pas avoir de bien longues conversations avec un reflet dont on ne peut pas voir le corps,
84. (elle) lut avec un plaisir infini les expressions d'amour et les métaphores dont Tchin-Sing s'était servi
- Tou eut un fils et Kouan une fille (p. 10)
Leurs mères étaient parfaitement belles, leurs enfants n'avaient pas dégénéré à cet égard (p. 11)
- Il paraît que Soung-kin n'était autre que le vieux prêtre du temple des Dames à Tchin-tcheou, revenu au monde par la métamorphose; dans sa première existence, il avait récité le livre de prières, et maintenant, dès qu'il eût jeté un coup-d'œil sur l'une des sections, il fut en état de la répéter de mémoire: ce qui provenait de ce que sa première existence n'était pas entièrement anéantie (*Tendres époux*, CC, I, 191).
- "Puisque vous voulez absolument voir cette demoiselle à la dérobée, faites semblant de vous promener au-dessous du pavillon. Peut-être qu'en allant et venant, le hasard voudra que vous aperceviez sa figure" . . . il s'en alla tout seul et secrètement se promener derrière le parterre de la maison du docteur Gou. Il reconnut d'un coup d'œil le pavillon qui s'élevait au-dessus de la muraille; les fenêtres étaient garanties de l'ardeur du soleil par des rideaux de gaze, et par des jalouses peintes en rouge et à moitié baissées (DC, I, 244-45).
- Comme il faisait très peu d'air (p. 16)
- les deux amants avaient entretenu une correspondance journalière par le moyen de leurs ombres (p. 21)
- elle lui disait que la surface agitée de l'eau était l'image de son âme (p. 23)
il y disait que la manière actuelle de s'entretenir ne valait guère mieux que de cueillir des fleurs en songe (p. 24)

Th. Gautier est plus peintre que psychologue, il sent mieux les formes que les sentiments et nous en avons ici un nouvel exemple: d'une part, par ce qu'il a ajouté, d'autre part, par ce qu'il a laissé.

Voyons ce qu'il a ajouté. Ce sont d'abord les descriptions et surtout celles des édifices. Elles ne se trouvent dans aucun des originaux chinois. Th. Gautier, grand amateur de descriptions—“Il faut peindre le décor des scènes que l'on raconte”¹—ne manque pas cette occasion d'introduire un des éléments les plus puissants de couleur locale. Une page entière est consacrée à l'aspect extérieur des pavillons:

Ces pavillons comptaient trois étages avec des terrasses en retraite. Les toits, retroussés et courbés aux angles en pointes de sabot, étaient couverts de tuiles rondes et brillantes semblables aux écailles qui papellonnent le ventre des carpes; sur chaque arrête se profilait des dentelures en forme de feuillages et de dragons. Des piliers de vernis rouge, réunis par une frise découpée à jour, comme la feuille d'ivoire d'un éventail, soutenaient cette toiture élégante. Leurs fûts reposaient sur un petit mur bas, plaqué de carreaux de porcelaine disposés avec une agréable symétrie, et bordé d'un garde-fou d'un dessin bizarre, de manière à former devant le corps de logis une galerie ouverte. Cette disposition se répétait à chaque étage, non sans quelques variantes: ici les carreaux de porcelaine étaient remplacés par des bas-reliefs représentant divers sujets de la vie champêtre; un lacis de branches curieusement difformes et faisant des coudes inattendus, se substituait au balcon; des poteaux, peints de couleurs vives, servaient de piédestaux à des chimères verrueuses, à des monstres fantastiques, produit de toutes les impossibilités soudées ensemble. L'édifice se terminait par une corniche évidée et dorée, garnie d'une balustrade de bambous aux nœuds égaux, ornée à chaque compartiment d'une boule de métal” (pp. 355-56).

Ensuite, c'est le temple de Fô: “un bel édifice aux toits découpés, aux fenêtres rondes, tout reluisant d'or et de vernis, plaqué de tablettes votives, orné de mâts d'où flottent des bannières de soie historiées de chimères et de dragons, ombragé d'arbres millénaires et d'une grosseur monstrueuse” (p. 363).

Où l'auteur a-t-il pris ses modèles? Certes, les lignes générales des pavillons, pagodes, palais, tours et temples de la Chine n'étaient pas tout à fait inconnues des lecteurs de 1846: les meubles laqués, les potiches, les paravents en avaient vulgarisé l'architecture, ces objets n'étant pas choses nouvelles à cette époque. Depuis le commencement du XVII^e siècle, “les marchands et les curieux de Lachine” avaient répandu et accumulé les curiosités de toutes sortes avec une telle ardeur, un tel enthousiasme que l'art chinois a imprimé

¹ *Jettatura dans Romans et Contes*, p. 154.

son cachet dans la décoration et le mobilier français d'une façon de plus en plus marquée pendant la seconde partie du siècle et surtout dans le cours du suivant.¹ Au début du XIX^{ème} siècle, Paris regorgeait de *chinoiseries* et Th. Gautier, amateur de choses d'art et observateur infatigable, procéda à sa moisson d'images documentaires sans en excepter le royaume de Cathay. Pourtant, le bric-à-brac chinois ne parut pas suffire à son œil exercé. Ce n'est pas là qu'il a puisé. Plus de vingt ans plus tard, en mai 1867, dans un article du *Moniteur universel*, intitulé *Chinois et Russes à l'Exposition universelle de Paris*, il ne jugera pas encore comme superflue ou banale la description d'édifices chinois et il en dira le pourquoi. C'est qu'on ne regarde plus la Chine et les Chinois avec les mêmes yeux qu'auparavant.

La Chine a son pavillon dans le parc de l'Exposition universelle. Depuis la prise de Pékin, l'empire du Milieu n'est plus un pays aussi chimérique qu'autrefois; il passe du rêve à la réalité. . . . On admet que la Chine n'est pas peuplée exclusivement de poussahs aux yeux obliques, au sourire béat, hochant la tête quand le vent agite les sonnettes aux angles des *toits retroussés en sabot*, de femmes de porcelaine chancelant sur leurs petits pieds, et de mandarins *ventrus célébrant la fleur du pêcher ou les reines-marguerites en buvant des tasses de Souchon* comme on en voit dans les peintures des écrans. Les potiches, les paravents, les cabinets et les émaux cloisonnés ne sont plus nos seuls renseignements. Parmi les promeneurs de l'Exposition, plus d'un a pénétré dans le mystérieux palais où le fils du ciel passait la saison d'été.

Donc, depuis la prise de Pékin, qui eut lieu, comme on sait, en 1860, on a une connaissance plus directe de ce pays et de ses habitants, on ne dépend plus des bibelots et des petits meubles. Les membres du corps expéditionnaire ont rapporté des souvenirs de ce qu'ils avaient vu, mais,

ce n'en est pas moins une sensation singulière que de voir s'élever, en un coin du Champ-de-Mars, une de ces maisons bizarres, aux légers treillis de bambou, aux *balustrades coudées en grecques*, aux *piliers vernis*, aux portes *rondes*, aux *toits recourbés*, dont les arrêtes sont hérissées de dragons, aux longues *pancartes historierées de pièces de vers ou de sentences morales*, qu'on ne connaissait encore que par les images en moellles de roseau des albums de Lam-qua (*l'Orient*, I, pp. 257-58).²

¹ P. Martino, *l'Orient dans la littérature française au XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*. Mlle H. Belevitch-Stankevitch, *le Goût chinois en France au temps de Louis XIV*.

² On a mis en italique les mots qui passent tels quels d'un texte à l'autre.

Ces albums de Lam-qua, voilà les documents dont, selon son propre témoignage, Th. Gautier se serait servi pour l'architecture des pavillons et du temple. Nous avons eu la bonne fortune d'avoir sous les yeux l'un de ces albums de Lam-qua, ou, comme il n'est pas signé, de l'un de ses élèves, en tout cas de son école, ce qui revient au même pour la question qui nous occupe. Par malheur, les peintures qu'il renferme et qui sont exécutées, en effet, sur papier en moelles de roseau, ne représentent pas des édifices, mais des paysages, des scènes d'intérieur, des vues d'atelier. Malgré cela, nous avons pu nous rendre compte de l'espèce de documents employés par l'auteur. Il a été à même de voir la reproduction fidèle de monuments authentiques avec leurs détails et leurs couleurs. Parmi ses compatriotes, Lam-qua ne jouit que de la réputation peu enviable d'un peintre renégat. Il s'est écarté de la conception et de la facture de la peinture et du dessin chinois pour adopter la technique et les méthodes européennes. Il était l'élève du peintre irlandais Chinnery. Il résidait à Macao et exerça son industrie de 1830 à 1850, car c'est bien là le nom de sa façon de faire, puisqu'il avait un certain nombre d'élèves qui travaillaient sous ses ordres à la confection de ces albums qui prenaient vite le chemin de l'Europe et dont la plupart se trouvent maintenant à Paris. Les peintures des albums sont exécutées à l'aquarelle et à la gouache. Il peignait aussi à l'huile et il copia en couleur de nombreuses gravures et lithographies d'Europe. Ayant fait fi de l'originalité de sa race, il n'a pas eu assez de talent pour se créer une manière qui flattât le goût des Européens; mais ses albums n'en restent pas moins des documents précieux à titre de leçons de choses et c'est ce qui nous intéresse.¹

Avec l'architecture c'est le jardin et ses eaux qui ont aussi séduit la plume descriptive de l'artiste:

Des rochers artificiels, dans l'interstice desquels des saules, des noyers plongeaien leurs racines, servaient du côté de la terre de base à ces jolies constructions; du côté de l'eau, elles portaient sur des poteaux de bois inde-

¹ Je tiens les renseignements qu'on vient de lire sur Lam-Qua du Dr. Berthold Laufer, curateur de la section asiatique au Field Museum of Natural History de Chicago. C'est à sa courtoisie que je dois d'avoir pu prendre connaissance de l'album sorti des ateliers du peintre de Macao. L'accueil qu'il a fait à toutes les questions que j'ai cru devoir faire pour m'assurer que je ne m'égarais pas dans un domaine qui m'est étranger et la marque d'intérêt qu'il a témoignée à ce travail en proposant d'en parcourir les épreuves m'ont fait son obligé et je lui renouvelle ici tous mes remerciements.

structibles. . . . Sous le cristal de l'onde folâtraient par bandes des poissons d'azur écaillés d'or; des flottes de jolis canards à col d'émeraude manœuvraient en tous sens, et les larges feuilles du *nymphcea-nélumbo* s'étalaient paresseusement sous la transparence diamantée de ce petit lac alimenté par une source vive. Excepté vers le milieu, où le fond était formé d'un sable argenté d'une finesse extraordinaire, et où les bouillons de la source qui sourdait n'eussent pas permis à la végétation aquatique d'implanter ses fibrilles, tout le reste de l'étang était tapissé du plus beau velours vert qu'on puisse imaginer par des nappes de cresson vivace.

Ce délicieux paysage aquatique, Th. Gautier l'a cueilli dans la collection de ses visions. Il l'avait déjà peint, pour ainsi dire, dans *Mlle de Maupin*, dix ans auparavant:

La rivière s'élargit, à cet endroit, de manière à former un petit lac¹ et le peu de profondeur permet de distinguer, sous la *transparence* de l'eau, les belles plantes *aquatiques* qui en *tapissent* le lit. Ce sont des *nymphæas* et des lotus qui nagent nonchalamment dans le plus pur *cristal* avec les reflets des nuées et des *saules* pleureurs qui se penchent sur la rive. . . . Cet autre *pavillon* est tout moderne. . . . Certaines portions sont treillissées, comme les maisons chinoises, de treillis peints de différentes couleurs . . . [p. 131]. . . . Tout à côté jaillissait une forte *source* qui . . . tombait . . . dans un bassin tout rempli de *cresson* plus *vert* que l'émeraude. Aux endroits où il n'y avait pas de *cresson*, on apercevait un *sable fin* et blanc comme la neige [p. 330].

Si l'on ne savait le goût de l'auteur pour la description, on pourrait croire qu'il a introduit la peinture de ces curiosités de la nature et de l'art pour que sa nouvelle fût bien "chinoise." En effet, quoique ces tableaux, comme nous l'avons remarqué, ne se trouvent pas dans les œuvres dont Th. Gautier s'est directement inspiré, ils ne sont pas rares dans les romans chinois.

Il y a [dit A. Rémusat] un autre défaut qui est pareillement l'abus d'une bonne qualité, et où les romanciers chinois se laissent entraîner comme les nôtres: c'est la longueur des descriptions poétiques et l'étalage prolix des merveilles de l'art ou des beautés de la nature. Il arrive quelquefois à ces auteurs asiatiques de s'interrompre au beau moment, d'abandonner leur rôle de narrateurs et de chercher, dans la moindre circonstance de leur récit, le sujet de tableaux dont il faut admirer les couleurs et l'ordonnance. . . . Au reste, le secret facile de ces sortes de lieux communs n'est pas moins familier

¹ Remarquer les synonymes *paresseusement* et *nonchalamment* et la comparaison comme les maisons chinoises. Ici, ce sont les mots de la rédaction antérieure passés dans le *Pavillon sur l'eau* qui sont en italique.

aux écrivains de l'Asie-Orientale qu'à ceux de l'Occident de l'Europe. Nous avons nos paysages enchanteurs, nos sites sauvages, nos montagnes bleuâtres réfléchies par la surface polie des lacs, et nos couchers de soleil avec leurs flots de pourpre, et nos effets de lune avec leurs nuances argentines. A la Chine c'est la verdure des saules, la transparence des eaux, la teinte diversifiée des nuages, la neige des arbres fruitiers, l'incarnat des pivoine et l'or des chrysanthèmes, dont le retour fréquent, et pour ainsi dire périodique, est destiné à produire une agréable variété, et amène parfois, il faut l'avouer, une élégante monotonie.

Voilà ce que Th. Gautier a certainement lu dans la préface de la traduction de *IU-KIAO-LI*,¹ et la critique qu'y fait A. Rémusat valut sans doute au savant sinologue l'épithète de "perruque." L'écrivain romantique chérissait trop les descriptions pour que les remarques du traducteur puissent être accusées de les lui avoir suggérées, mais elles ne l'ont certainement pas détourné d'en farcir sa nouvelle chinoise. Ici, son goût a bien servi son dessein.

En outre des mots qui sont comme des touches de *couleur locale* et dont on a vu la provenance (*lî, hanlin, chambre de jaspe, fleur de meï, fleuve Jaune, livre des Odes, modes de poésies, cheval d'or, bonnet noir, pavillon oriental, bonze, temple de Fô, chevaux de Fargana, union des sarcelles, lentille d'eau et alisma, autel des ancêtres, mûriers et ormes*) et des noms propres, il y en a d'autres que l'auteur a empruntés au fonds des lieux communs chinois. Tels sont:

La cangue.—“Et les serviteurs, s'ils se rencontraient par hasard, avaient ordre de ne se point parler sous peine du fouet et de la cangue.” Dans *l'Ombre dans l'eau*, il n'y a nulle trace de si cruelles menaces. Mais le roman des *Deux cousins* offre l'exemple d'un châtiment infligé à un serviteur. Le concierge Toungyoung a trompé son maître; il est chassé après avoir reçu vingt coups de bâton (III, 100).² Il n'y a rien là de typiquement chinois; tel gentilhomme de l'ancien régime irrité contre ses gens en usait à leur égard comme le seigneur Pe avec son concierge. La cangue est l'effet d'une sentence prononcée par un magistrat, mais est plus chinoise.

La grande muraille.—On a vu (section 23) que Tou et Kouan “vivaient aussi étrangers l'un à l'autre que s'ils eussent été séparés par le fleuve Jaune.” L'auteur ajoute “ou la grande muraille.” C'est ainsi que cette célèbre fortification trouve ici son emploi.

¹ Pp. 17, 18.

² V. Aussi: *la Calomnie démasquée* (CC, II 171).

Les pieds des Chinoises.—Dans le recueil des *Contes chinois* comme dans les *Deux cousins*, la beauté et les charmes des femmes sont souvent décrits; nulle part je n'ai trouvé d'allusion à la petitesse de leurs pieds. Cela n'empêche pas l'auteur de mentionner "les pieds imperceptibles" des beautés qu'on proposait à Tchin-Sing. Il ne lui est pas venu à l'idée que cette exiguité, ayant une origine tout artificielle, est moins un mérite qu'un caractère commun à toutes les femmes de certaines classes. Son goût et son admiration pour les petits pieds ont ici égaré l'adorateur de la Beauté; ils lui ont fait perdre de vue que ce qui est un attrait chez l'Andalouse chaussée de satin noir ou la Parisienne, de chevreau glacé, n'est qu'une affreuse difformité chez une fille de l'Empire du Milieu. Malgré cela, nombreux sont dans son œuvre les pieds à rendre jalouses Cendrillon et les Chinoises. Dès 1837, son héros Fortunio fait présent à Arabelle d'une paire de pantoufles ayant appartenu à une princesse chinoise (V. plus haut *Yeu-Tseu*), ce sont "deux petits souliers bizarrement brodés d'or et de perles, du caprice le plus chinois, de la gentillesse la plus folle que l'on puisse imaginer" (p. 50). Dans la poésie intitulée *Chinoiserie* et datée de 1838, il n'avait pas laissé échapper cette occasion de remarquer

un petit pied à tenir dans la main,

et ailleurs (cité par le V^e de Spoelberch de Lovenjoul, sans date):

Je sais un petit pied, fleur rose, qu'un baiser
Couvrirait tout entier en voulant s'y poser.

L'opium.—Ce narcotique devait se trouver sous la plume d'un romantique amateur de sensations rares. "C'était un plaisir pour eux (Tou et Kouan) de s'envoyer du haut du balcon des salutations familières et de fumer la goutte d'opium enflammé sur le champignon de porcelaine en échangeant des bouffées bienveillantes." Cette chinoiserie "tout indiquée" est, à dire vrai, un anachronisme. Certes, l'auteur n'assigne pas de date aux événements de sa nouvelle et ils peuvent fort bien s'en passer. Il n'a pas voulu non plus qu'ils en aient, car si le récit chinois débute par ces mots: "Sous le règne d'un empereur de la dynastie de Youan," lui écrit: "à quelle époque, c'est ce qu'il importe peu de savoir, les contes n'ont pas besoin d'une chronologie bien précise." Nous ne lui chercherons donc pas

chicane sur ce point et nous aurions passé outre, si l'écrivain ne se fût piqué d'exactitude et d'une sorte d'omniscience.¹ Constatons seulement que jusqu'à la fin du premier tiers du XVIII^e siècle, l'opium ne fût importé en Chine qu'en quantité relativement petite et uniquement comme remède. Or, les différentes œuvres qui ont servi de sources au *Pavillon sur l'eau* sont toutes d'une rédaction bien antérieure au XVIII^e siècle. C'est pourquoi l'on n'y trouve pas trace des *pipes d'ébène* qui tiennent compagnie aux cure-dents sur les tables polies (p. 357). Enfin, en plus d'une bonne touche de couleur locale, ce qui a pu déterminer l'auteur, c'est qu'il avait une occasion de faire montre de ses connaissances techniques. Il en était fier et n'en était point avare. Nombre de philistins ignorent comment l'opium se fume ? Bonne aubaine, on va le leur apprendre. Voici, semble-t-il, dans quelle circonstance lui-même s'en est instruit. "Je trouvai Alphonse Karr tenant à la main un tuyau de bois de mérисier muni d'un *champignon de porcelaine* sur lequel il faisait dégouetter une espèce de pâte brune assez semblable à de la cire à cacheter; cette pâte flambait et grésillait dans la cheminée du *champignon*" (*la Pipe d'opium*, 27 septembre 1838). Il s'était déjà donné cette satisfaction dans *Fortunio*: "Sa toilette achevée, elle (Soudja-Sari) demanda sa pipe et se mit à fumer de l'opium. Rima-Pahes faisait tomber du bout d'une aiguille d'argent, sur le *champignon de porcelaine*, la pastille liquéfiée à la flamme d'un charbon de bois odorant" (p. 148). Et il ne s'en était pas tenu à contempler Alph. Karr: "Nous connaissions déjà les hallucinations que cause l'opium fumé," écrit-il dans un feuilleton de la *Presse*: le *Hachich* (10 juillet 1843). Il avait aussi essayé du hachich, comme l'attestent ce feuilleton et aussi le *Club des Hachichins* dans *Romans et Contes*; mais "certes, avouait-il, de toutes les manières d'anéantir le corps pour exalter l'esprit, le vin est encore la plus douce, la plus naturelle et, pour ainsi dire, la plus raisonnable (*les Quatrains de Kéyam—l'Orient II*).

Les cinq règles de conduite.—Ceci est moins connu. Avec le "livre des Odes" (section 28), Ju-Kiouan sait les "cinq règles de conduite." Est-ce les "cinq devoirs" dont il s'agit ? A. Rémusat les donne en note (*DC*, II, 2). Mais ces devoirs ne s'appliquent guère à une jeune

¹ Emile Bergerat, *Théophile Gautier, Entretiens, souvenirs et correspondance*, p. 58.

fille. Je suis plutôt porté à y voir les cinq règles mentionnées dans le contes des *Tendres époux* (*CC*, I, 190): ne pas tuer et ce mot doit être pris dans la plus grande étendue; ne pas dérober ni voler; être chaste; ne pas mentir; s'abstenir de vin. Il y en a cinq, données comme les principales. Elles sont applicables à une femme. A moins que ce ne soit celles qui concernent les devoirs de l'épouse (*Univers pittoresque, Asie, I, Chine*, pp. 261-65). Il y en a sept au passage indiqué, mais sur ce nombre, cinq se rapportent à la femme mariée. Quoiqu'il en soit, le nombre *cinq* se retrouve fréquemment dans tout ce qui intéresse les Chinois. On a vu, à propos du livre des Odes (section 28), les cinq livres canoniques. Le roman des *Deux cousins* abonde en allusions à ce chiffre: les cinq lacs (I, 165, n. 2); les cinq relations sociales de l'homme (p. 174); les cinq veilles (p. 233, n. 1); les cinq chars (p. 255, n. 4); les cinq saveurs (p. 96); les cinq collines (p. 368, n. 1); les cinq éléments (p. 53); etc. Peut-être l'auteur n'a-t-il eu en vue rien de bien défini, à l'exception du chiffre cinq qui, au courant de ses lectures d'ouvrages chinois, avait certainement dû le frapper? Je ne suis pas éloigné de croire que dans certains passages, l'ancien rapin s'est donné le malin plaisir d'intriguer son public. En effet, dans les sujets exotiques, n'est-ce pas en partie la fonction de la *couleur locale* d'exciter la curiosité du lecteur? Le voyageur qui visite des pays lontains, aux mœurs et coutumes très différentes des siennes, ne se trouve-t-il pas souvent en présence de choses et de faits qu'il ne peut comprendre? Ces défis jetés à sa connaissance ou à son intelligence sont à compter au nombre des attraits du voyage et Th. Gautier était trop artiste et trop bon voyageur pour ne pas en savoir l'effet et ne pas en apprécier le charme. Nous dirons donc que ce ne sont pas des inadvertances, mais des intentions. Tels sont ces *cinq règles de conduite*, le *pavillon oriental* (section 48) qu'un lecteur non prévenu peut prendre pour l'un des deux pavillons, les *modes de poésies* (section 31), et les *négociateurs* dont il est question dans les lignes qui suivent la section 28.

"Mais Tchin-Sing répondait d'un air enjoué aux négociateurs qu'on lui envoyait, qu'il était trop tôt (pour songer à se marier), et qu'il désirait jouir encore quelque temps de sa liberté." Dans le conte de *l'Ombre dans l'eau* et le roman des *Deux cousins*, il y a en effet de ces *négociateurs* ou entremetteurs, pour les appeler par leur

nom, bien qu'ils travaillent pour le bon motif. Il n'est pas sans intérêt de remarquer que toutefois ce n'est pas la coutume générale.

Les femmes de la Chine, disent les missionnaires, sont à peu près condamnées à ne voir jamais le jour hors de chez elles. Un Chinois se marie sans avoir même aperçu celle qu'il épouse. Il ne se forme une image de ses traits, de sa taille, de son caractère, que sur le rapport d'une *entremetteuse* (dont en Chine les fonctions sont fort honorées), d'une parente ou de quelque autre femme qui, en pareil cas, fait l'office d'une entremetteuse. Il est vrai que si on lui en impose, ou sur l'âge, ou sur la figure, il est en droit de faire déclarer la mariage nul. Ici, la loi vient à son tour, corriger les abus de l'usage.¹

On voit par la date que l'auteur n'a pu avoir en main ce volume à l'époque où il écrivait, mais il avait lu Iu-Kiao-Li où cette coutume forme le pivot du roman. Il en résulte que le piquant du récit chinois, si nous ignorons les mœurs du pays, est en grande partie perdu pour nous. En faisant connaissance et en voyant réciproquement leurs traits, les deux jeunes gens narguent la coutume et par leur amour rapprochent deux familles que leurs chefs s'obstinaient à maintenir brouillées.

Les pierres de porphyre.—Ce sont celles sur lesquelles on frotte le bâtonnet d'encre de Chine. Dans un creux qui forme godet est mise l'eau qui sert au délayage.²

Après tout ce qui précède l'auteur était en droit d'écrire à Henry Berthoud qu'il n'était pas "un blagueur littéraire." Il est même plus consciencieux qu'il ne l'annonce, car ce n'est pas dans un pot du Japon qu'il "fourra son nez" mais bien dans un vase de Chine. Malgré de légères erreurs, comme celles qu'il a commises dans l'emploi des mots *li* et *hanlin*, et aussi des termes *tardif*, *hâté*, *élévé*, *rentrant*, qui ne sont pas les modes de poésies,³ mais les "quatre tons dans une chanson," il a été exact et s'il n'a pas été clair partout, c'était sans doute à dessein. Il a été si précis dans le détail qu'on est quelque peu surpris de découvrir sous sa plume une négligence qui fait tache. Enumérant les objets placés sur les tables polies des pavillons, il écrit: "on trouvait toujours des cure-dents, des éventails, des pipes d'ébène, des pierres de porphyre, des pinceaux et *tout ce qui est*

¹ *Univers pittoresque, Asie, Chine*, 1853, p. 482b.

² A ajouter: *Empire du Milieu*, éventails, pipes d'ébène et les termes de l'architecture chinoise.

³ *Univers pittoresque* (1837, p. 101b) indique seulement trois genres de poésie.

nécessaire pour écrire. N'est-il pas regrettable que l'œil ébloui du lecteur tombe sur ce cliché, sur cette formule banale des indications de mise en scène ? Quelle chute de se sentir soudain arraché à l'Extrême-Orient pour débarquer chez M. Scribe ! La traduction des *Deux cousins* lui ouvrait cependant tout un magasin où il n'avait qu'à choisir. "Et aussitôt elle (Yansou) tira de sa manche une feuille de papier à fleurs, puis un pinceau à manche bariolé, qu'elle remit à See Yeoupe. Ensuite elle prit une ancienne écritoire, un vase d'eau et un bâton d'encre, qu'elle posa sur une grosse pierre . . ." (II, 171). "Yang demanda une écritoire, du papier, de l'encre et des pinceaux . . ." (I, 136). Ou enfin, s'il croyait oiseux de nommer chaque objet : "Et il (Pe) appela ses domestiques pour leur demander les quatre objets précieux qui sont à l'usage des gens de lettres." Cette périphrase sent son XVIII^e siècle, mais elle est moins commune que le "tout ce qu'il faut pour écrire." L'imagination de Th. Gautier n'était pas à court : à la formule "taille de guêpe" il a substitué "taille de libellule" que je n'ai trouvé dans aucune des sources et qui n'est pas essentiellement chinois,¹ mais qui, certes, ne détonne pas, tandis que la locution qui nous occupe jure décidément.²

S'il a péché, pour une fois, par un *lapsus* un peu bien occidental, il a su se prémunir contre un excès d'orientalisme, il a été discret dans ses emprunts à une langue décidément rétive à l'harmonie. A l'instar de Rémusat, il a évité les vocables dissonants ou ridicules tels que *toutou*, *taïchang*, *iuisse*, *tchifou*, *tchihian*. S'il a employé *hanlin* et *li* que le sinologue avait bannis, c'est que ces mots n'ont rien de choquant pour une oreille française.

Enfin, au nombre des additions, il faut compter les comparaisons. Th. Gautier a l'image poétique facile, gracieuse, convenable et frappante.

¹ Dans *la Maitrone du pays de Soung*, se trouve cette comparaison : sa taille était élégante et légère comme celle d'une immortelle ; le roman des *Deux cousins* fait allusion à une branche de saule (CC, III, 155).

² Puisque nous en sommes à relever les fautes, signalons-en une qui pourrait bien n'être qu'une faute d'impression. Cela n'aurait rien d'étonnant dans des éditions aussi médiocres que celles que la librairie offre au public des œuvres d'un artiste délicat à qui la forme était si chère. A la page 364, Ju-Kiouan "distinguait les piliers rouges, les frises découpées, etc., et si la réfraction [sic] ne les eût renversées, elle aurait lu les sentences inscrites sur les tablettes." Or, la réfraction ne renverse pas les objets, c'est la *réflexion* qu'il faut ici. Quand aurons-nous une édition complète, exacte et d'une typographie soignée de l'œuvre d'un écrivain qui la mérite bien ?

Pour marquer que les deux amis et voisins, dont les caractères sont devenus de plus en plus différents, l'un tendant vers la gravité et l'autre vers la gaieté, se sont finalement brouillés, il dit: "Telle une branche d'amandier qui se bifurque et dont les baguettes rapprochées par le bas, s'écartent complètement au sommet, de sorte que l'une répand son parfum amer dans le jardin, tandis que l'autre secoue sa neige de fleurs en dehors de la muraille" (p. 354). Rien de plus juste, de plus approprié, de plus joli!

Et en même temps, rien de plus *couleur locale*, car cette comparaison du tronc et de la branche ou de deux branches entre elles, bien que n'étant pas spécialement chinoise, est souvent employée par les auteurs chinois. En effet, je lis dans *les Trois étages consacrés*: "L'homme de bon sens avait toutes les dispositions de son grand-aïeul; l'autre ne participait que très peu du caractère de sa famille. Leurs dispositions étaient aussi divergentes que les cieux le sont de l'abîme. On va voir combien différaient entre elles deux branches sorties du même tronc" (p. 15). Et encore, dans *la Matrone du pays de Soung*: "Ce n'est pas qu'on veuille blâmer l'amour naturel qui lie un père avec son fils, ou qui unit des frères ensemble. Ils sont les uns aux autres ce que sont les branches d'un arbre avec le tronc" (p. 146). Mais c'est à Th. Gautier qu'appartient *le parfum amer qui se répand dans le jardin et la neige de fleurs secouée en dehors de la muraille* qui représentent très finement, celle-ci la gaieté et celle-là la gravité. Et encore: "Ils ne pouvaient plus se parler sans s'égratigner de paroles piquantes, et ils étaient, comme deux haies de ronces, hérisssés d'épines et de griffes." Ici, rien de chinois, mais rien non plus qui soit en désaccord avec le champ sur lequel il brode. Le décor est un jardin, et la végétation d'un jardin sert à la comparaison. La nature de certaines plantes a fourni l'image, pour peindre l'animo-sité réciproque des propriétaires; maintenant cette animosité va s'étendre au jardin et se peindre en elles comme par retour: "les orties et les mauvaises herbes avaient envahi les sentiers qui conduisaient d'une maison à l'autre. Les branches d'arbustes épineux s'entrecroisaient, comme si elles eussent voulu intercepter toute communication; on eût dit que les plantes comprenaient les dissensions qui divisaient les deux anciens amis, et y prenaient part en tâchant de les séparer encore davantage."

Venant maintenant à la parfaite réflexion dans l'étang des arbres qui le bordent de part et d'autre: "On eût dit, écrit-il, une forêt plantée la tête en bas, et soudant ses racines aux racines d'une forêt identique; un bois qui se serait noyé pour un chagrin d'amour."¹ Cette image est tout à fait à sa place, amenée qu'elle est par le sujet lui-même: de quoi s'agit-il en effet? De deux amants et d'amants séparés et conséquemment malheureux, qui, si l'on s'obstine à les tenir éloignés l'un de l'autre, pourraient bien dans leur désespoir se précipiter dans l'étang pour mettre fin à leur tourment et rejoindre l'image chérie, en même temps si ressemblante! C'est la trouvaille d'un vrai poète.

Nous sommes avertis que Tchin-Sing est un jeune lettré, mais c'est un lettré poète, comme See Yeoupe, le héros des *Deux cousins*. Aussi nous dit-il que la réflexion de Ju-Kiouan est *un bouquet de fleurs submergées* et son sourire *un bouton de grenade dans la transparence de l'eau*?

Enfin, l'image qui termine la nouvelle et qui lui sert de conclusion et en quelque sorte de moralité est prise du sujet même et le résume: "Les noces se firent; la Perle et le Jaspe purent enfin se parler autrement que par l'intermédiaire d'un reflet. En furent-ils plus heureux, c'est ce que nous n'osserions affirmer; car le bonheur n'est souvent qu'une *ombre dans l'eau*."

Passons maintenant à ce qu'il a laissé.

On s'y attend, le côté psychologique. Tout ce qu'il dit des deux pères, c'est qu'en vieillissant le caractère grave de Tou devient plus grave et que le caractère enjoué de Kouan devient plus enjoué. Ces tendances opposées chez ces deux amis rendent compte de leur brouille et rien de plus. Dans le conte chinois, l'indulgence du père du jeune homme et la sévérité du père de la jeune fille servent de pivots autour desquels l'intrigue évolue. L'indulgence marche de pair avec l'enjouement et un grain de faiblesse procède de l'indulgence; aussi, voit-on Tou, qui est le père du jeune homme, céder tour à tour à son ami Lou-Koung, puis à son fils qu'il a gâté. La sévérité accompagne la gravité et toutes deux se rencontrent souvent chez les êtres absous; le refus, sans raisons à l'appui, qu'oppose Kouan

¹ Le charme de cette figure est rehaussé par le rythme de l'expression: la proposition relative forme un harmonieux alexandrin.

à Lou-Koung, lorsque celui-ci vient au nom de leur ami commun Tou lui demander sa fille pour Tchin-Seng, froisse Lou-Koung et l'autorise, par représailles, à tromper Kouan et à s'en excuser en alléguant que lui aussi s'est retranché derrière le mystère.

Dans l'original, les deux mères, qui sont sœurs, et commencèrent par avoir les mêmes goûts, subissent l'influence de leurs maris, finissent par leur ressembler et ne plus pouvoir se voir pour les mêmes motifs que leurs époux. Dans la nouvelle française, les deux mamans sont absolument nulles. Chacune d'elles fait un rêve et va en demander la signification au même bonze. Je ne suis pas loin de croire qu'il y a là une petite pointe de malice de la part de l'écrivain, qui, comme on le sait, ancien rapin, artiste dans l'âme, aristocrate de goûts, romantique achevé, ne se privait jamais d'afficher son mépris du bourgeois, et il y en avait beaucoup parmi les lecteurs du *Magasin des Familles*. Les ménages Tou et Kouan sont des bourgeois de la Chine, incapables de penser ou de sentir, sans grand amour comme sans grande haine, disposés à sacrifier le bonheur de leurs enfants à leur amour-propre mesquin, quitte à les unir ensuite sur la foi d'un songe, et qui à l'heure du raccommodement s'étonnent d'avoir pu être si longtemps brouillés, et non sans cause, puisqu'ils n'avaient aucune raison de l'être. Mesdames Tou et Kouan ont été trouver le bonze comme les braves dames du quartier du Marais allaient consulter le curé de la paroisse.

Quant aux enfants, nous ne savons rien de leurs caractères. Le narrateur chinois, lui, leur donne une grande ressemblance et une grande beauté, toutes deux connues de part et d'autre, de sorte que les deux cousins sont jaloux l'un de l'autre, sentiment qui ne fait que s'accentuer par l'ignorance dans laquelle ils sont de leur véritable apparence. Il va sans dire que, son sexe aidant, la fille est plus jalouse que le garçon. Or, c'est elle qui la première voit dans l'étang l'image reflétée de son cousin. Elle la prend d'abord pour la sienne et lorsqu'elle découvre son erreur, elle ne peut, en toute franchise, revenir sur l'admiration qu'elle avait d'elle-même et "obligée, ce sont les propres mots de l'auteur, de renoncer au droit exclusif à la beauté, elle éprouva une sorte de sympathie pour ce qui était si semblable à elle-même, et peu à peu en vint à concevoir du ressentiment contre les pères qui séparaient ainsi de si proches parents." Il faut avouer que ce passage de l'indifférence hostile à l'amour, avec

l'aide de la jalousie et du dépit, est d'une observation clairvoyante et d'une psychologie délicate. Notre auteur n'a que faire de tout cela et dit simplement: "En voyant cette ombre dans l'eau, elle comprit que sa beauté avait une sœur ou plutôt un frère. Loin d'en être fâchée, elle se trouva tout heureuse; l'orgueil de se croire unique céda bien vite à l'amour, car, dès cet instant le cœur de Ju-Kiouan fut lié à jamais; un seul coup d'œil échangé, non pas même directement, mais par simple réflexion, suffit pour cela." C'est de l'escamotage, mais ce tour de passe-passe a une certaine impertinence évidemment dirigée à dessein contre cette fille de bourgeois.

Il y a d'autres exemples de cette fine psychologie de la part du conteur chinois. Je les laisserai de côté parce que Th. Gautier les y a laissés lui-même. Je n'ai voulu prendre que celui qu'il avait transposé en français, afin de pouvoir établir une comparaison instructive. C'est pour ainsi dire une des nécessité de la *couleur locale* que de voir les choses du dehors. A les voir du dedans, on s'aperçoit que les hommes ne sont pas si différents les uns des autres, quels que soient les méridiens sous lesquels ils sont nés. Cette constatation réjouissait les contemporains de Diderot, mais allait à l'encontre de l'idéal artistique d'un écrivain de la génération de 1830. L'art et l'attitude un peu hautaine des romantiques se donnent ici la main.

Ce n'est pas la seule liberté que l'adaptateur s'est permise. Il n'y a aucune trace d'esprit satirique dans cette nouvelle, mais on y découvre une certaine désinvolture, un grain d'impertinence, aussi bien à l'égard du lecteur qu'à l'égard de l'auteur mis à contribution. La Chine elle aussi a des bourgeois, et l'on va le voir.

On s'en aperçoit d'abord à la description qu'il fait de Tou: "son ventre s'arrondissait majestueusement, son triple menton s'étagéait d'un air solennel." Bien qu'il ait lu *IU-KIAO-LI*, voilà l'idée qu'il se fait d'un Chinois, car il y revient dans *Pochades, zigzags et paradoxes* au chap. vii: "L'être, dit-il, a toujours la forme de son idée. En Chine, par exemple, le suprême du beau pour les femmes, c'est la gracilité et la sveltesse poussées à l'extrême. Pour les hommes, au contraire, trois mentons et un abdomen majestueux sont indispensables à l'élégance. Toutes les femmes sont minces comme des joncs, tous les hommes ventrus comme des poussahs."¹

¹ Cf. avec ce qu'il dit plus haut, en mai 1867 dans *Chinois et Russes à l'Exposition universelle de Paris.*

L'histoire de ce jeune homme et de cette jeune fille qui se voient et font connaissance par l'entremise d'une pièce d'eau faisant l'office de miroir, présente un plus grand intérêt pour les Chinois que pour nous. Si Pyrame et Thisbé étaient séparés par un mur, ils avaient la ressource de se retrouver en d'autres lieux, mais cela était impossible à nos amoureux chinois puisque les femmes sont confinées dans l'appartement intérieur. Quand Tchin-Seng et Ju-Kiouan se voient et s'aiment, ils remportent une double victoire, sur la coutume et sur le désaccord qui divise leurs familles. Th. Gautier ayant négligé de tenir compte de la coutume chinoise qui séquestre les femmes, la situation des amoureux n'est plus que celle des amants de Babylone ou de ceux de Vérone. Bien plus, il nous amène à croire que Ju-Kiouan pouvait voir ses prétendants et que ses parents lui laissaient la faculté de choisir celui qui lui convenait. "De son côté, Ju-Kiouan ne se montrait pas moins difficile: elle éconduisait tous les prétendants. Celui-ci saluait sans grâce, celui-là n'était pas soigneux sur ces habits; l'un avait une écriture lourde et commune, l'autre ne savait pas le livre des vers, ou s'était trompé sur la rime; bref, ils avaient tous un défaut quelconque. Ju-Kiouan en traçait des portraits si comiques, que ses parents finissaient par en rire eux-mêmes." Rien de moins chinois, rien de plus français.¹

Si nous croyons pouvoir indiquer d'où vient l'idée du songe des deux mères, il n'est pas si facile d'expliquer pourquoi Th. Gautier a eu recours à cette vieille *machine* de la tragédie. Il est vrai qu'un songe n'était pas pour lui une chose si banale. Dans le Dixième Entretien, Emile Bergerat écrit: "J'ai dit que Théophile Gautier était très superstitieux; il n'était pas superstitieux, il était la superstition même. . . . Il croyait aux sortilèges, aux enchantements, aux envoûtements, à la magie, aux sens des songes, à la divination des moindres accidents. . . ." Si ce n'est pas le rêve de Pe, la nuit de la naissance de sa fille Houngiu, qui a suggéré le songe que mesdames Tou et Kouan firent chacune de leur côté (section 49), il se peut que ce soit ce passage de *l'Ombre dans l'eau*: "Puisque la mésintelligence et l'inimitié ont duré si longtemps entre mon beau-frère et moi, ce

¹ Dans le conte, dans un cas semblable, ce sont les femmes de la jeune fille qui se récrient: "Tous les prétendants qui se présentaient étaient tellement affreux, que les servantes ne pouvaient s'empêcher de pousser des cris de frayeur, en les voyant entrer" (p. 44).

n'est pas une petite affaire que d'amener une réconciliation; mais l'idée d'un mariage n'est guère mieux qu'un songe" (pp. 28-29). Ces deux passages d'une part et sa croyance de l'autre suffiront à expliquer la présence d'un ressort si usé.¹

On sait quels furent les songes des deux dames. "Quelle signification pouvaient avoir ces deux songes? Celui de madame Kouan préssageait-il à Tchin-Sing les honneurs de l'Académie impériale, et celui de madame Tou voulait-il dire que Ju-Kiouan trouverait quelque trésor enfoui dans le jardin ou sous une brique de l'âtre?" Si l'on se rappelle que l'Académie impériale est appelée la *chambre de jaspe*, on comprend comment la mère de Tchin-Sing peut croire que la pierre de jaspe qu'elle voit en rêve sur la poitrine de son fils peut présager les honneurs de l'Académie pour celui qui en est orné. Mais on ne voit pas si aisément comment la perle du plus bel orient que porte au cou la fille de madame Tou peut présager un trésor enfoui dans le jardin ou sous une brique de l'âtre? Quel rapport y a-t-il entre une perle et un trésor? Est-ce parce que l'un et l'autre sont des choses précieuses? Ce caractère commun n'est guère suffisant. J'ajouterais que l'idée du trésor a pu être suggérée par le conte des *Trois étages consacrés* où il est question d'un trésor caché sous un pavillon (pp. 50-51, 68-69). La symétrie a ses inconvenients!

Kouan s'occupe de marier son fils et sur le refus que lui oppose Tchin-Sing il lui fait les menaces les plus violentes: "Mauvais sujet, si tu persistes dans ton entêtement, je prierai le magistrat qu'il te fasse enfermer dans cette forteresse occupée par les barbares d'Europe, d'où l'on ne découvre que des rochers battus par la mer, des montagnes coiffées de nuages, et des eaux noires sillonnées par ces monstrueuses inventions des mauvais génies, qui marchent avec des roues et vomissent une fumée fétide." On sait la haine du poète pour les machines à vapeur et les chemins de fer. Dans le *Musée des Familles* de janvier 1842 (article sur *l'Utilité de la poésie*), il disait: "Les Chinois, ce peuple de porcelaine et de vieux laques, qui, sous un extérieur étrangement bariolé, cache un sens exquis et une philosophie profonde, tirent des coups de canon sur les bateaux à vapeur, pré-

¹ Ajoutons que dans le conte des *Tendres époux* un mari et sa femme ont tous deux un songe (*CC*, I, 158).

tendant que c'est une invention barbare et indécente; ils ont raison, le bateau à vapeur, c'est la prose; le bateau à voiles, c'est la poésie." Et trois mois après, dans l'article *Une Journée à Londres* (15 avril 1842), il revenait sur ce sujet: "Je sais que les industriels se moqueront de moi, mais je ne suis pas loin de partager l'avis de l'empereur de la Chine, qui proscrit les bateaux à vapeur comme une invention obscène, immorale et barbare. Je trouve qu'il est impie de tourmenter ainsi la matière du bon Dieu, et je pense que la mère nature se vengera un jour des mauvais traitements que lui font subir ses enfants trop avides." On peut conclure de là que les paroles prêtées à Kouan ne sont pas une simple boutade et que l'auteur ne veut jeter aucun ridicule sur l'excellent Chinois. Il insère une nouvelle protestation contre une invention qu'il abhorre¹ en même temps qu'il met dans la bouche de son personnage des propos qui sont tout à fait à leur place.

On a dit² que lorsque l'orient eut commencé d'exercer son influence sur la littérature française pendant le XVII^e et le XVIII^e siècles, il y eut bientôt deux orients dans cette littérature: l'orient sérieux qui trouva son expression dans la tragédie, et l'orient comique et bouffon qu'on retrouve dans la comédie et le roman et aussi dans la satire.

La Chine de Th. Gautier n'est à vrai dire ni l'un ni l'autre, c'est une Chine agréable où les choses se passent à peu de chose près comme chez nous, tellement qu'avec un peu de bonne volonté, en changeant les noms et certains détails par trop caractéristiques, on se croirait en France. Mais la Chine est surtout matière artistique, c'est une source peu connue de *couleur locale* et à ce titre elle a séduit le grand peintre pour un instant.

Enfin, la Chine c'était l'exotisme, cet exotisme qui a exercé une fascination si troublante sur son imagination avide de formes et de couleurs et on peut croire que c'est à ce besoin de son esprit que nous devons sa nouvelle chinoise: "Il n'y a pas de plaisir plus vif pour nous, qui avons le sentiment exotique poussé au plus haut degré, que de voir au milieu de notre civilisation des types lointains et bizarres appartenant à une autre branche de la race humaine et différent de

¹ V. encore: *Un tour en Belgique et en Hollande*, VI, dans *Caprices et Zigzags*.

² P. Martino, *ouvrage cité*.

nous autant que possible."¹ Et il en donne la raison: "Nous comprenons, quoique artiste, la beauté de notre époque, bien que souvent la fantaisie nous ait poussé vers les temps et les pays barbares où persiste l'individualité locale de l'homme."²

C'est ce qui lui a fait lancer, moitié *blagueur*, moitié sérieux, la boutade que nous a rapportée Emile Bergerat:

Toi, dit-il, en apostrophant Claudin, qui s'était approché de nous pour l'écouter, toi, tu es heureux! Tu aimes le progrès, les ingénieurs qui abîment les paysages avec leurs chemins de fer, les utilitaires, tout ce qui met dans un pays une saine édilité, tu es un civilisé. . . . Nous, nous trois, avec deux ou trois autres, nous sommes des malades . . . des décadents . . . non, plutôt des primitifs . . . non, encore non, mais des particuliers bizarres, indéfinis et exaltés. . . . Claudin, vois-tu, vois-tu, je te parle sans ironie, je t'envie, tu es dans le vrai. Tout cela tient à ce que tu n'as pas, comme nous, le sens de l'exotique. As-tu le sens de l'exotique? Non, voilà tout! Nous ne sommes pas Français, nous autres, nous tenons à d'autres races. Nous sommes pleins de nostalgies. Et puis, quant à la nostalgie d'un pays se joint la nostalgie d'un temps. . . . Oh! alors, c'est complet.³ . . .

Hâtons-nous d'ajouter qu'il n'eut pas la nostalgie de la Chine à un bien haut degré, car voici ce qu'il pense de ses habitants et, dans sa bouche, c'était rien moins que flatteur: Nous n'avons pas rangé les Chinois dans cette catégorie;⁴ les Chinois ne sont pas des barbares, mais des civilisés au dernier degré de décrépitude, presque tombés en enfance. Ils ont les vices, les recherches et les maladies de la vieillesse. La beauté consiste pour eux dans des inventions chimériques. Ils demandent aux déviations infinies du laid les moyens de ravir leur goût blasé et monstrueux. Malgré mille délicatesses charmantes, mille ingéniosités singulières, ils restent inférieurs, à nos yeux, aux Indiens, aux Orientaux et même aux sauvages. Au fond, ils sont affreusement bourgeois (*les Barbares modernes à l'Exposition universelle de Londres—l'Orient I*). Ayant eu à vaincre une certaine répugnance, l'auteur n'en a eu que plus de mérite.

En faisant ce travail, j'ai eu parfois des doutes: je me suis demandé si ce n'était pas attacher une importance trop grande à une

¹ "Acrobates et saltimbanques orientaux," *l'Orient*, I, 283 (29 août 1867).

² "L'Inde à l'Exposition universelle de Londres," *l'Orient*, I, 306.

³ Préface à *Entretiens et souvenirs*, p. ii.

⁴ Inde, Grèce, Canada, Afrique occid. et orient., Turquie, Tunis, Algérie, Egypte, Espagne, Circassie et Géorgie.

nouvelle, sinon faite sur commande, tout au moins destinée à une classe spéciale de lecteurs, c'est-à-dire écrite avec une certaine gêne, celle de ne pas laisser à l'art toute sa liberté. Est-ce être juste à l'égard du grand artiste qu'était Th. Gautier de juger de sa manière sur un écrit où il n'avait pu être tout à fait lui-même ? Mais à ce compte-là, combien de ses travaux permettraient un jugement équitable ? Esclave de la copie, rares ont été les heures où il lui a été donné de faire tout ce qu'il voulait et rien que ce qu'il voulait. Ces doutes, j'ai pris le parti de les écarter pour les raisons que voici : Outre que le *Pavillon sur l'eau* renferme assez de talent pour faire honneur à son auteur, c'est un des trop peu nombreux morceaux de notre littérature où l'on ait essayé d'interpréter l'art de la Chine. A l'époque où la nouvelle a paru, c'était pour ainsi dire une pièce unique. A ce titre elle mérite qu'on s'y arrête. De plus, cette étude a révélé le soin qu'avait pris Th. Gautier d'écrire avec le texte sous les yeux. Emile Bergerat s'étonne à juste droit de sa prodigieuse mémoire :

Vers ou prose, tout ce qui était à portée de sa main servait de pâture à son énorme curiosité de connaître. Et une fois le livre lu, il le savait à tout jamais. S'il était contraint de sortir, sa promenade ne lui laissait pas une minute de repos ou d'oisiveté : le moindre tableau, le paysage le plus ordinaire, l'aspect des choses banales s'incrustaient dans cette mémoire avec une fixité d'airain. . . . Il y a sur cette prodigieuse mémoire et sur cette sûreté de vision des histoires presque fabuleuses et cependant scrupuleusement vraies.¹

Toutefois, je ne puis croire que Th. Gautier a lu *l'Ombre dans l'eau* et les contes qui l'accompagnent dans le recueil d'Abel Rémusat ainsi que Iu-Kiao-Li et qu'il ait serré tous ces détails dans les recoins de son cerveau. Il a écrit avec ces œuvres sur sa table de travail. Il a donc tâché de faire œuvre de conscience. "Je ne suis pas un blagueur littéraire," écrivait-il à Henry Berthoud. J'espère avoir démontré que nous pouvons faire plus que de le croire sur parole.

C'est en gardant ceci présent à l'esprit que, de mon côté, je suis assuré de ne pas m'être mis à la poursuite d'une *ombre dans l'eau*.

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¹ *Ouvrage cité*, pp. 60, 61.

THE AUTO DA BARCA DO INFERNO¹ OF GIL VICENTE AND THE SPANISH TRAGICOMEDIA ALEGORICA DEL PARAYSO Y DEL INFIERNO²

Leandro Fernández de Moratín was perhaps the first to call attention to the relationship of the plays named in the title of this article. He described the Spanish play as an "imitation" of the Portuguese *Auto da Barca*. He did not intimate that he thought Vicente the author of the Spanish play; he called it "anonymous."³ Augustín Durán characterized the Spanish play as "a very free translation" of Vicente's *Auto*, and together with Moratín's annotator, Aribau,⁴ thought that Vicente himself wrote the translation.⁵ Menéndez y Pelayo⁶ is somewhat skeptical as to this, thinking that the language of the play is too nearly perfect for Vicente's Spanish. Other scholars take different views, while still others do not express an opinion.⁷

¹ The complete title of the play is: *Representa-se na obra seguinte hūa perfiguração sobre a rigorosa accusação, que os inimigos fazem a todas as almas humanas, no ponto que per morte de seus terrestres corpos se partem. E por tractar desta materia põe o Autor por figura que no dito momento ellas chegão a hum profundo braço de mar, onde estão dous batéis: hum delles passa pera a Gloria, outra pera o Purgatorio. He repartida em tres partes; s. de cada embarcação hūa scena. Esta primeira he da viagem do Inferno.*

Esta perfiguração se escreve neste primeiro livro nas obras de devação, porque a segunda e terceira parte fôrdo representadas na capella; mas esta primeira foi representada de camara, pera consolação da muito cathólica e sancta Rainha Dona Maria, estando enferma do mal de que falleceu, na era do Senhor de 1517. In *Obras de Gil Vicente, correctas e emendadas pelo cuidado e diligencia de (J. V. Barreto Feio e J. G. Monteiro)*, I, 214-44. Lisboa, 1843.

² The full title is: *Tragicomedia alegorica del parayso y del infierno. Moral representacion del diuerso camino que hazen las animas en partiendo desta presente vida. Figurada por los dos nauios que aquí parecen: el uno del cielo y el otro del infierno. Cuya subtil inuencion y materia enel argumento dela obra se puede ver.* In Cronan's *Teatro español del siglo XVI*, Tomo primero, 267-318, Madrid, 1913. Cronan uses two editions for his text, one of Burgos, 1539, now in the Biblioteca Nacional; the other, without place or date, at present in the Royal Library at Munich.

³ *Orígenes*, No. 60. Written before 1828. In *Bib. Aut. Esp.*, II, Madrid, 1871.

⁴ See Note (no. 18) to the foregoing title.

⁵ *Paz y Melia, Catálogo*, Madrid, 1899, No. 2501.

⁶ *Antología*, VII, clxxxviii.

⁷ Stiefel, *Archiv*, CXIX, 194, n. 2, thinks that perhaps the Spanish is an older version whose satire was softened in the Portuguese play. Klein, *Gesch. des Dramas*, IX, 130, and Schaeffer, *Span. Nationaldramas*, I, 28, say the play is anonymous. Creizenach, *Gesch. des neu. Dramas*, III, 129-30; Schack, Ticknor, Amador de los Ríos; Lemcke, Carolina Michaelis, *Grundriss*, II, 2, 286; *Revista da Univ. de Coimbra*, I, and Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Hist. de la Lit. Esp.*, Madrid, 1914, pp. 180-82, do not express an opinion about the authorship of the *Tragicomedia*. Some of the older students of Spanish literature did not have access to the two plays, which accounts for their silence on the subject.

The purpose of this article is to study this question on the basis of a somewhat detailed comparison of the plays, first as to form, and secondly as to content.

The argument of both plays is briefly as follows. There are two boats on the stage. The captain of one is the devil and it goes to the *inferno*, the other is in the care of an angel and it goes to the *paraiso*. The characters enter one at a time, address the devil, learn where he wishes to carry them, and then they appeal to the angel, who refuses all save the *bobo* and the four knights who were killed while fighting the Moors. The characters are, of course, the souls of those who have died, and they are forced to take passage on one or the other boat. The action is nil, the interest being centered on the sarcastic comments of the angel and devil on the lives of those appearing before them, and the victims' defense of their conduct while on earth.

The *dramatis personae* of the two plays are the same and appear on the stage in the same order, with one exception. Below are given the characters in the order in which they appear. The references to the *Barca* are to the 1843 Lisbon edition; those to the *Tragicomedia* to Cronan's edition (see notes 1 and 2 on p. 173).

<i>Auto da Barca do Inferno</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Tragicomedia</i>	<i>Line</i>
Diabo.....	215	Diablo.....	198
Companheiro do diabo.....	215	Caron.....	Page 274
Fidalgo ¹	216	Hidalgo ¹	214
Anjo.....	217	Angel.....	298
Onzeneiro.....	221	Logrero.....	416
Parvo.....	223	Juan (called <i>parvo amigo</i> , 636).....	569
Sapateiro.....	225	Frayle (<i>con vna moça</i>).....	658
Frade (<i>com húa moça</i>).....	227	Çapatero.....	842
Brizida Vaz (<i>húa alcoviteira</i>).....	231	Una Vieja (<i>alcahueta</i>).....	907
Judeu.....	234	Judio.....	1057
Corregedor.....	235	Corregidor.....	1135
Procurador.....	238	Abogado.....	1257
Enforcado.....	240	Ladron (<i>vn ahorcado</i>).....	1381
Quatro fidalgos.....	243	Quattro caualleros.....	1425

In the Spanish play Caron has no spoken rôle. The Portuguese Companheiro do diabo has three² one-line speeches on p. 215 and one

¹ The nobleman has a boy with him in each play, but in neither does the boy have a spoken rôle.

² L. 4 of the Portuguese play is a speech of the devil's companion. See Carolina Michaelis in *Revista Lusitana*, XV (1912), 273-74.

two-line speech on p. 231, and these only. Save the devil, his companion, and the angel, all the characters on entering the stage address the devil; this is true in both plays. In the *Barca do Inferno* the characters after addressing the devil speak to the angel, singly, with the following exceptions: Frade, p. 230, is answered by Parvo instead of by the angel; Judeu, p. 235, is answered by Parvo also; Corregedor and Procurador, pp. 239–40, go together to speak with the angel and on their return to the devil's boat, where they are to stay; the Corregedor speaks to Brigida, p. 240. Enforcado does not try to get passage in the boat of the angel. Parvo, after being assured his place in the *barca* of the angel, has speeches as follows: p. 230, two lines; p. 235, four lines; again p. 235, six lines; p. 239, two (Latin) lines.

In the Spanish play all the characters address the devil and then the angel, save the following: the Corregedor and Abogado, coming in separately, as in the Portuguese play, and talking a short time together with the devil, go to talk with the angel and Juan (ll. 1335–71). Ladron does not try to get into the angel's boat. Juan, after being assured his place in the boat of the angel (ll. 645–57), has the following lines: 823–26, 871–72, 895–98, 900–904, 1048–50, 1086–90, 1092, 1105–8, 1110, 1124–28, 1331–32, 1338–41, 1355–60 (mainly Latin), 1363–66, 1460.

The *Barca do Inferno* has no *introito* or *argumento* other than that given in note 1 (p. 173), while the Spanish play has a not unpleasant *introyto* and an *argumento* which relates briefly the action of the play. We learn (ll. 11–12) that he who recites the *introito* and *argumento* is a shepherd. The Portuguese play ends with the speech of the angel to the four knights (pp. 243–44), whereas the Spanish version, after the song of the four knights ends the main body of the piece, has a *deo gracias* and the following Latin: *In omnibus operibus tuis memorare nouissima tua: et in eternam non peccabis. Ecclesiastici septimo capit.* In addition there is an *aplicacion* *desta auctoridad al proposito das dos barcas* in two eight-line stanzas, ending with a *Laus deo*.

The verse-form of the plays is the *pie quebrado*, that of the Spanish version being similar to that in Vicente's *Auto da Barca da Gloria* (*Obras*, I, 275–304).

The Portuguese play has 845 lines. The Spanish play, not including the *introito*, the *argumento*, or the *aplicacion*, has 1,275

lines (not including a missing line after l. 816); including the *introito* and *argumento* (and not including the incomplete stanzas after l. 196 and after l. 816) the Spanish play has 1,472 lines. That is a difference of 431 lines in the main body of the Spanish play as contrasted to the Portuguese version, and, including the *introito* and the *argumento*, a difference of 627 lines.

This of course is a very material increase in the length of the Spanish play. The question naturally arises, How is the increase distributed? Generally speaking, the increase is fairly evenly distributed throughout the play. There are very few instances where the passages in the Spanish version are shorter than the corresponding passages in the Portuguese play, and the reduction is slight. On the other hand, there is a larger number of instances where the corresponding passages are lengthened in the *Tragicomedia*.

As to the content, the reductions in the Spanish *rifacimento* are for dramatic reasons and, in the main, do not affect the ideas expressed. The expansions are for the purpose of giving greater opportunity for satire, which is directed primarily at the church and clergy. We shall now examine in some detail the corresponding passages of the two plays which have a difference worthy of note. We shall notice first those passages which are shorter in the Spanish version than in the *Barca*.

The opening scene of the Spanish play is 8 lines shorter than that of Vicente's play. This is due to the elimination of three speeches of the devil's companion, the reduction of the number of commands given to the companion, and finally to the omission of certain exclamations found in the Portuguese play.

The devil's second conversation with the nobleman is 12 lines shorter in the *Tragicomedia*, for the devil here cuts short the nobleman's plea to visit people on earth; the devil is more sarcastic in the Spanish scene.

In the scene of the shoemaker and the devil, the Spanish is 8 lines shorter on account of the elimination of direct charges of deception and robbery committed by the shoemaker, and the omission of a few lines showing the determination of both the devil and the shoemaker.

And finally, for dramatic reasons, the scene of the thief and the devil is 28 lines shorter, the ideas being substantially the same in both plays; the action in the Spanish play is briefer, more concise.

In noting the passages of the Portuguese play which have been expanded in the Spanish version, no attention is paid to some slight changes made in the order of the arrangement of the material when it was adapted by the author of the Spanish play. Save those noted above, nearly all the scenes of the Portuguese play have been lengthened more or less. Those that add anything other than a slight change in the order of presentation or a development of the dramatic possibilities follow.

The scene of the nobleman (*a*) with the devil is 42 lines longer in the Spanish play, owing mainly to the development of the theme of the nobleman's wife praying for him, and the devil's reproach for the life the nobleman lived in the world; (*b*) with the angel is 19 lines longer in the Spanish version, owing primarily to a more lengthy exposure of the nobleman's dissolute life and the useless religious ceremonies he performed to atone for his sins.

In the scene of the usurer and the devil the *Barca* hardly mentions the idea of the usurer's money securing him passage to heaven (see p. 221). It is to the development of this idea that the additional 20 lines in the *Tragicomedia* are largely due. Here the usurer says:

Quien viniera en este dia descuidado,
sino tuviera comprado
el cielo por mi dinero [424-27],

and adds that he bought a papal bull for two *reales* which will carry him to *gloria*. The devil tells him it is worthless, but he will try it on the angel. In the scene of the usurer and the angel in the *Barca* nothing is said of the bull though mention is made of the usurer's money. The angel sends him back to the devil immediately. This scene in the Portuguese play requires 14 lines. The Spanish play devotes 76 lines to the same scene. The usurer presents his bull as credentials and the angel refuses it, saying a *pecho sano* is to be preferred. The usurer replies:

Pues mira, no hablo en vano,
a mi ver:

no quereys obedecer
lo que manda el santo Papa?

Angel: Al que los peccados papa
no le absuelue su poder:
si te quieres recoger
en mi nauio,
yo te ruego sin desuio,
dime tu vida passada [ll. 466-75].

The usurer relates the story of his life, but the angel informs him that the two *reales* he spent availed him nothing as he did not benefit from the bull's spiritual graces.

The scene of the *bobo* in the *Tragicomedia* is 30 lines longer than the corresponding scene in the *Barca*. In the Spanish play the *bobo* enters singing a vulgar song of 6 lines that is not found in the Portuguese version. Nor do we find in the *Barca* the devil's reply to the *bobo*'s tirade which is in the Spanish play. In the Spanish version the *bobo* is much more spirited, more like the later *gracioso* than is his Portuguese counterpart. And in the Spanish play the *bobo* has many more speeches with the other souls than in the Portuguese play (see the lines given above).

The scene of the priest (*a*) with the devil is almost the same in both plays; (*b*) with the *bobo* 12 lines in the Portuguese version, and with the angel and *bobo* 70 lines in the Spanish play. In the *Barca* this scene has practically no dialogue or action. The scene in the *Tragicomedia* is devoted to a discussion between the angel and the priest of the priest's qualifications for passage on the angel's boat. The priest's desire to get his *dama* into heaven is emphasized in the Spanish play (ll. 760-62, 787-90), and although this point is brought out but once in the *Barca* (p. 230), the priest calls her by name three times within a space of 16 lines (pp. 230-31). The angel points out that the priest went into the priesthood to eat, drink, and enjoy other things not mentioned (see ll. 799-810). The priest replies that if these things were harmful to him he thinks no one can enter heaven. The angel answers:

Si, todos los deste cuento,
los buenos trabajadores,
sean grandes o menores,
sea seglar o de conuento [ll. 819-22].

The scene of the hag and the devil is 33 lines longer in the Spanish than in the Portuguese version, owing to a more detailed account of her accomplishments; in the *Auto da Barca* her only statement in this regard is that on earth she had no equal (p. 232). In the scene with the angel in the Portuguese play the hag tells of her life. In the Spanish play this scene is taken up with the hag's plea with the angel. The hag of the *Tragicomedia* reminds one more of *Celestina* than the character in the *Barca*.

In the scene of the Jew and the angel of the Spanish play the appeal to the hatred of the Jewish race is stronger than in the Portuguese version. We are told that no Jew, living or dead, can enter heaven (ll. 1097-98); jokes are made at his expense by the *bobo* and he is reminded that he did not believe in Christ. In both plays the Jew offers money to get to heaven.

The additional material in the scene of the corregidor and procurador in the Spanish play is the corregidor's poor argument for passage to heaven; the devil's accusations against his graft and general maladministration, the guilty going free and the innocent being punished (see ll. 1191-1236); the satirical comments on the lawyer's methods (ll. 1279-1302), and the devil's ridicule of Salamanca (ll. 1309-12). In the Spanish play the character of the procurador is much better than in the *Auto da Barca*.

The Spanish play ends with a song which is a sort of *vale* to the audience, and which is a much better ending than that of the *Barca*. The religious *aplicacion* was added for the benefit of the inquisition.

Although there are frequent verbal similarities, literal translations of more than one or two lines are very rare in the Spanish play. The Spanish is almost always a free paraphrase where the ideas are identical. The following quotations give an idea of the language and the spirit of the two plays.

Auto da Barca do Inferno

Diabo: Á barca, á barca, hou lá,
Que temos gentil maré.
Ora venho a caro a ré:
Feito, feito, bem está.
Vae alli muitieramá,
E atesa aquelle palanco,
E despeja aquelle banco,

Tragicomedia

Diablo: Quien viniere embarcara,
que corre buena marea;
corre, compañero, arrea,
pon essa palanca alla;
essa plancha bien esta,
ponla en tierra;
mira si se desaferra,

Auto da Barca do Inferno

Pera a gente que virá.
 Á barca, á barca, hu!
 Asinha, que se quer ir.
 Oh que tempo de partir!
 Louvores a Berzebu.
 Ora sus, que fazes tu?
 Despeja todo esse leito.
Com.: Em bonora, logo he feito.
Dia.: Abaixa aramá esse cu.
 Faze aquella poja lesta,
 E alija aquella driça.
Com.: Ó caça, ó ciça.
Dia.: Oh que caravella esta!
 Põe bandeiras, que he festa;
 Verga alta, áncora a pique.
 Ó precioso Dom Anrique!
 Ca vindes vós? que cousa he esta?
Fidalgo: Esta barca onde vai ora,
 Qu'assim está apercebida?
Dia.: Vai pera a Ilha perdida,
 E ha de partir logo essora.
Fid.: Pera lá vai a senhora?
Dia.: Senhor, a vosso serviço.
Fid.: Parece-me isso cortiço.
Dia.: Porque vêdes lá de fóra.
Fid.: Porém a que terra passais?
Dia.: Pera o Inferno, senhor.
Fid.: Terra he bem sem sabor.
Dia.: Que! e tambem ca zombais?
Fid.: E passageiros achais
 Pera tal habitação?
Dia.: Vejo-vos eu em feição
 Pera ir ao nosso cais.
Fid.: Parece-te a ti assi.
Dia.: Em que esperais ter guardida?
Fid.: Que deixo na outra vida
 Quem reze sempre por mi.
Dia.: Quem reze sempre por ti?
 Hi hi hi hi hi.
 E tu viveste a teu prazer,
 Cuidando ca guarecer,
 Porque rézão lá por ti?
 Embarca, ou embarcae,
 Qu' haveis d'ir á derradeira.
 Mandae metter a cadeira,
 Qu' assi passou vosso pae.
Fid.: Que, que, que! e assi lhe vai?

Tragicomedia

nunca te descuydes tu.
 O gracioso Belzebu,
 bien nos va en aquesta guerra!
 passa aca, hi de vna perra;
 a que esperas?
 descoge aquessas vanderas,
 el ancora ponla fuera;
 cata a (don) Martin de Ribera,
 con sus faldas muy rastreras.
Hidalgo: Di, barquero, a quien esperas,
 por tu vida,
 z la barca apercebida?
Dia.: Mi señor, a vos espera;
 es ligera z gran velera;
 z ya estamos de partida,
 y va ala ysla perdida.
Hid.: Como assi?
 no me embarcare yo ay.
Dia.: No sera esso en vuestra mano.
Hid.: Di burlas, barquero hermano;
 como assi hablas a mi?
 piensaste que avnque mori,
 mi valor,
 al fin, no es de vn gran señor?
Dia.: Si, guardenos Dios eterno;
 vamos agora al infierno.
Hid.: Tierra es essa de dolor.
Dia.: Pues que tan grande fauor
 vos teneys,
 do quiera lo hallareys,
 que alla no os faltara mando;
 sus, diciendo y embarcando,
 que mucho nos deteneys.
Hid.: No sera bien que lleueys,
 assi perdida,
 mi persona fauorida,
 quanto mas que dexo alla
 quien contino rezara
 por mi mientra ouiere vida.
Dia.: O que seso sin medida
 z sin saber!
 por ventura es tu muger?
Hid.: Tu dizes verdad, por cierto.
Dia.: Avn tu no estauas bien muerto,
 z dava saltos de plazer;
 ayer la vide offrecer,
 con triste gesto,

Auto da Barca do Inferno

Dia.: Vai ou vem, embarcae prestes:
 Segundo lá escolhestes,
 Assi ca vos contentae.
 Pois que ja a morte passastes,
 Haveis de passar o rio.
Fid.: Não ha aqui outro navio?
Dia.: Não, senhor, qu' este fretastes,
 E ja quando espirastes,
 Me tinheis dado signal.
Fid.: Que signal foi esse tal?
Dia.: Do que vós vos contentastes
 [pp. 215-17].

Tragicomedia

porque tu muriesses presto,
 ofrendas e sacrificios;
 ella esta agora a sus vicios,
 en lugar no muy honesto;
 sus, sus, sus, embarcad presto,
 sin desuio,
 pues fletastes el nauio.
Hid.: No hize tal auenencia.
Dia.: Qual tuuiste la conciencia,
 assi fueste ageno, o mio;
 quando con muy grande brio
 passeaues,
 quando las musicas dauas,
 quando andauas muy pintado,
 harto gordo y esmerado,
 era señal que me dauas.
Hid.: Enessas cosas mirauas?
 a, hombre tierno!
 que para mi no ay infierno,
 pues yo soy (muy) priuilegiado;
 vn hildago tan honrado
 no va por esse gouierno.
Dia.: Mi fe, ya llego el iniuierno;
 digo, hermano,
 siempre para vos verano
 fue la vida sin desuio;
 nunca vos sentistes frio,
 ni dexo el guante la mano;
 guay del misero aldeano
 peccador,
 que con su vida y sudor,
 mantuuo vuestra mollejas!
 vos pelandole las cejas,
 procurando su dolor.
 Hora sus, entrad, señor,
 con vuestro rabo,
 que me pareceys vn pauo;
 quitaros [h]an el pellejo,
 pagareys el salmorejo,
 que el escote viene al cabo.
Hid.: Parecesme malo y brauo
 en tu dezir;
 quiça se querra partir
 aquel barco que alli esta;
 quierome llegar alla

[ll. 198-296].

From the foregoing one sees that the Spanish version is an adaptation of the Portuguese play. The general plan, the characters, and most of the ideas come from the *Barca*. In the *Barca* many of the thoughts are merely suggested, others are somewhat more developed, while in the *Tragicomedia* practically all the themes of the Portuguese play are expanded further, and some others are borrowed from other sources.¹

The verse-form of the Spanish play is not unlike that in one of Vicente's plays—the *Barca da Gloria*—and the *introito* and *argumento* could have been written by him.² The date of the *Tragicomedia* puts its composition within his period.³ But Vicente lived in Portugal and, so far as we know, never visited Castile. The titles of his Spanish plays—and his other plays for that matter—indicate that they were written for the court, often for the Spanish queens of the court. It is an important fact to keep in mind while considering Vicente as a possible author of the *Tragicomedia* that he wrote Spanish plays for a selected group at the court who understood Portuguese as well as Spanish. According to the title, the *Auto da Barca do Inferno* was written in Portuguese to be played before a very sick Spanish queen. Since Vicente wrote good Spanish, it is to be supposed that if the queen had had any difficulty in understanding Portuguese he would have written it in her native tongue. It is clear then that Vicente had no reason to transpose his play into Spanish for the audience for which he wrote. Furthermore, the *Tragicomedia* was not written for a Portuguese audience, but for an audience which understood only Spanish. In all Vicente's plays, Portuguese, Spanish, and Portuguese-Spanish, the titles of the pieces, the introductory notes, the generic names of the characters, and the

¹ The other sources will be treated in a subsequent article.

² Compare the *introito* and *argumento* of the *Auto pastoril Portuguez* (*Obras*, I, 127–31), where the *agora*, *agora*, *agora* (p. 127) reminds one of the *al fin*, *fin* of our play (ll. 18, 42). See the *Que, que, que, no se que, diga, etc.*, in the *Tidea* of Francisco de las Natas (I, 72). In Cronan's *Teatro*, etc., see also *y en fin fin resumiran*, *Tidea*, 123. Compare the *introito* of the *Floresta de Enganos* (*Obras*, II, 138–43), written in 1536, whose tenor is not unlike that of the *Tragicomedia*.

It is worthy of note that this *introito* is one of the first to use the dialogue form, the interlocutors being a *philosopho* and a *parvo*; the latter is called a *bobó* (p. 138). The *introito* and prose *argumento* (pp. 142–43) are in Spanish; the play is in Portuguese.

³ The *Tragicomedia* was published at Burgos in 1539. The undated edition may be earlier, and, if not, it is quite possible that the play was written some time before it was printed. The earliest date given for the death of Vicente is 1536, the latest 1557.

stage directions are in Portuguese. In the *Tragicomedia* these are Spanish.

The proper names of the characters have been made Spanish, and with the exception of the name of the *dama* with the priest and that of the hag the names have been *changed* in the Spanish play. The other proper names occurring in the play are Spanish. The five place-names are Spanish; three references are to Spanish cities, one is to Lisbon (ll. 61–62), and one is to Rome (l. 736). The Spanish cities named are Sevilla (l. 952), Salamanca (ll. 942, 1310), and Carmona. The reference to Carmona is really a reference to Sevilla. The speaker says that he lived in a *gran poblacion* which is *seys leguas de Carmona* (ll. 480–81). The references to Salamanca are to student life, not to the city as such. Sevilla is referred to as the home of the despised usurer and other disagreeable folk.

The scene of the play is Lisbon (ll. 61–62), and the nobleman seems to be Portuguese:

No emboceys, pues, los sentidos,
 z veres
vn hidalgo portugues, etc. [ll. 89–91],

but the usurer from Sevilla recognizes him and seems to know his ancestors (ll. 548–59). The hag is acquainted with people of her kind in Sevilla (ll. 951–54). The abogado studied in Salamanca (ll. 1309–10), and he seems to know the corregidor (l. 1258). The other characters of the play, though not definitely known to be Spanish, were types familiar to Spain at that time. Thus all the characters whose nationality we know are Spanish, except the nobleman, and he is well known by a money-lender of Sevilla. The author had forgotten, after writing some 457 lines, that he had made the nobleman a Portuguese, a mistake a Spaniard, adapting the Portuguese play for Spain and intent on making it Spanish, might make, but which Vicente, in adapting his own play, would not be so likely to commit.

The language of the play is purer Spanish than that of any other play attributed to Vicente. I have noted only one non-Spanish Portuguese word in the play, the word *boa* (l. 62), which was used because it rhymed with *Lisboa*.¹

¹ The author of the Spanish play had seen the word when studying the *Barca*. The expression *cousa boa* occurs on p. 229. *Hua cousa mui boa* is found in *Romagem de agravados* (*Obras*, II, 496).

It may be well to set down here Menéndez y Pelayo's impressions concerning the authorship of the play.

Pero esta *tragicomedia* castellana ¿es en realidad de Gil Vicente? Yo no acabo de persuadírmelo: la edición de Burgos, de la cual poseo copia fidelísima, no dice el nombre del autor. En otro manuscrito, copia sin duda de diversa edición, que cita Aribau en sus notas á los *Orígenes* de Moratín, parece que se leía la siguiente nota: "Compúsolo en lengua portuguesa, y luego el mismo autor lo trasladó á la lengua castellana, aumentándolo." Si así fué, hay que reconocer que en esta ocasión se excedió notablemente á sí mismo como artífice de versos castellanos. Y esto es precisamente lo que me hace desconfiar de que él fuese el traductor. En sus coplas castellanas, Gil Vicente tiene cosas hermosísimas, pero está lleno de incorrecciones, de versos cojos, de rimas falsas, de vocablos enteramente portugueses, propios de quien nunca había estado en Castilla. Nada ó muy poco de esto hay en la *tragicomedia*, que es una de las piezas mejor escritas de aquel tiempo. [Antología, VII, CLXXXVIII.]

A careful study of Vicente's plays shows that although they are not full of the defects Menéndez y Pelayo attributes to them, they do have these defects in more or less degree.

The situation as regards the two plays may be summarized as follows: the Spanish play is not a mere translation of the *Barca*, but rather an adaption of it, introducing some ideas not found in Vicente's play. Although Vicente may have had the ability to write the *Tragicomedia*, his motive for producing such a *rifacimento* is by no means clear. The Spanish play has several qualities which differentiate it from Vicente's Spanish plays: the Spanish title, introductory notes, generic names of characters, and stage directions, and finally purer Castilian language. The probabilities are that the author of the *Tragicomedia* was not Vicente, but a Castilian who had carefully studied Vicente's thought and style and who succeeded admirably in reproducing them, at the same time incorporating in his work a few ideas taken from other sources.¹

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¹ I am indebted to Professor Karl Pietsch of the University of Chicago for assistance with the bibliography, and to Professor C. C. Marden of Johns Hopkins University for suggestions in the preparation of this article.

CONCERNING THE WORD *GRAAL, GREAL*

The last scholar to treat the origin of O.F. *graal* was Foerster, *Kristian von Troyes: Wörterbuch*, p. 174. He says: "Etymologisch kann es nur auf **gradalis* zurückgehen. Ueber seine Herkunft sind wir ganz im Dunkeln. In Helinand's Zitat kommt dies Wort vor, also erst im XIII. Jahrhundert. Seine Herleitung von *gradus* "Stufe," ist wenig anziehend. Von *catalis* (von *crat-er*) Diez, IIc, was Meyer-Lübke aufstellt, kann keine Rede sein—das provençalische *grazal* lehnt es sofort ab." Nevertheless, when we turn to the glossary proper we read: "graal (catale?) N. graaus m. *Art Gefäss, Schüssel.*" What is the reader to believe?

The oft-cited passage from Helinand (Tissier, *Bibl. Cisterc.*, VII, 73) is as follows:

Hoc tempore in Britannia cuidam heremitae demonstrata fuit [monstrata est¹] mirabilis quaedam visio per angelum de Joseph decurione nobili [sancto Joseph decurione], qui corpus Domini depositum de cruce et de catino illo vel [sive] paropside in quo Dominus caenavit cum discipulis suis, de quo ab eodem heremita descripta est historia quae dicitur *gradale* [de gradali]. *Gradalis* autem vel [sive] *gradale* gallice dicitur scutella lata et aliquantulum profunda, in qua preciosae dapes [add: cum suo jure] divitibus solent apponi *gradatim*, unus morsellus post alium in diversis ordinibus. Dicitur et vulgari nomine *greal* [*graalz*], quia *grata et acceptabilis* est in ea comedenti, tum continens, quia forte argentea est vel de alia pretiosa materia, tum propter contentum. i. [id est] ordinem multiplicem dapium preciosarum. Hanc historiam latine scriptam invenire non potui, sed tantum gallice scripta habet a quibusdam proceribus, nec facile, ut aiunt, tota inveniri potest. Hanc autem nondum potui ad legendum sedulo ab aliquo impetrare. Quod mox ut potero [potuero], verisimiliora et utiliora succinete transferam in latinum.

Cf. especially Heinzel, *Französische Gralromane*, p. 86.

The *terminus ad quem* for Helinandus is 1216; see J. D. Bruce, *Romanic Review*, III (1912), 188. The beginning of the passage indicates that Helinand is referring to the *Grand St. Graal*, since this is the only Grail-romance in which the vision in question is recorded. Besides, the romance states (Hucher, III, 102): "Robiers de Borron qui ceste estoire transleta de *latin* en franchois, apres celui saint hermite a qui nostres sires le livra premierement."² At the same

¹ I give the variants from Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 212, col. 814.

² Cf. Hucher, III, 330: "Ce dist li contes del saint Graal, qui est istoire estraitre de toutes les istores, si com messires Robers de Boron lou tesmoignet, par les escriptures qu'il fist translater de latin en roman." Also 351.

time, from Helinand's saying *sed tantum gallice scripta habetur*, etc., one may infer with Brugger, *ZfS*, XXXVI (1910), 208, that he had in mind the cycle, of which the *Grand St. Graal* formed a part. On the other hand, as Heinzel has shown (*op. cit.*, 86), Robert de Borron himself speaks in much the same terms of the existing literature on the subject, so that we are not absolutely certain that Helinand was restricted for his knowledge to the foregoing.¹ Crestien also mentions a *livre*, given him by Count Philip of Flanders. Was it in Latin?² Was it identical with Robert's source?³ What relationship, if any, has Robert to the Latin original mentioned in the *Perlesvaus*?⁴ The passages in Robert's *Joseph* are the following:

Ge n'ose conter ne retreire,
Ne je ne le porroie feire,
Neis se je feire lo voloie,
Se je le *grant livre* n'avoie
Ou les estoires sunt escrites,
Par les granz clers feites et dites:
La sunt li grant secré escrit
Qu' en numme le Graal et dit [vss. 929-36].

meis je bien croi
Que nus hons nes puet rassembler
S'il n'a avant oï conter
Dou Graal la plus *grant estoire*
Sanz doute, ki est toute voire [vss. 3484-88].

se Diex me donne santé
Et vie, bien ei volonté
De ces parties assembler,
Se en *livre* les puis trouver [vss. 3497-3500].

And the *Perlesvaus* reads: "Li latins de cui cist estoires fu treitiez en romanç [est] en l'isle d'Avalon en une sainte meson de religion"; cf. Nitze, *The Old French Grail Romance Perlesvaus*, p. 5. Thus,

¹ Heinzel, *op. cit.*, 187, believes that Robert reworked his *Joseph* after learning of a large "Gralwerk, das die erste Gestalt des Grand St. Graal gewesen sein kann." Foerster, *op. cit.*, 166, thinks the reworking is based on a knowledge of Crestien's *Conte del graal* and his reference to a *livre*.

² This Foerster, 154, denies.

³ See, especially, Brugger, *ZfS*, XXX (1904), 69 ff. Foerster, 173, concludes that Robert's *Joseph* may have been Crestien's *livre*; thus *Joseph* > *livre* > *Conte del graal* > second redaction of the *Joseph*. Baist, *op. cit.*, 15 ff., thinks Crestien's story was incorporated into a Latin version at Glastonbury; this, he adds, was the original *Perlesvaus* and was used by Robert in the *Joseph*. See also *Litblt.*, 1892, col. 160, and *ZrP*, XIX (1895), 326 ff. On the provenance of the Grail material in the *Perlesvaus* and the probability of a Latin source, see *MP*, I (1903), 247.

⁴ See again Brugger, *op. cit.*, 71 ff., and *ZfS*, XXX (1906), 169, note. On the evolution of the cycle, see the very sane remarks of Bruce, *Romanic Review*, IV (1913), 462 ff.

so much at least is certain, that at the time Helinand wrote, the tradition of a Latin Grail-book was well established.

It is natural then that Helinand should first give the word *graal* in its Latin form: *gradalis vel gradale*, and later add *vulgari nomine greal*. The relationship of *greal* to *graal* would be that of *greanter* to *graanter* [from *credentare**]. According to Baist, *Prorektoratsrede*, p. 13, note, the French word signifies “[eine] zum Anrichten dienende Schüssel . . . auf den Haushalt der Vornehmen beschränkt.” The *Alexandre* (MS of Venice 618) says, vs. 611: “Eroir mangai o toi a ton graal,” which agrees with Crestiens’ use of the word as a common noun, vs. 3182 [Baist]:

Un graal antre ses deus mains
Une dameisele tenoit.

Cf. the *Assises de Jérusalem* (cited by Roquefort, *Glossaire*, p. 703, and Godefroy): “et toutes les escueles et les greaus en que il aura servi le cors dou Roy du premier mes.” It is doubted, however, whether the word is indigenous in the north. “Seine eigentliche Heimat,” says Baist, “ist Südfrankreich wo *grazal* seit 1010 belegt ist.” Baist gives no reference. But Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, 1, 502, says: “*grad(u)-alis* . . . das schon einmal 1010 in *Spanien* im Sinne eines Behältnisses für Speise und Trank vielleicht gebraucht worden ist.” The reference is found in Du Cange, s.v. *gradalis* [and Du Cange suggests *gradualis* only as an “interpretation”], as follows: “*Testamentum ann. 1010* in Append. Marcae Hisp.¹ col. 973. Ad sancta Fide coenobio gradales duas de argento, ad sancto Vincentio de Castres anapos duos de argento.” Obviously, the citation from the year 1010 is Latin and not Provençal. See, also, Raynouard, III, 501, and Levy, *Suppl.* Moreover, if the word were Provençal in origin we should expect *grasal* in Old French, and, as Foerster observes (p. 176), the Grail-matter has no connection with the south; certainly not at the beginning. In short, we are thus forced to conclude that although the word is today lacking in the west, north, and northeast (cf. *Atlas linguistique* and Foerster; p. 176), it was once more widely distributed and that O.F. *graal* and Prov. *grazal* are independent derivatives.

But derived from what? Of Helinand’s two explanations, the first *in qua preciosae dapes solent apponi gradatim* is, as Foerster

¹ See Petrus de Marca, *Marca Hispanica*, ed. by Étienne Baluze, Paris, 1688, col. 973, *Testamentum Ermengaudi Comitis Vrgellensis*.

states, *wenig anziehend*. Cf. Diez, p. 602, and Baist, *loc. cit.*, "dass die Speisen *gradatim* angeordnet seien, scheint lediglich der Worterklärung zuliebe gemacht." This is certainly true of Helinand's second explanation, *quia grata et acceptabilis est*, etc., since this type of etymologizing is found as early as Robert, vs. 2659:

Par droit Graal l'apelera;
Car nus le Graal ne verra,
Ce croi-je, qu'il ne li agrée:
A touz ceus pleist de la contrée,
A touz agrée et abelist.

In vs. 852 Robert had already spoken of the *veissel precieus et grant*. M.Lat. *garalis*, cited by Hertz, *Parzival*², p. 420, as occurring in a testament of 873 [“*garales argenteos cum binis cochlearii duos*”] is connected with *garum* “dish for garum” (cf. Baist, *loc. cit.*) and would not satisfy the demands of the case. As for *gradalis* “service-book,” O.F. *grael* and *greal*, this may or may not have been in Robert's mind when he wrote, vs. 2680:

A l'eure de tierce assena
Car quant a ce Graal iroient
Sen service l'apeleroint;

cf. Paulin Paris, *Romans de la table ronde*, I, 379; certainly our word was not derived from it. Thus we are thrown back on Diez's *crater*, *catalis**—which in one passage of the same book Foerster categorically rejects, in another tentatively accepts [*catale ?*]. *Catalis** could easily have given *gradalis* since the changes from *cr* to *gr* and from intervocalic *t* to *d* are attested by other examples; cf. Schuchardt, *Vokalismus*, I, 124 ff., and C. H. Grandgent, *Vulgar Latin*, § 256. As for Provençal *grazal*,¹ intervocalic *d* does not seem to have become *z* until the first part of the twelfth century; cf. Grandgent, *Old Provençal*, p. 49, and Suchier, Gröber's *Grundriss*, I, 581. Guilhem de Peitieu, Appel, 11, 17, has *lauzar* from *laudare*. Until, therefore, other evidence than what Foerster gives is at hand, Diez's etymology—with the added M.Lat. stage of *gradalis* “dish”—is the most acceptable. In any case, *catalis**>*gradalis*>*graal* has many points in its favor. Finally, compare “The Fisher King in the Grail Romances,” *PMLA*, XXIV (1909), 412.

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¹ Grandgent, *Old Provençal*, p. 54, thinks that *grazal* may be a “cross between *cratella**<*crater* and *gradale* ‘service-book’; so *grazalet*.’”

TRISSINO, A POSSIBLE SOURCE FOR THE PLÉIADE

The influence of the Italian Renaissance critics upon the doctrines of the Pléiade, though indubitable, has been stated more often than it has been proved. So far almost the only source thoroughly worked out is Villey's demonstration of how Speroni is "conveyed" into the *Défense et illustration*; though Spingarn has suggested that the latter work is probably inspired in some respects by the *De Vulgari Eloquio*.

A suggestion is all that the present note is designed to furnish. There will probably be a manifold answer to the question, How did the theories of the Italian *Artes Poeticae* first get over into the French? One possible link is given by Hauvette in his study of *Luigi Alamanni*,¹ a strong case is made out for that humanist, who resided in France, knew some of the Pléiade, and is mentioned in the *Défense*. Yet in poetical theory proper his name may carry less weight than that of Minturno, who certainly appears to have counted with the Pléiade, or than that of Trissino, who very probably did.

The case for Trissino is that he had translated the *De Vulgari Eloquio*, which Du Bellay may have used, and that certain doctrines of the French school, especially as to diction and rhythm, bear a strong resemblance to the Italian's poetics.²

That work—*Le Sei Divisioni della Poetica*³—appeared in two sections: Parts I–IV in 1529; Parts V–VI in 1563. Trissino had already written the last two (which, critically, are the important parts) when—and if—he journeyed in France. Even if the *Défense* is ruled out of Trissino's field—so far as regards the influence of the last parts of the *Poetica*—there still remains his more plausible influence on Ronsard. Also there remains the general influence of the first parts, already published—and these are the parts concerned with diction. Incidentally, Trissino also wrote the first regular

¹ Paris, 1913.

² Spingarn, *Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, (3d ed., 1912), p. 176, maintains that the critic traveled in France. But according to Morsolin, *Trissino* (1894), pp. 307–9 ff., the journey of the critic's son is rather indicated. For this correction I am indebted to Mr. Ralph C. Williams, of Johns Hopkins University.

³ The edition used is *Tutte le opere*, 2 vols., Verona, 1729.

classical Italian tragedy, *Sofonisba*; this was translated into French in 1553, thus helping to establish its author's repute, and it was imitated by Mairet in 1634.

To suggest a possible connection with the *Pléiade*, it will suffice here briefly to characterize and abstract the chief doctrines of the *Poetica*. It is the first of that title in Italian and it is typical of the doctrinaire movement, in that it aims at a vulgarization of Aristotle, shows little originality in criticism proper, and is full of unwise saws and ancient instances. Of the early parts, dealing with Tuscan philology and versification, we are scarcely concerned with any but the first. The objects and components of poetry are defined after Aristotle and Horace. Trissino touches the *Pléiade* in insisting on the charm of well-chosen words, in mentioning circumlocution, and especially in analyzing, as the sources of new diction, metaphors, dialect words, compound words, and something very like *provinegimento* or grafting. He says: "Il terzo modo è da una parola nota formare uno verbo, come è da *scoglio*, *inscoglia*, da *chioma*, *dischiomo*, e simili." Compare Ronsard's recommendation of forming verbs from an old root. Words should be selected for their clearness, grandeur, beauty, *costume* (*propriété*), etc. As to rhythm (Part II), he wishes it to be known that he, first of modern poets, uses it in the sense, not of rime, but of swing, measure. He also defines and analyzes the regular sonnet (Part IV).

The last two parts contain more theory, mainly as a paraphrase of Aristotle. On imitation,¹ tragedy, and the like, Trissino (though after Scaliger) sets the pace for the classical tradition. It may be noted that he and Du Bellay mention practically the same poetic genres.

More originality is shown in the parts dealing with the heroic poem and with comedy. Trissino's own experiment with the former (*L'Italia Liberata*) may be compared with Ronsard's, and there are certainly some analogies in theory. The former holds that the epic should narrate a single action, which distinguishes it from history. It has certain of the same divisions and qualities as tragedy, but it has no time-limit and its size is subject only to the artistic test of

¹ As to imitation, Trissino and not Daniello (as Spingarn claims, p. 28), is the first modern to revive the Aristotelian concept of ideal *mimesis*.

being considered and remembered as a whole. It may admit episodes. In form, the hexameter is the most admirable ancient verse, the hendecasyllable for the Italian. Blank verse (which he uses and elsewhere defends) is better than the monotony of Dante and Ariosto. Homer is most excellent in his impersonality. In dealing with tragedy, Trissino had mentioned "ammirazione" as a *ressort*, by the side of pity and fear, and now he stresses that quality as still more necessary in the epic; augmentative comparisons are excellent for this purpose. Homer, again, is strong on "bellissime menzogne" and paralogisms. The impossible is better than the improbable, or what offends verisimilitude. The otiose parts should be decorated, and that helps excuse the impossible, which may also be used for idealization or as part of the opinion of men (legend being considered, since Aristotle, as on a par with history for poetic material). Trissino speaks up for virtue, reproving Boccaccio's bad women. He submits the question as to which is the greater, tragedy or epic. He admits a certain vastness about the epic, not participating in the later dogmas about a time-period of one year and the like, but he blames Ariosto for writing in a mixed form. Around this point of unity and size there started a long discussion, in France as in Italy.

His treatment of comedy, though his theory of the ridiculous seems to have counted on Sidney and Hobbes in England, is apparently of less consequence for France. One may mention his analysis of the general *bassesse* of comedy, which, however, ridicules for virtue's sake. Joy is the note and there must be a joyful ending. The names of the characters should be invented, and there is more about "costumi" or sticking to your character.

The parts of Trissino that impress me as most suitable for investigation in connection with the Pléiade¹ are his theory of the epic and his views on the formation of words. To see the possibilities of the latter comparison, one need only glance at Lanson's summary² of the

¹ The subject is, I believe, being considered for a dissertation.

² *Hist. de la litt. fr.* (8th ed.), pp. 277-78. Another similarity: Professor Nitze suggests that both Trissino and Ronsard revive the same form of strophe in the ode. See Trissino, Part IV (Canzone di Ruggieri) and Ronsard (ed. Blanchefain), II, 41-42, 63-64, 105-6, 109-10. Cf. Marot, thirty-third psalm; Laumonier, *Ronsard, poète lyrique*, p. 693; Malherbe, Lamartine, Hugo, etc.

six sources defended by the Pléiade: the ancients, compound words, old French, dialect words, technical terms—and *provignement*. The similarity to Trissino's recommendations is striking. The task here, as in the more purely critical borderland, would be to strain away first all precepts common to the classical and Renaissance tradition, in whatever country, under whatever name.

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SYR GAWAYN AND THE GRENE KNYȝT—*Concluded*

That Gawain was prominently associated with an Other-World journey has been established on entirely different evidence by Miss Weston, in *The Legend of Sir Gawain*. In her chapter on "The Loves of Gawain" she arrives at conclusions which are strikingly like those we have just reached. She says:

It may also be that the amorous advances made to Gawain by the wife of the *Green Knight* [she means in *GGK*] owe their origin to a reminiscence of this early feature [his being loved by a *fée*].

Further she writes:

Firstly, I think we must admit that Gawain's connection with a lady of supernatural origin is a remarkably well-attested feature of his story. *Secondly*, that between this lady, as represented in the most consecutive accounts of Gawain's adventures, and the queen of the other-world, as represented in Irish tradition, there exists so close a correspondence as to leave little doubt that they were originally one and the same character.¹

That Gawain actually did penetrate into Fairyland through an opening in the earth is established by another ballad, *The Turke &*

¹ P. 51. Her later conclusions about the magician have been invalidated by the recent work of scholars like Professor Brown and Miss Paton, who have shown that the "magician" was originally only a creature of the *fée*. When she comes to the discussion of *GGK*, Miss Weston attempts to relate the beheading episode (without any definite grounds, so far as I can see) to the *Château Merveil* story, and concludes (p. 97): "it was one of the tests he had to undergo in order to prove himself a worthy mate for the enchanter's daughter" (whom she calls elsewhere [p. 102] "his 'other-world' bride"). Later in *The Legend of Sir Percival*, Miss Weston suggests a different theory of the meaning of *GGK*. She considers it part of an old cycle, no longer preserved entire, which had to do with the search for the Grail, and the action of *GGK* is a test to fit Gawain for attaining the Grail. This last theory seems to me to fall because she is unable to show that in any extant story the beheading game was a test to which seekers for the Grail submitted.

*Gowin.*¹ This has been preserved in a mutilated condition. In the summary that follows I indicate *lacunae* by series of dots.

While the lords and ladies of the Round Table are feasting at court, a man enters, short and broad like a Turke [dwarf ?]. He asks: "Is there any will as a brother, | to give a buffet take another, | giff any soe hardy bee?" Kay says he can knock the Turke down, but Gawain reproves him. . . . The Turke says he will return the blow (which has evidently been given). Gawain says he will go with the Turke (presumably to receive the blow), and that he will never flee from any adventure. The Turke and Gawain ride north more than two days. Gawain grows hungry, and the Turke taunts him. "He led Gawaine to a hill soe plaine; | the earth opened & closed againe." Darkness and storm come, and Gawain is afraid. . . . They come to a castle where they find rooms and excellent food, but the Turke will not let Gawain eat the food he sees, and prepares other dishes for him. Gawain eats and asks the Turke to give him his buffet so that he can go his way. . . . They get in a boat and sail over sea. The Turke shows Gawain a castle in which he says dwells the King of Man, who has with him a hideous rout of giants. . . . [Someone, presumably the King of Man, is speaking.] "Sir Gawain, how are King Arthur and Bishop Bodwine?" Gawain is asked to sit and eat, but Gawain refuses until he has seen adventures. Seventeen giants come out and play with a brass ball. . . . They set Gawain various tasks—like lifting up a great chimney [brasier ?]—all of which the Turke performs. . . . The king threatens to kill Gawain, and has him led to a boiling cauldron before which stands a giant. The Turke has apparently followed invisibly, but now is seen. The Turke throws the giant into the cauldron, and later throws the king into the same place. . . . The Turke then asks Gawain to cut off his head; when Gawain does so, the Turke stands up a stalwart knight and says Gawain has repaid him for all the service he has done Gawain. They find many people in the castle whom they have not seen before. . . . They bring seventeen ladies to Arthur's court. King Arthur crowns Sir Gromer [the Turke?] King of Man.

It is clear that in this curious medley the story of a blow for a blow has become confused with the story of beheading for disenchantment. But for our purposes the important thing to observe is that Gawain is lured by means of the "blow for a blow" to a place under ground and finally to the Isle of Man² (Fairyland), where he is set various tasks and wins several ladies. Brought into connection with *GGK* it suggests that in an earlier version of the story Gawain

¹ *PFM*, I, 90 ff.

² See p. 53 in the first instalment of this article (in *Mod. Phil.*, XIII, General Section, Part II). It will be remembered that Bláthnat was the daughter of the King of Man.

passed through an opening in the earth, i.e., into the cave called the Green Chapel, and thence into Fairlyland.

To sum up the evidence: we have seen that in the only other documents containing the beheading game and showing primitive elements the stories belong to the fairy-mistress type; further, in *GGK* the emphasis on green, the use of the shape-shifter, and the love-making of the lady all point to a fairy-mistress story; finally, the evidence of later versions close to *GGK* constitutes additional proof that the story was originally a fairy-mistress tale, and from other sources it is clear that Gawain was widely known as a voyager to Fairyland and the beloved of a fairy mistress. This would seem to be sufficient to establish *GGK* as originally belonging to the fairy-mistress type. As to how the alterations, which make the story at first sight look unlike the type, were made, one can but guess; but the suggestions which I have given above seem to me reasonable. Wishing to make the poem a complimentary account of the foundation of some order, and wishing to associate with the order ideas of loyalty and courage, the poet placed the incident of Gawain and the fairy in the hospitable castle so as to get it before the beheading game, and thus make the ordeal rather an evidence of his loyalty than a test for the winning of a fairy mistress.¹

II. THE LADY OF THE CASTLE

We have seen in the preceding section that in *GGK* the original love affair between Gawain and the fairy has been changed into a

¹ Professor Nitze calls my attention to the fact that some Other-World stories previous to *GGK* do not represent the winning of a fairy mistress as a necessary object. Thus Pwyll, though he makes an Other-World journey and meets a lady, does not win her; in fact, his relations with her constitute a loyalty test (see Loth's translation, *Les Mabinogion*, I). Hence it is always possible that the lady in *GGK* has the traditional rôle of a helpful person—a kind of doublet of the fairy mistress herself, a fairy mistress reduced to a secondary position. Brown (in *PMLA*, XXV, 689) summarizes a very early story, the *Tochmair Emere*, which has such a helpful maiden, and (*ibid.*, 697, n. 2) a modern folk-tale of similar character. In his *Iwain* (p. 39; cf. also p. 35) Brown writes: "There is a dangerous passage on the way to the Other-World, according to the *Serglige*, from which Loeg is told that he will not return alive unless a woman protects him. Liban [sister of Fand, the fairy mistress] therefore takes him by the shoulder at this point. Similarly in the *Iwain* the hero escapes from the peril at the falling gates by the aid of a woman, Lunete, who is, like Liban, the messenger and *confidante* of the lady." Lunete gives Iwain a ring which can make him invisible and thus protect him in the adventure. In the *Peredur* also a lady gives the hero a stone that makes him invisible. She seems to be the fairy mistress herself, but she meets him *before* the adventure (*Les Mabinogion*, ed. 1913, II, 95). In the *Eledus et Serene*, the lady gives the hero a ring (whose powers are not stated) before the adventure (Suchier, *ZrP*, XXI, 112 ff.; Nitze, *Mod. Phil.*, VII, 163, note).

test of loyalty. We may now consider the steps by which such a change could take place.

In stories of the fairy-mistress type, the fairy commonly offers herself freely to the mortal hero; she is the active mover in the relationship. Professor Zimmer in a recent article brought out this fact as a general characteristic of the manners of women among the early Celts.¹ After analyzing the action of the important women-characters in *Tāin bō Cūalnge* and the *Fled Bricrend*, he concludes: "Im Geschlechtsleben das Weib so dasteht, dass es fordert und der Mann sich hingibt, einwilligt, daher der Mann der Verschämte und das Weib die Schamlose ist."² In this respect the customs of the Celts as shown in the romances are precisely the opposite of those of the Greeks and Romans. Professor Zimmer continues: "Also Frauen sind die Entführer der Männer zur Zeit der alten irischen Heldensage, sie sind das treibende Element und der Mann das zurückhaltende: gefällt ihnen ein Mann, so bieten sie sich an, und will der Mann nicht, wendet er sich schamvoll vor schamlose Verlangen ab."³ Naturally, with the coming in of Christianity and the influence of other civilizations, the custom changed, and it was no longer thought proper for a woman to offer herself to a man. This altered standard then influenced redactors of old stories and made them feel that the actions of early heroines were not moral. Hence they changed their originals. "Je jünger die Texte nämlich werden, um so mehr schwindet das Charakteristische der S. 177–210 vorgeführten Bilder, es wird einfach mehr und mehr—wenn auch nicht völlig—Unsittlichkeit beider Geschlechter."⁴

In the case of the original of *GGK* the situation was made still worse by the fact that early rationalizers had made the shape-shifter the husband of the lady (i.e., the *fée*). The action of a wife in wooing

¹ *Sitzungsberichte der Königl. preuss. Akad. der Wissensch.*, 1911, p. 174.

² *Ibid.*, p. 213.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 219. Professor Nitze (*Mod. Phil.*, IX, 25) discusses the advances which Blanchefleur makes to Perceval and concludes that they are "referable . . . to a cruder state of society in which the wooing quite naturally fell to the part of woman." Miss Paton (*Fairy Mythology*, p. 5) calls attention to the fact that the fairy always makes advances to the mortal hero. There are several examples in *Perlesvaus*. See also Cross, *Mod. Phil.*, XII, 604–5, 611–13, 635–37.

⁴ *Sitzungsberichte*, p. 212. Examples of alterations made in stories of which the older form exists are given on pp. 184 and 188.

a hero might in the later period of French romance have been proper enough; but in this early time it would have been regarded as most immoral.¹ If there was still any realization that the lady was a *fée*, zealous churchmen would recall the widespread idea that the heathen gods and fairies were demons. They would likewise think of the familiar parallel of Potiphar's wife.² Thus the idea of the fairies as demons, the similarity of the fairy's action to that of Potiphar's wife, and above all the fact that such action was regarded as immoral, would naturally give to this episode a coloring of evil. Then storytellers would be compelled either to gloss it over, or to interpret it in some way consistent with the morals of their time.³ Now a woman's offering herself in this way to a man might be either a genuine allurement to evil, or it might be a test. The first of these, a temptation like that of Venus in the *Tannhäuser* story, would not be congruous with *GGK*, which is the account of a hero's success in passing a test. The point of this story is that a hero surmounts a test for valor; it would have to be changed entirely if he fell into immorality. On the other hand, as the point of the story is a test for courage, what more natural than that the lady's action should be interpreted as a test of some other virtue? The purpose of the beheading game would in fact suggest the use of the lady's allurement as a second test. By treating the action of the lady in this way the storyteller could retain all the features of her conduct in the original story and yet make it accord with the taste of his own time.

A more specific cause for the transformation of the fairy mistress into the instrument of a test, however, can be pointed out. It is clear (and generally recognized) that *GGK* is connected in some way with a chivalric order. It gives a poetic history of a certain badge worn by the members of that order; and the purpose of the poem is, as already stated, to associate chivalric virtues with the order and the badge. The story in its older form gave a test of courage, and

¹ Zimmer points out that the author of the *Fled Bricrend* has suppressed the love-affair of Bláthnat and Cuchulinn (*ibid.*, p. 205). See the first instalment of this article, p. 54, note.

² Note also the common mediaeval motif of a beautiful lady tempting a saint. Countless instances could be given. See for example the *Catalogue of Romances*, III, 17 (No. 29), 20 (No. 165), 66 (No. 13), 653 (No. 80).

³ See Cross, *Mod. Phil.*, XII, 615, n. 1, on Christianized versions of fairy-mistress stories.

the fact that courage was a knightly virtue doubtless suggested to some redactor the idea of developing a work which by various tests would show forth a perfect knight, and give a meaning to the green lace. Hence the second test, to define more exactly the chivalrous ideal.

Now it is unfortunate that there is no established series of knightly virtues, like the poverty, chastity, and obedience of the monks. Various mediaeval documents give such widely differing groups of chivalrous virtues that a reader must finally conclude that any and all good qualities were knightly. *GGK* (ll. 652 ff.) gives "fraunchyse, felaȝshyp, clannes, cortaysye and pite"; Froissart in one place says of a knight that he possessed "toutes les nobles vertus que un chevalier doit avoir: il fut lie, loyal, amoureux, sage, secret, large, pieux, hardi, entreprenant et chevalereux."¹ Gilbert de la Haye names "charitee and gude thewis, lautee and justice."² One might continue the enumeration of virtues and sources to almost any length; but one cannot discover any established and well-known group of chivalrous qualities.³

The poet of *GGK* therefore had a right to use almost any eminent virtue. As a matter of fact he chose to turn the episode of Gawain and the lady into a test for loyalty. Here I must stop to point out that it is not a test for chastity. Professor Gollancz has evidently misunderstood the poem, for he speaks of Gawain as "the knight of chastity," and says: "*Gawayne* is the story of a noble knight triumphing over the sore temptations that beset his vows of chastity."⁴ Now there is nothing in the poem about chastity. After the second day's test the knight says to Gawain: "I haf fraysted þe twys, & faythful I fynde þe" (l. 1679). After he has dealt the blow he says:⁵ "Bot here yow lakked a lyttel, sir, & lewte yow wonted." Later Gawain himself says that he has failed in *lewte*, and

¹ Ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, I, 194.

² *The Buke of the Order of Knychthede* (Abbotsford Club), p. 11.

³ See La Curne de Ste.-Palaye, I, 63, 68, 115 ff., 118 ff.; Gautier, pp. 66 ff., 79, 82, 85; Schulz (*Das höfische Leben*²), I, 187; Froissart, ed. cit., I, 193, 194, 195.

⁴ *Cambridge History*, I, 367-69. I do not mean to infer that Professor Gollancz is the first or the only scholar to suggest this view. I quote him because his discussion is typical of the attitudes of scholars, and is found in a widely used work of reference.

⁵ L. 2366. See the whole passage, ll. 2345 ff.

charges that failure upon his "cowardyse" (=lack of courage) and "couetyse" (=lack of "larges"):

For care of by knokke cowardyse me taȝt
To a-corde me with couetyse, my kynde to for-sake,
Pat is larges & lewte, pat longeȝ to knyȝteȝ [ll. 2379 ff.]¹.

That loyalty was the virtue involved in the second test is made clear also in *The Green Knight*. The Green Knight says that he means to test Gawain's "three points" (l. 70); they are points "that longeth to manhood" (l. 108). When Gawain has been tested, the knight says:

Of curtesie thou might haue woon the crowne
aboue both free & bound
And also of great gentrye:
now 3 points be put fro thee,
it is the Moe pittyey:
Sir Gawaine! thou wast not Leele
When thou didst the lace conceale
that my wiffe gauē to thee!

In other words, Gawain has lost his "three points" because he failed in one of them, loyalty. The test is most certainly not one of chastity, but one of loyalty.²

Barbour has an interesting passage to which Professor Schofield refers, but which he does not print. It is as follows:

Leavte to luff is gretumly;
Through leavte liffis men rychtwisly:
With A wertu [of] leavte
A man may ȝeit sufficyand be:
And but leawte may nane haiff price,
Quhethir he be wycht or he be wys;
For quhar It failȝeys, na wertu
May be off price, na of valu,
To mak A man sa gud, that he
May sympli gud man callyt be.³

¹ In l. 2499 also the poet says that Gawain received the cut "for his unleute." Of course other virtues are mentioned secondarily. Perhaps the Green Knight does refer to Gawain's chastity in l. 2367: "Bot pat watz for no wylide werke, ne wowing nauber."

² It is to be noted that with the fall of the idea that the test shows Gawain's chastity disappears one of the chief arguments for unity of authorship of *GGK* and the other poems in MS Nero A.X. The interest of the Gawain poet is not in theology or in morals, but in worldly affairs and specifically chivalric virtues.

³ Bruce (*EETS*), I, 365 ff.

Of the importance of loyalty as a chivalric virtue it is hardly necessary to speak. It generally appears in such lists of knightly qualities as those mentioned on p. 118. Professor Schofield has printed a poem by Watriquet de Couvin on loyalty, and he refers to other similar treatments of it as a chivalric virtue.¹

Up to this point I have not mentioned a document commonly considered an analogue of *GGK*—*Gawain and the Carle of Carlile*—because the beheading incident in it, as the poem now exists, is of a different kind from that of *GGK*. Now that the character of the second test in *GGK* is clear, however, we may find it worth while to consider the *Carle*.²

Gawain, Kay, and Bishop Bodwin after a day of hunting follow a red deer into a great forest. A thick mist falls upon them and causes them to lose both the deer and their way. Bodwin says he knows of a Carle dwelling in a castle near by. Anyone who stays with the Carle and escapes thereafter is lucky. The three hunters go to the castle and gain admittance. The Carle is a terrible fellow, fifty cubits tall, and he has long been a foe to King Arthur. In the hall he keeps strange pets, a bull, a boar, and a lion. During his conversation with his guests the Carle shows a curious ability to read their thoughts. After a time first one and then another of the guests decides to go to the stable and care for his horse. Kay and the Bishop separately find a horse of the Carle's near their own, and each drives it out harshly. Gawain, however, treats the horse kindly, even covering it with his cloak. After supper, the Carle has Gawain throw a spear at his head; Gawain casts it with all his might, but the Carle dodges it safely. Then the Carle takes Gawain to his wife's bed, puts him in, and tells him to kiss the lady three times but do no other villainy. Gawain would do more, but the Carle stops him, promising to bring him to a fairer lady. He takes Gawain to his daughter's chamber and leaves him there for the night. Next morning he shows Gawain the bones of fifteen hundred men whom he and his animals have slain. After dinner the Carle takes Gawain to a room and asks him to cut off his head. When Gawain has done so, the Carle stands up a man of Gawain's height and says he was so enchanted until a knight of the Round Table should cut off his head.

This story, because of its possession of the character of the Imperious Host, has been compared to the *Chevalier à l'espée*. It has many features of the Other-World journey plus the fairy-mistress story. Its beginning—the three hunters led astray by their chase—

¹ *Chivalry in English Literature*, p. 278. See also Gautier, pp. 29, 79–81.

² PFM, III, 277–94.

reminds one of stories of the type of Guingamor. The mist which troubles them is the "druidical mist" through which those who are going to the Other World pass just before they arrive.¹ Further, the happenings in the castle seem to be a series of tests. The episode of the horses is a test of the hero's courtesy, a fact that is indicated definitely three times in the Porkington version, in which the Carle tells the Bishop and Kay that they have failed in courtesy (ll. 314, 329-30) and thanks Gawain for his courtesy (l. 353); the casting of the spear is probably a test of his constancy and obedience. Wild animals figure much as they do in *MSF* and other stories. And those who fail in the tests are killed, as commonly in these stories. Finally at the end the hero wins a beautiful lady (the *fée*). Now the curious episode in which the Carle puts Gawain into bed with his wife is obviously one of the tests, and, though not explained at all, it is clearly, like the similar situation in *GGK*, a test of loyalty. That it is not a test of chastity is shown by the fact that Gawain is later given the daughter. She is his reward for having fulfilled the commands of his host and shown his loyalty. The beheading episode differs entirely from that of *GGK* in that it is a beheading for disenchantment.² It is entirely possible, however, that originally it was the same as in *GGK*. In support of this suggestion is the fact that beheading for disenchantment is much more common in folklore than the beheading game which we have been studying. Hence at a later time, when the strange features of the beheading game were no longer understood, a substitution of the more common for the more unusual story would be natural. We have seen this process actually taking place in the *Turke and Gowin*, where the conditions at the beginning are those of *GGK*, but at the end have been changed to beheading for disenchantment. Further, the confused episode of the throwing of the spear at the Carle may be a remainder of the old beheading incident: it seems to have little point and is actually half of the proposition "a strok for an oper." The beheading incident which now stands in the story was placed at the end because it ordinarily ends the adventures in the stories in which it occurs. A further argument in favor of such an interpretation

¹ See the *Fled Bricrend*, above.

² See Professor Kittredge's article, *Jour. Am. Folk Lore*, XVIII (1905), 1 ff.

is the fact that later forms of stories frequently represent Other-World beings as under enchantment (since their extraordinary actions are no longer understood by those who have no knowledge of the Other World). Finally, if we understand that the original proposition of the Carle to Gawain was not: "Cast this spear at my head," but "Give me a blow with this instrument [probably an ax] and I will give you another," and that the beheading for disenchantment is an addition, we have a coherent story of a primitive type. Thus the *Carle of Carlile* is probably an analogue of *GGK*, and the hero's relations with the wives are certainly in both cases tests of loyalty. The similarity of the two stories in this last respect argues for contact between the two at some early time, or actual identity of source.

The test for loyalty occurs also in one French poem, the *Yder*. It forms but an incidental episode in a story the main action of which has no similarity to *GGK* or the other documents we have been discussing.

Yder has left Arthur's court in anger. He rides along seeking someone who will make him a knight. He meets King Ivenant, and tells the latter his desire. Ivenant says that he will make *Yder* a knight, under condition, however, that *Yder* shall first ride to Ivenant's castle and submit to temptation by the latter's wife. *Yder*, confident in his ability to withstand this temptation because of his consciousness of love for his own lady, agrees. He rides alone to the castle. The lady offers him her love but meets with steadfast refusal. The king returns to the castle and makes *Yder* a knight.¹

¹ *Der alfranzösische Yderroman*, ed. H. Gelzer, ll. 185 ff. Dr. Gelzer compares the episode to similar ones in *Perceval* (the *Gawain-Guigambreil* story—ll. 7085 ff.—see Miss Thomas' dissertation), the *Roman de la Charette*, which involves a story of a knight's refusal of a lady's proffered love, not very close in detail to either *GGK* or *Yder*, and *Guinglain*, besides *GGK*. See Gelzer's Introduction, pp. lviii–lix. In *Guinglain*, the lady visits the knight in his bedroom at night, somewhat as the lady in *GGK* visits *Gawain*, but there is no testing. See Professor Schofield's *Studies on the Libeaus Desconus*, pp. 40, 148 (the same incident in the Welsh *Peredur*), and 156. As none of these stories has the device of the interchange of winnings by the hero and the husband, they cannot be connected in detail with *GGK*. But the general situation in *GGK* and *Yder* is obviously the same, and a knowledge of the *Yder* or some variant of it may have suggested to the author of *GGK* the particular kind of test into which he made the relation of the *fee* and *Gawain*.

It is no part of my function to consider the origin of such an episode as that in *Yder*, because it is not an original part of *GGK*. It probably goes back ultimately to the savage custom of a husband's lending his wife to a guest as an act of hospitality. See Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, pp. 73 ff. References to such practices occur in Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, p. 479; Spencer and Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 98 ff.; and Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, II, 229. For further references see Nitze, *Mod. Phil.*, IX, 316. The guest's rejection of the offer probably represents a later social

To give additional force to the temptation by the lady as a test for loyalty, the Gawain poet uses a further motif: on three successive nights, the lord of the castle proposes to Gawain that he and Gawain shall exchange what each gains on the following day. For the first two days Gawain faithfully performs his part of the bargain, giving kisses for the lord's game. But on the third day he does not give the lord the girdle which he had received from the lady, and so fails in loyalty. This added machinery, used to focus the test more clearly, is certainly connected with a story extant in a mediaeval Latin poem, the *Miles Gloriosus*.¹

A poor young knight comes to Rome and there makes the acquaintance of a rich citizen (called Civis). The latter proposes a sort of partnership in which the common stock shall be divided between the two:

Me tibi teque mihi lucri mensura coaequet;
una sit in duplici partitione fides.

The knight goes away, meets the wife of the citizen, and is loved by her. She offers him her riches for his love. The knight takes half of these riches to the citizen, and tells the latter how he got them. Civis advises the knight to return to the lady, and after the knight's departure, he brings his wife's brothers to his home. The lady conceals the knight between the bed and the wall. The husband goes away baffled; when next day the knight comes with more money and reveals what had happened, Civis again advises the knight to return to the lady, and attempts a second surprise. Disappointed again, he tries and fails a third time. Then he tries a new trick. He invites the knight to a feast, and has his wife's brothers and his wife, veiled, present. He gets the knight to tell of his adventure. The knight tells of the first two surprises by the husband (which he had before narrated to the latter), but just as he is about to tell how he escaped from the third, the lady presses her foot upon his and so causes him to recognize her. He turns his narration saying that as he was going along he came to a glass bridge, which broke under him, tumbling him into the water below. Then he awoke—all that he had told before was a dream. The lady's brothers, enraged at the husband's jealousy and, supposedly, false suspicion of their sister, drive him into exile. The knight and lady marry and are happy.

development, when it was considered courteous to his host not to accept this privilege. Professor Nitze (*Elliott Studies*, I, 29, n. 17) notes a similar instance of rejection in the *Mabinogion*, and compares it with *GGK*.

¹ Ed. Du Méril, *Origines latines du Théâtre moderne*, pp. 285 ff. The play dates from about the twelfth century. For discussion of it, see Cloetta, *Beiträge zur Litteraturgeschichte des Mittelalters*, I, 79 ff. and 153 ff. I owe this reference, and that to the Italian novelle mentioned below, to Professor Manly.

This story has obviously a relationship with *GGK*, in the proposition of the husband of the exchange of winnings,¹ and the three-day settlement of the lover with the husband.

The story itself is of a popular, *fabliau* character, and probably widespread. At any rate we find many versions of it in the Italian *novelle* and derived narratives of a later time.² None of these later stories which I have been able to see, however, contains the exchange of winnings. The type of these stories is as follows: a young man comes into contact with an older man, and receives advice from the latter as to how to succeed in love or in worldly affairs. Following this suggestion, the young man meets the wife of his adviser, quickly wins her love, and relates his success to the husband. The latter soon suspects that it is his wife who is involved, and lays traps for the lovers. Through the ingenuity of the lady the young man always escapes. The lover, never suspecting that the husband is his adviser, relates his experiences day by day. The husband is insanely jealous. The interest of these stories seems to lie in the devices of the wife in concealing her lover, and the wild jealousy of the husband.

This story is possibly of oriental origin. At any rate it occurs in the Breslau edition of the *Arabian Nights*.³ As the date and place of composition of this version are unknown, however, it is impossible to draw any certain conclusion as to ultimate origin. It is found, however, in Ser Giovanni's *Il Pecorone* (I, 2), which dates from the fourteenth century, and in many succeeding collections.⁴ Finally it appears in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* in the relation of Falstaff and Mr. Ford and in the tricks used for concealing Falstaff.

Just how much of all this the Gawain poet knew it is hard to say. But he certainly knew a story like that of the *Miles Gloriosus*, and

¹ The exchange is more like that in the *Green Knight* than that in *GGK* in that half of what each acquires is given to the other.

² The similarity of the *Miles Gloriosus* to one of Straparola's *novelle* was noted by a writer in the *Histoire littéraire*, XXII, 61.

³ Burton, *Supplemental Nights*, I, 203 ff.; discussed, and relation to Straparola's and Ser Giovanni's *novelle* pointed out, *ibid.*, II, 319 ff.

⁴ See G. Rua, *Le Piacevoli notti di Straparola*, 1898, pp. 68 ff.; Simrock, *Die Quellen des Shakespeare*, I, 321 ff.; Collier-Hazlitt, *Shakespeare's Library*, III, 3 ff. In the following list of versions, there are two or three that I have not been able to verify, because the books are not available in Chicago: Fortini, I, 6; Straparola, IV, 4; Doni, 35; Lindener, *Rastbuchlein*; Cryptadia, I, 2; II, 15; Forteguerri, VI; Tarleton, *Newes out of Purgatorie*; *Gil Blas*, Book V; Masuccio, 45; *Contes d' Ouville*, 1732.

he may have been acquainted with the episode in *Yder*, or some variant of it. At any rate it is clear that he turned the love of the lady for Gawain into a test similar to that of *Yder*, and that he increased Gawain's obligations, and made the test more clear-cut, by adding the device of the exchange of winnings and the daily settlement with the husband, which he probably derived from a popular tale similar to the *Miles Gloriosus*.

In view of the points brought out in these two sections it is natural to think of establishing more exactly the relations of the English versions, to draw up a family tree of them. Such an attempt, however, seems to me foredoomed to failure. We haven't enough facts. Of the four English documents, *GGK* and the *Green Knight* are obviously most closely related. If we attempt, however, to determine exactly that relationship, we at once meet with difficulty. If we assume with Hales that the *Green Knight* is derived directly from *GGK*,¹ we must suppose that all those features in which the later version seems to be more archaic than *GGK* are chance alterations of the redactor. Such a supposition seems to me untenable because it implies that a story-teller would make his story weaker and less logical—and at the same time by mere chance more like its remote original. For example, in *GGK* the attitude of the lady to Gawain is entirely consistent with the plan of the tests; but in the *Green Knight* it is not, for there we are told that she really loved him, that her mother had planned the beheading game as a trick to entice Gawain to the lady. Thus there are two inconsistent purposes—the love of the lady, and the test of the hero. What possible reason could a story-teller have for weakening the plan of the test by having the lady love Gawain? Note also that this alteration makes the action of the *Green Knight* entirely inconsistent—he is testing the hero, and at the same time acting the weak part of a means for bringing together his wife and her lover. At the end of the story he appears as the feeblest, least impressive of characters.

If we assume that *GGK* and the *Green Knight* are derived independently from a common source, we also meet with difficulties. In that case, the source of the two must have been composed in honor

¹ See p. 77 in the first instalment of this article.

of some order, since that feature is found in both versions. Further, the test of loyalty must have been in the source, and hence the relations of Gawain and the lady must have been much as they are in *GGK*. Yet there must have been a hint that the lady really loved Gawain, and that the beheading game was merely a device for luring him to her. Otherwise where did the *Green Knight* get these elements? Thus we are brought to the necessity of assuming that the source had the same inconsistency which makes the *Green Knight* so feeble and ineffective. Now that assumption is inherently improbable. The man who had the cleverness to see in the old folk-story a means of glorifying an order, and conceived the idea of making the hero's relations with the lady a test of his loyalty, would most probably have been able to keep the plan clearly enough in mind to make the story consistent; he, the originator of the idea, must surely have had it as clear before him as his follower, the redactor of *GGK*. In fact, he would probably have made the episode of the lord and lady of the castle much as it is in *GGK*. Further, there is some unlikelihood in supposing that the connection of the story with an order goes back of *GGK*; the poem is too good to be a mere imitation of a story already connected with an order.

As it is difficult to suppose either that the *Green Knight* was derived from *GGK* or that the two come independently from a common source, one naturally thinks of contamination. It seems to me most probable that the *Green Knight* was derived from *GGK*, but with the addition of elements from oral versions of the story which the redactor knew. In other words, working upon the basis of the poem,¹ the redactor tried to reconcile it with an oral version that was probably widely known. From *GGK* he got the idea of the connection with an order and the test for loyalty, and to these he added from an oral version the idea that the lady loved Gawain, and that the beheading incident was a device for attracting him to her. Of course this oral version must have been much nearer to the old folk-tale in its details than *GGK* was. As to the general likelihood of contamination, anyone familiar with popular stories will know that it is constantly appearing in such literature.

¹ He probably did not have the poem actually before him. The lack of verbal correspondences would suggest that he had only an outline, or that perhaps the story had got into oral transmission from the poem.

With regard to the *Turke and Gowin* and *Gawain and the Carle of Carlile*, we have even less to go upon. They may have been originally the same story as that of *GGK*, or merely a story of similar type greatly influenced by the story of the green knight. In both stories many details were probably derived from another source than *GGK*—e.g., the Imperious Host in the *Carle of Carlile*, and the curious feats of the “Turke” in the *Turke and Gowin*. If the *Turke and Gowin* was derived from the green knight story and not merely influenced by it, it probably comes from a form of the story anterior to *GGK*, at any rate to a form which had no connection with an order, and did not use the lady as a test. The *Carle of Carlile* has an episode suggestive of the lady’s test in *GGK*,¹ but it mentions no relation to an order. It is nearer the original form of the story than *GGK* in that in it the hero wins a lady by passing through certain tests. If it is actually derived from the green knight story, probably it comes from an earlier form of it than *GGK*, and the episode of Gawain and the Carle’s wife may be due to contamination.

From the foregoing discussion it is probably clear to the reader that it is impossible to establish exact relationships between so small a number of versions of a popular tale. The problem is quite a different one from that of a comparison of several manuscripts of a single document. Even in the latter case, contamination is not infrequent; in the former conditions make for constant and complex contamination. In any event, I think it probable that the author of *GGK* was the person who transformed the relations of the lady and Gawain into a test of loyalty, and that he also made the connection with an order. The *Green Knight* was probably derived from *GGK* but with additions from another source representing an earlier, more primitive form of the story. Whether the *Turke and Gowin* and the *Carle of Carlile* were derived from the story of the green knight or only influenced by it, they give valuable evidence as to the features of the original story of *GGK*.

III. THE GREEN CHAPEL

The Green Chapel, as we have seen, is really not a chapel in any proper sense, but a fairy mound. How did it come to get so curious a name? Dr. A. Hertel, in his dissertation *Verzauberte Örllichkeit*

¹ See p. 121.

und Gegenstände in der altfranzösischen erzählenden Dichtung, after discussing *Zauberschlösser* which include *Feenschlösser*, *Schlösser von wunderbarer Bauart*, and *Die von Teufeln und Zauberern bewohnten Schlösser*, has a short account of magic chapels.¹ He writes:

Die verzauberten Kapellen treten in weit geringerer Anzahl als die Schlösser auf. Da dem Orte entsprechend das christliche Element besonders in den Vordergrund tritt, so zeigen sie eine grosse Ähnlichkeit mit den vom Teufel in Besitz genommenen Schlössern.

The statement about the devil is curiously congruous with Gawain's remarks when he looks at the Green Chapel:

He[re] myzt aboute myd-nyzt,
[þ]e dele his matynnes telle [ll. 2187-8].
Wel bisemeȝ þe wyȝe wruxled in grene
Dele here his deuocioun, on þe deueleȝ wyse [ll. 2191-92].²

Dr. Hertel refers to the *Perceval* (ll. 3537 ff.; cf. also l. 19925); the "gäste capele" of the *Chevalier as deus espées*, from which no one has ever returned (ll. 457 ff., 698, 755 ff., 870); and the fight of Duke Richard of Normandy with the devil, in a chapel.³

This list could be very considerably amplified by a search through the French romances. For example, in Wauchier's *Perceval* there is a Chapel of the Black Hand in which a mysterious black hand appears and puts out the candle on the altar.⁴ In *Perlesvaus* there are several chapels at which extraordinary things happen. In one, which Arthur described as perilous, a strife between good and bad spirits is heard. "No Knight returneth thence but he be dead or wounded."⁵ Another is situated in the Grave-Yard Perilous, and is protected by a host of ghostly knights.⁶ Still a different one, apparently, is the Chapel Perilous, where "an evil folk" wounded a knight. When Launcelot goes there he is also beset by "earthly fiends" in the form of knights, but manages to escape through the virtues of a certain sword.⁷

¹ Pp. 25-27.

² Note also the common confusion between fairyland and hell.

³ *Chronique des Ducs de Normandie*, par Benoit, ed. Fr. Michel, 25012; Wace's *Roman de Rou*, ed. Andresen, III, 259 ff.

⁴ See summary in Nutt's *Legend of the Holy Grail*, pp. 15, 18.

⁵ See translation under title *The High History of the Holy Grail*, Everyman's Library, pp. 4, 8, 10-11.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 181-83.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 311-13.

The idea of chapels as places where mysterious, dangerous, and terrible things happened doubtless goes back to the well-known early Christian practice of building chapels or churches on spots formerly connected with heathen worship. Thus menhirs (or standing stones) and holy wells were consecrated.¹ Even when, to counteract the superstition attached to the old sacred places, the church had consecrated them or built chapels near them, the old fear would doubtless remain. The folk memory of the old god and the old rites would remain and color the attitude of people to the spot. The shape which such a fancy might take is illustrated by a story told of St. Silvester. A dragon was infesting a cave in the Capitoline Hill at Rome and slaying people by the poison of his breath. Under the direction of St. Peter, who appeared to him in a vision, Silvester descended into the cave and sealed the mouth of the creature. Though not directly in contact with a church, this cave must have been not far from the Church of Ara Coeli. Cumont discusses the story and concludes that it is a sort of reminiscence of the worship of Hecate, which had been carried on in a cave on the Capitoline Hill.² So we have the union of the two elements—the name *chapel*, and the feeling, which the Gawain poet expresses, that it is a haunt of devils.

Instances in which barrows have become connected with Christian worship, usually through the building of a church on them, are not infrequent in England. About the matter in general Thomas Wright says: "Imagination easily converted the tenant of the lonely mound into a primitive saint . . . and a monastery, or even a cathedral, was erected over the site which had been consecrated by the mystic rites of an earlier age." He mentions in particular the monasteries of Croyland and St. Albans.³ Borlase discusses the Chapel Karn Brea in Cornwall, and gives a picture of it. The chapel was built on a mound which had been chambered.⁴ He remarks: "Veneration for the spot on the part of the natives probably induced

¹ Walter Johnson, *Folk Memory*, pp. 132-36, and the references indicated there; Woods-Martin, *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland*, I, 279-82; II, 46 ff., 87 ff., 93 note, 98, 206 ff. For consecration of a heathen grove, see Negri, *Julian the Apostle* (trans.), p. 355. For building of churches on spots associated with heathen worship, see René Merlet, *The Cathedral of Chartres* (trans.), pp. 8 ff.; Bright, *Early English Church History*, pp. 78 ff.; Plummer's ed. of Bede, I, 65.

² *Textes et Monuments relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, I, 351.

³ *Archaeologia*, XXXIII, 262.

⁴ *Ibid.*, XLIX, 195.

the Christian missionaries to adopt it for themselves."¹ Mr. T. W. Shore gives a number of examples of ancient churches in Hampshire which were built on artificial mounds. Among them is one, still called St. Martin's Hill, on which there was formerly a church dedicated to St. Martin.² This last instance suggests the possibility that in the case of GGK the name "chapel" may be attached to the hill because at some earlier time a chapel was built on the mound. If this was not the case, we can explain the use of the word here as a transfer from other places which like St. Martin's Hill or the Chapel Karn Brea did have chapels on them. The phenomenon then would be much like that of certain instances which Dr. Hertel discusses.

Finally Dr. Hertel remarks:

Nicht hierher rechne ich die beiden im *Fergus* 58 und 105 vorkommenden Kapellen, die eigentlich ihren Charakter als solche, d. h. als Gotteshäuser, gänzlich verloren haben. . . . Ich glaube daher, dass der Dichter den Ausdruck "capièle" hier nur gebraucht hat, um ein einsam liegendes kleineres Gebäude, nicht aber eine Kapelle im engeren Sinne des Wortes damit zu bezeichnen.

In the *Fergus*, the hero, a country youth who desires to become a member of Arthur's court, is sent to the black mountain where Merlin has long dwelt. There he finds a "chapel" before which stands a gigantic figure with a hammer. He breaks it to pieces, enters, and takes from the neck of an ivory lion inside a horn and veil. He blows the horn three times. A black knight appears and is overcome by Fergus. On another occasion Fergus comes to a plain containing a fountain and a chapel inhabited by a dwarf. When anyone drinks from the fountain, the dwarf comes out of the chapel and tells the traveler's fortune.

From the foregoing evidence it is clear that the idea of a chapel as a spot haunted by evil spirits, and the use of the word "chapel" of a place not consecrated at all but enchanted and the scene of strange happenings, is current in the French romances. Hence it was quite natural that the Gawain poet should take from the French romances with which he was familiar the word "chapel," and apply it to the uncanny spot where Gawain was to undergo the head-cutting test.

¹ *Archaeologia*, XXXIII, 197.

² *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XX, 9.

IV. THE GREEN "LACE"

One of the most widespread motifs in fairy stories is the gift by the fairy to some mortal favorite of an article with magic properties. It is in fact so common that it cannot be considered as specially attached to any one type of story or to any one people. In Irish fairy-mistress stories, the most characteristic gifts are a silver branch¹ and an apple which never diminishes.² In French stories of apparently Celtic origin rings occur as fairy gifts. In the *Iwain*, Laudine gives the hero a ring which will release him from prison, keep him from loss of blood, and free him from all evil.³ In the story of *Désiré* the fairy gives the hero a ring which will provide him with as much gold and silver as he desires.⁴ Hertel gives an example from the French romance, *Brun de la Montaigne*, of a ring given by a *fée* to her lover to protect him, and of other rings of magic power. In modern folklore and the mediaeval romances examples of similar marvel-working gifts could be multiplied.⁵ A case quite similar to the one in *GGK* occurs in *Diu Krône*, where we are told that Gasozein has a girdle which he received from Guinevere and which makes its wearer invincible in battle. Gawain had gained it for Guinevere, and it was originally made by fairies.⁶ In the Irish story of the *Conception of Mongan* also, there is a girdle "of such a nature that neither sickness nor trouble would seize the side on which it was."⁷ From the fact that this is a customary feature of fairy stories, it seems probable that it existed in the Gawain poet's source.

Now it is important to get as clear an idea as we can of what the "lace" was like and how it was worn. It is first mentioned in ll. 1829 ff., where the lady offers it to Gawain:

I schal gif yow my girdel, þat gaynes yow lasse.
 Ho laȝt a lace lyȝtly, þat leke vmbe hir sydeȝ,
 Knit vpon hir kyrtel, vnder þe clere mantyle,
 Gered hit watȝ with grene sylke, & with golde schaped,
 Noȝt bot arounde brayden, beten with fyngreȝ.

¹ *Voyage of Bran*, I, 4, 16.

² *Echtra Condla* in *Voyage of Bran*, I, 145.

³ Brown, *Iwain*, p. 128.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁵ Cf. Brown, *Romanic Review*, III, 145 note; *Iwain*, pp. 128, 129; *Sir Perceval*, 1861 ff.

⁶ Cf. ll. 4867 ff., 4885–86.

⁷ *Voyage of Bran*, I, 83. See also Hertel, *op. cit.*: on girdles, pp. 67–68; on rings, pp. 62–65.

In l. 1851 she explains its virtues thus, "quat gome so is gorde with þis grene lace" cannot be killed. In 1860 it is called a "belt," in 1874 "þe luf-lace," and in 2030 the "lace." In 2033 ff. we are told how Gawain first wore it:

Penn dressed he his drurye double hym aboute;
Swyþe sweppled vmbē his swange swetely þat knyȝt
þe gordel of þe grene silke, þat gay wel bisemed.

In 2037-39 the poet speaks of the "gordel" and its "pendaunteȝ" of gold. In 2358 the lace is called a "wouen girdel," in 2377 a "belt," in 2395 a "gurdel," and again in 2429 a "gordel." In 2497 and 2505 it is called "þe lace." Then, after the Green Knight has reproved Gawain for his failure to reveal the gift of the girdle to him in accordance with their agreement, and Gawain has accepted it from the knight again, we are told how Gawain wore it:

& þe blykkande belt he bere þeraboute,
A-belef as a bauderyk, bounden bi his syde
Loken under his lyfte arme, þe lace, with a knot [ll. 2485 ff.].

And finally when the lords and ladies of the Round Table adopt it they agree that

Vche burne of þe broþer-hede a bauderyk schulde haue,
A bende, a-belef hym aboute, of a bryȝt grene [l. 2516 f.].

It is to be noticed that up to l. 2485 the lace is referred to always as a lace, a girdle, or a belt, and it seems to have been worn as a belt about the waist (cf. ll. 1830, 2032). After the Green Knight has reproved him, however, Gawain seems to have changed the manner of wearing it; at any rate from that point the manner of wearing it is described twice in terms not previously used: it was worn "a-belef as a bauderyk." Now, though the word "baldric" sometimes means a collar (*Concise Oxford Dictionary*), its most distinctive meaning is "a belt hung from shoulder to opposite hip." The other expression, *a-belef*, occurs in English only in these two passages. The *New English Dictionary* derives it from O.F. *à belif, beslif* (=Late Latin **bisliquus = obliquus*), and gives it the meanings, "obliquely, aslant, scarfwise." The poet then seems to say that Gawain and the lords and ladies wore the lace not as a girdle, but as a baldric obliquely from one shoulder to the left side ("loken under his lyfte arme").

This conclusion I base upon two facts: the change in the description of the method of wearing the girdle, and the meanings of *baldric* and *a-belef*.¹

Further, no reason is given for the change in method of wearing the lace; it is not motived in any way in the poem. One might surmise, to be sure, that Gawain wore it as a baldric in order to display it more prominently in penance for his sin; but no such reason is given. If no reason is given for this change, then, it is fair to conclude that the motive for the change must lie outside the poem, that in fact the poem was written in honor of some order which had a baldric as a badge. This reasoning is confirmed by the analogy of the *Green Knight*. There the color of the lace is changed from green to white, and at the end we are told that this story gives the reason for the wearing of a white lace on the shoulder by Knights of the Bath. If the shift there is motived outside the story, one might suppose that the shift in *GGK* was likewise motived. Certainly it would have been simpler for the poet to have had the lace worn throughout as a belt, than to make a change near the end. One more fact about the lace—it was certainly green. In ll. 1832, 1851, 2035, 2396, 2517 it is definitely characterized as green. Further, there is a reason for its being green: it is obviously green because the Green Knight wore green. This connection is definitely stated in the Knight's remark about the lace that "hit is grene as my goune" (l. 2396). And the Knight wears green because he is an Other World creature. Were

¹ In an article in *Anglia*, XXXVII, 414 ff., the author fails to note this difference between the way in which the lady and Gawain first wore the lace, and the way in which Gawain and the knights later wore it. He says: "It is usual to translate 'bauderyk' as baldric. A baldrick, however, is not worn round the loins, though it is worn slantwise across the breast, hung across one shoulder. We hope to prove immediately that it is the military belt, the Garter belt in fact," etc. This Garter belt was, he says, worn about the hips. Finally he remarks: "It is hardly necessary to labor the point about the belt further, even if the ballad of the *Green Knight* already referred to, did not state bluntly and inartistically—

That is the matter and the case
Why knights of the Bath wear the lace."

That is certainly very curious writing and very curious reasoning. "Bauderyk" is not translated "baldric"; it is the same word. And the author makes no effort to reconcile a baldric with the belt which he describes; they are obviously dissimilar. Then how the fact that the *Green Knight* says that Knights of the Bath wear a white lace proves that in *GGK* Knights of the Garter wore a belt, I confess I can't see. If the argument is by analogy it doesn't hold, for in the *Green Knight* the description of the lace (it is *white* there) and the method of wearing it exactly correspond to the lace of the Knights of the Bath and their manner of wearing it, whereas in *GGK* the baldric is similar neither in color nor in method of wearing to the belt of the Garter.

it not for the fact that the green insisted on in this poem has a meaning, is derived from the primitive story, one might suppose that green was merely a code-word for another color, and that the initiate might supply for it *blue*, the color of the Garter, or some other color. But this is not the case, the green is original. Hence it seems to me certain that we must assume that the order for which *GGK* was written had among its badges a *baldric* that was *green*.

That the story of *GGK* was connected with some order has been inferred from the situation at the end. After Gawain has told in a self-abased fashion the story of the lace, the poet writes:

þe kyng confortez þe knyȝt, & alle þe court als,
 Laȝen loude þer-at, & luflyly acorden,
 Pat lordes & ladis, pat longed to þe Table,
 Vche burne of þe broþer-hede a bauderyk schulde haue,
 A bende, a-belef hym aboute, of a bryȝt grene,
 & þat, for sake of þat segge, in swete to were.
 For þat watȝ acorded þe renoun of þe Rounde Table,
 & he honoured þat hit hade, euer-more after.

This passage seems to point to the wearing of a green baldric by some courtly group. That this group was the Order of the Garter has been more or less tentatively suggested for some time. So Professor Schofield says that the knights' wearing the lace "seems to have been suggested by the establishment of the Order of the Garter about 1348."¹ Professor Gollancz in his *Cambridge History* article (p. 366) remarks that "the whole poem may be connected with the foundation of the Order of the Garter" about 1345. So far as I can see, there are three main reasons for connecting the poem with the Garter: (1) the fact that at the end of the poem appears in the MS "hony soyt qui mal pence"; (2) the knights who adopt the lace are members of the Round Table, and Edward III in founding the Order of the Garter established it merely as a continuation of the Round Table; (3) the derivation of the lace from an intrigue with a lady resembles the famous story of the Countess of Salisbury and her garter. The first of these is unconvincing since the motto is written in a later hand, and probably represents merely someone's guess as to the relation of the story to the Garter. Unless it can

¹ *Eng. Lit.*, p. 217.

be corroborated by other testimony it is worthless as evidence. The third is also valueless because the story of the Countess of Salisbury is late (first given by Polydore Vergil) and discredited by historians of the order.¹ The second, though it seems at first sight more significant than either of the others, is probably just as unimportant. Because of the great repute of Arthur and the Round Table it would be natural for any new order to try to connect itself with him. In fact, the Order of the Garter was by no means the first revival of the Round Table. In 1279 Roger Mortimer held a Round Table at Kenilworth with a thousand knights and a thousand ladies. His descendant Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, who was all-powerful in the first few years of Edward III's reign, revived the Round Table again in 1328, and had among his guests the king and almost all the nobles of England.² Neither of these, of course, established a definite order; they merely held great fêtes. But it is to be noted that *GGK* does not demand a regular order; it would fit such an occasional celebration as those mentioned quite as well. Now if these elaborate festivities have survived to us in chronicles, it is not unlikely that many minor entertainments of the sort may have been held and not have been recorded.³ Furthermore, in 1351 King John of France founded the Order of the Star, "sur la manière de la Table Ronde qui fu jadis au temps dou roy artus."⁴ There is then in these three apparent evidences no real proof of connection between *GGK* and the Order of the Garter.

Not only is the supposition of such a connection not established by evidence, however: it is actually incompatible with the facts. I have shown that the poem gives as the badge of the "order" a green baldric. Now the Order of the Garter has no such badge. The Garter itself is blue; Froissart calls the Knights "les chevaliers

¹ See Beltz, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, p. xlvi. It is to be noted further that the story is one likely to spring up in a chivalric age. A story which seems to be as baseless as that of the Countess of Salisbury is told about a lady who gave to Count Amédée VI of Savoy a bracelet of hair which he used as a device of his order, the Order of the Collar. See *la Grande Encyclopédie*, III, 86; *Scottish Historical Review*, V, 405; *Monumenta Historiae Patriae*, V, col. 1005; III, col. 269 ff.

² DNB. See references there to *Ann. Mon.*, Rishanger, Knighton, and Hardynge. For references on Round Tables, see below, p. 142.

³ In the sixteenth century the Worshipful Society of Archers in London is said to celebrate yearly the memory of Arthur and the Order of the Round Table. See dedication to the translation of John Leland's *Assertio inclytissimi Arturii Regis*, London, 1582.

⁴ Froissart, ed. cit., V, 308.

du Bleu Gertier."¹ So far as the authorities show, no part of the equipment of Knights of the Garter was green. In other words, the one distinctive feature which is demanded in *GGK* is not found at all in the Order of the Garter.² Secondly, the poem seems to be connected with a Christmas-New Year celebration. The Order of the Garter held its feasts on St. George's Day. Thirdly, the celebrations of the Garter were held at Windsor, and, as far as the knights used English, we should expect them to use the London dialect. Why then is the poem in a Northwestern dialect?³

From these considerations it is clear that we have no reason to suppose a connection between *GGK* and the Garter. We could

¹ Froissart, *ed. cit.*, IV, 205.

² Recently an elaborate attempt has been made by Mr. Isaac Jackson to establish *GGK* as a "Garter Poem": *Anglia*, XXXVII, 393-423. The author's argument seems to me so illogical and unconvincing as scarcely to require refutation. For example, he tries to show that the Garter feast was like the feast in *GGK* (pp. 399-400). The parallels (condensed) are:

GARTER

The brotherhood heard matins and
at the end offered gold and silver.

The knights washed before dinner.
"The first mess was placed on the table
before the king entered."
Trumpets, drums, and fifes played.
The queen was often there.
Two knights had a mess between them.
On the election of a knight, he is invested
and goes to chapel bare-headed.

GGK

Arthur and his knights went to chapel.
Afterward they exchanged New Year's
gifts.

The knights washed before dinner.
"Bot Arthure wolde note etc til all were
served." (He was in the hall, however.)
Trumpets, drums, and fifes played.
Gueneor was on the dais.
Two knights had a mess between them.
In 590 ft. Gawain is armed (before going
on his adventure—he has of course long
been a Knight of the Round Table),
and does not put on his helmet until he
has heard mass.

Obviously the similarities here are merely the requirements of etiquette. In *MSF*, *Percival*, and countless romances well-bred people wash their hands before eating. See Kölbing, *Tristram*, II, 541, 543; Zielke, *Sir Orfeo*, p. 17; *Libeaus Desconus*, V, 111 ff. Schofield, *PMLA*, XV, 145. Naturally people heard mass bare-headed.

The author tells us a good deal about Joan of Kent, wife of the Black Prince, and calls her "the Garter heroine," but he gives no evidence to show that she was connected in any way with *GGK* (pp. 409-10). He says, "the poem glorifies the Black Prince," but gives as evidence only a most doubtful interpretation of Gawain's shield. He tries to show that the lace was a wedding favor of Joan's, but his only evidence is that "there has been a custom for hundreds of years past to wear the bride's garters or scarves or ribbons as wedding favors," that at the entertainment provided for Queen Elizabeth in 1575 "lustie lads" wore "blu buchram bride-lace upon a branch of green broom" (pp. 419 ff.), and that one of the participants in this entertainment was called the "Black Prince." Such material refutes itself.

³ Mr. Jackson (p. 395) argues that *GGK* must have been written after 1362, since the title "Duke of Clarence" did not exist until that year, and hence the reference to the Duke of Clarence in *GGK*, I, 553, could not have been made before. But Sir Frederick Madden in his *Syr Gawyn*, p. 313, pointed out that a Duke of Clarence exists in the French romances. See *le Roman de Merlin*, ed. Sommer, 1894, p. 134. A city of Clarence is mentioned frequently in this romance (which is dated about 1316 by the editor), and its siege forms an important episode. See pp. 313, 409, 419, 425, etc.

assume a relation only if there were no other order to be found. That is, of course, not the case; we know of many chivalric orders in the fourteenth century. In particular, it will be remembered that in the *Green Knight* the green lace was changed to a white one and the whole poem made to explain a custom of the Knights of the Bath. With regard to this Mr. Hales remarked: "It was made to explain a custom of that time—a custom followed by an order that was instituted, according to Selden and Camden, some three-quarters of a century (A.D. 1399) after the time when, according to Mr. Morris, the poem first appeared."¹ Professor Gollancz, after stating that *GGK* was probably connected with the foundation of the Garter, adds that the later poet "has used the same story to account for the origin of the order of the Bath."² Mr. Isaac Jackson states: "The whole ballad is a clumsy adaptation of the romance story to glorify another knightly order, founded in the next century."³ Is this explanation likely? It requires us to suppose that a poem associated with the oldest, most honored of English knightly orders was remade to apply to a kind of knights (not an order) which never had the great dignity of the Garter.⁴ Such a process seems highly unlikely. Further, it is to be observed that the Order of the Bath was not founded in 1399 as is assumed above. In fact no definite Order of the Bath was founded until modern times (1725). But the Knights of the Bath go back to a very early period. The authorities are agreed in regarding them as merely knights somewhat more formally created than ordinary knights bachelors. The date 1399 derives its significance from the fact that we have in that year first record of the use of the white lace and other distinctive equipment (including a green robe) in Henry IV's creation of certain knights on the Saturday before his coronation. There is evidence of earlier date that knights were created by an elaborate ceremonial including the bath which gives to these knights their special title. Even as far back as King John a list of garments prepared for the knighting of one Thomas Sturmy includes items similar to those mentioned in 1399, among them a green robe.⁵ Similar entries occur from time to time. In Nicolas,

¹ *PFM*, II, 56.

² *Cambridge History*, I, 366.

³ *Anglia*, XXXVII, 417.*

⁴ This point was suggested to me by Professor Manly.

⁵ Selden, *Titles of Honor* (1631).

Orders of Knighthood, III, p. 7, entries for 1204, 1209, 1303, and 1326 are given. In each of these mention is made, among other garments, of a green robe. Of these knights Cockayne writes:

The full solemnities for conferring knighthood seem to have been so largely and so early superseded by the practice of dubbing or giving the accolade that in England it became at last restricted to such knights as were made at coronations and some other occasions of state. And to them the particular name of Knights of the Bath was given.¹

Now, if, as the authorities think, Knights of the Bath were being created early in the fourteenth century, we have even less reason for supposing that the *Green Knight* was altered in the fifteenth century from a poem in honor of the Garter to fit an "order" which existed at the time the original *GGK* was written. On the other hand, the connection of the *Green Knight* with the Knights of the Bath would lead one rather to suppose that *GGK* likewise was connected with the Knights of the Bath. Then the remodeling would not be a shift of the story from one order to another, but merely a modernization of the story for the same order. Certainly green is connected with the Knights of the Bath as it is not with the Garter. But what of the white lace? I cannot answer with certainty. There seems to be no evidence for the existence of the white lace before 1399. Possibly before that a green baldric had been used: for some reason it may have been changed to a white lace, and the story altered to fit this change. Even though I have no proof of the existence of a green baldric, the likelihood of connection between *GGK* and the Bath is far stronger than that of connection between the poem and the Garter, because of the certain relation of the *Green Knight* and the fact that green figures in the robes of Knights of the Bath.

The possibilities are not restricted, however, to the Knights of the Bath alone. Many orders were instituted in the fourteenth century in different countries of Europe, and there is no reason to suppose that *GGK* must necessarily be connected with an English order. A study of fourteenth-century history, or even a cursory reading of Froissart, indicates at once the internationalism of the time. The Black Prince and John of Gaunt were fighting in France and Spain

¹ *Encyclopedia Britannica*, s.v., "Knighthood."

for years, were in alliance with various princes and nobles, and may have been elected to almost any French or Spanish order. It is actually reported that in 1393 the King of France bestowed an order on Richard II, John of Gaunt, and other Englishmen.¹ English free lances were fighting all over the Continent, and it will be shown later that at least one of these was a member of a foreign order. Now any English knight returning home from abroad with a foreign order may have given the suggestion for *GGK* to the English poet. Such a source would most naturally explain the later shift of the story to the Knights of the Bath, because the foreign order would have meaning only for the knight who was a member of it, and hence it would soon be forgotten. It is also to be noted that the order need not have been a widely known or a permanent one. At its foundation it would seem worthy of commemoration in a poem; if it died out within a few years we can understand all the more readily the fact that later its connection with the poem was forgotten, and that now it is difficult to discover certainly the order concerned. Some idea of the great number of orders existing in the fourteenth century can be gained by a glance through the section on extinct orders in Cibrario, II, 306 ff. The list is, of course, not complete; probably many orders of which we have no information at all were founded during the fourteenth century. At any rate here are some examples of orders found during that time: Duke John IV of Brittany, the Order of the Ermine, 1381; Ingelram de Coucy, Earl of Bedford, Order of the Crown, 1390; Albert of Bavaria, Count of Hainault, Order of St. Anthony, 1382; Alfonso XI of Castile, Order of the Band, 1332; King John of France, Order of the Star, 1351; Louis of Taranto, Order of the Holy Spirit, 1352; Louis II, Duke of Bourbon, Order of the Shield of Gold, 1369; Louis of France, Duke of Orleans, Order of the Porcupine, 1394; Emperor Sigismund, Order of the Dragon, end of fourteenth century; Count of Burgundy, Cavaliers of St. George, end of fourteenth century; Boucicaut, Marshal of France, Order of the White Lady with the Green Shield.² Several of these orders use green in some way in their devices, but none meets the requirement of a green baldric. Of all the orders which I have been able to find anything

¹ Cibrario, *Ordini cavallereschi*, II, 326.

² Cibrario, *loc. cit.*; *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France*, I^e Série, II, 254.

about, however, the one which most nearly agrees with the conditions of *GGK* is the Order of the Collar, founded in 1362 by Count Amedeo VI of Savoy. As the circumstances are rather curious in themselves, and offer some possibility of connection with *GGK*, I shall go into them in detail.

At the age of nine years Amedeo VI became Count of Savoy in 1342. The first notable incident in his career is a tournament at which he seems first to have shown his fondness for dressing himself entirely in green. The old French chronicler describes it as follows:

Le comte Ame vint sur le reng a tout ses onze compagnons, touz vestus de cendal vert, et leurs chivaux couers de mesmes, et sy y avoit douze dames, vestues et parees de mesmes, ensemble celles brides et garnisons, et avoient les douze dames douze cordons de soye verde chacune menant son chivalier attache a la bride, et le heaulme en la teste, et la lance au point, et tout couert de verd.

Arrived at the lists, the ladies released their knights and retired; at the end of the day they returned and led the combatants to the castle. The tournament lasted three days, and during the whole time the count and his companions were clad in green. After this time, the count continued to wear the color: "et depuis lon laissa le nom du conte Ame et fust appelles le conte Verd." In fact he is called the Green Count in books of reference and histories to this day.

Apparently it was in 1362 that the Green Count established the Order of the Collar. The order was founded in honor of the fifteen joys of the Virgin, and hence it comprised fifteen knights. The collar was made of gold with interlacing leaves of laurel enameled green, and a pendant below composed of three love-knots interlaced. The Count founded the order at a feast held after mass, and as part of the celebration there were tournaments and feasts lasting three days. In connection with the feast, "momeries" are mentioned. Among the first members of the order were Guillaume de Granson (father of Oto de Granson, Chaucer's acquaintance), who was a prominent member of the Count's court, and an English knight, Richard Musard, who was the Count's standard-bearer. In 1366 the Count led a crusade, which had as its final result the freeing of the Eastern Emperor from captivity. On his embarkation from Venice, the

Count, dressed in green silk embroidered with love knots, and accompanied by lords and ladies similarly adorned, marched through the square of St. Mark's to his ships. In 1368 the Green Count met Lionel, Duke of Clarence, at Paris, accompanied the latter to his own capital at Chambéry, entertained him there lavishly for several days, and finally conveyed him to Milan. There he assisted at the marriage of Lionel and Violante, daughter of Galeazzo Visconti and Amedeo's sister. On one occasion Lionel acted as second to Amedeo in a duel. The Count died of the plague in 1383.¹

It is clear that this order does not exactly correspond to the one indicated in *GGK*, but it comes very close. The badge is not a baldric but a collar; otherwise the correspondence is exact. As in *GGK*, the collar contains green and gold and has a pendant; to be sure, the green is enamel, not silk, but we must remember that the description of the collar applies probably to that article as it existed in 1416, and probably at first it was made of some simple substance like silk rather than of gold and enamel. One cannot help connecting the collar with the green ribbons by which the ladies led the knights to the tournament, and those ribbons were of silk. Further, the order was founded in honor of the Virgin, and in this respect fits the conditions of *GGK* better than the Garter does. Finally, it can be shown that the counts of Savoy were accustomed to observe New Year's with feasts. In one case mention is made that the Green Knight went home for the feast at New Year's.²

There are sufficient connections between Savoy and England to make the transmission of the story of *GGK* understandable. As already indicated, Oto de Granson's father was one of the founders. Hence it is possible that the younger Granson, a poet himself, may have brought the story to England when in 1374 he became one of John of Gaunt's retinue.³ Or the story may have been brought to England by one of the knights who attended Lionel on his visit to

¹ The chief authority on the Green Count is *Monumenta Historiae Patriae*, III, col. 269 ff.—a French chronicle dated by the editor about 1416. See also Alethea Wiel, *The Romance of the House of Savoy*, I, 192 ff.; M. Read, *Historical Studies in Vaud*, etc., I, 61; Cibrario, *Ordini cavallereschi*, I; Muratori, *Scriptores*, XVI (see Index); Froissart, ed. cit., VII, 246–47.

² *Monumenta Hist. Patr.*, III, col. 340. For the connection of the pentangle with Savoy, see below, p. 152.

³ *Registers of J. of G.* (Camden Society), p. 300.

Milan. The Duke of Clarence was accompanied by 457 men on this occasion.¹ Perhaps Lionel and some of his followers were made knights of the order; as no records of it for that time have been preserved, we know nothing about the members from the time of the founding to a late period. At any rate, such a theory would account for the complimentary reference to the Duke in the poem. Or, the English knight Musard, or some Englishman later introduced into the order, may have brought the story to England.

For the sketch just given, I do not claim anything except that it is a possibility. If one must refer *GGK* to some particular order, the Order of the Collar meets the conditions better than the Garter does, but that is all. It must be noted that the poem does not certainly refer to an *order*; it may have been written for some such celebration as the two made by the Mortimers which I have mentioned above. A kind of tournament called a Round Table was frequently held in the Middle Ages.² The exact nature of it is not very well known, but possibly a poem may have been composed in connection with such an occasion. As the Mortimers are the only persons, aside from Edward III, who are mentioned in history as having held Round Tables in England, it would be fair to suggest that perhaps *GGK* was written to commemorate some unrecorded Round Table held by a Mortimer. The family had important estates in Wales, and its chief representatives, the earls of March, from 1369 on acted as viceroys of Ireland; hence they were in direct contact with Celtic fields. In 1368, Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, married Philippa, daughter and heiress of Lionel, Duke of Clarence; and his son, Roger, who succeeded him as earl in 1369, was thus the heir of Lionel. Roger was earl until his death in Ireland in 1398. Obviously, if the mention of the Duke of Clarence in the poem is meant as a compliment to someone, the supposition that *GGK* was connected with a Round Table held by the Earl of March would fitly explain the allusion.

Another possibility, which so far as I know has never been suggested, though it must have occurred to many people, is that *GGK*

¹ Rymer, *Foedera* (old edition), VI, 590.

² See L. F. Mott, *PMLA*, XX, 231; Schultz, *op. cit.*, II, 117; Du Cange, *s.v.* *Tabula Rotunda*. Round Tables are mentioned in at least two French romances, *la Comtesse d'Anjou* and *Sone de Nansai*; see Langlois, *la Société française d'après dix romans d'aventure*, pp. 239, 277.

was written not for an order but for a Christmas-New Year's celebration. There is a very special insistence on that season of the year, and the sports and pleasures connected with it, throughout the poem. The writer was greatly interested in that feature of his work and gained some of his most charming effects in the descriptions incident to it. I need hardly dwell upon the description of the gaiety of Arthur's court at Christmas and the exchange of New Year's gifts (ll. 37 ff.). The entrance of the Green Knight, his strange proposition, and its result, all have the curiously fantastic effect of a bit of Christmas mummery. Arthur himself mentions that fact. Though somewhat troubled by the adventure, he says:

Wel by-commes such craft vpon cristmasse,
Laykyng of enterludeȝ, to laze & to syng,
Amoneȝ piȝe kynde caroles of knyȝteȝ & ladyeȝ [ll. 471-73].

Similarly in l. 683 the beheading game is classed among "cryst-masse gomneȝ." Then when Gawain reaches the strange castle, he finds himself in the midst of a holiday celebration. We have several pretty scenes, among them one in which the singing of "coundutes of krystmasse, & caroleȝ newe" is mentioned (l. 1655). After Gawain has survived the test, the Green Knight urges him to return to the castle that they may "reuel pe remnaunt of Pys ryche fest" (l. 2401). It would scarcely be possible to get more of a holiday spirit into a poem than this writer does. Further, it is possible that the long descriptions of the hunts may be motived in this connection. If the poem was written to be read at a Christmas "house-party" in a castle, what would be more fitting than descriptions of midwinter hunting of just the type that some of the guests would have been engaged in? In such a case the green lace may have been merely a device worn temporarily in connection with the festivities.

A further support for this theory is the fact that the connection with Christmas is special to *GGK* (and the *Green Knight*); it does not occur in the *Fled Bricrend*, the *Perlesvaus*, the *Perceval*, or *MSF*.

It would seem possible then that *GGK* was written as a substitute for the ordinary Christmas mummeries, or as a complement to them, on some particular occasion.¹ Because of the dialect in which

¹ That plays were performed at Christmas is well known. Cf. Gayley, *Representative English Comedies*, I, xl, xlii; Nicolas, *History of the Orders of Knighthood*, I, 12 ff., 43 (records of Edward III's time).

GGK is written, and because we do not know that alliterative verse was cultivated at court, it would seem most probable that the celebration for which it was written was held by some great noble rather than the king. As to who that noble was, I see no evidence except the reference to the Duke of Clarence. Though such a title is found in the French romances, it may be meant here as a compliment to Lionel. Unfortunately I know of no household accounts or other detailed records of Lionel or his heirs, the Mortimers.

In any case it seems certain that the poem was written for a Christmas celebration. It should be remarked, however, that it may also be connected with an order which held celebrations at Christmas time.

The final result of this discussion cannot be certainty. It can establish with some firmness the proposition that *GGK* is not a "Garter poem"; but it can offer in exchange merely possibilities. Perhaps some time an investigator may discover some situation which is surely the occasion for which *GGK* was written; perhaps the suggestion with regard to the Order of the Collar is the correct one; but it is quite possible that no information with regard to the order or the occasion for which the poem was written has been preserved. There were many orders and many private devices in the fourteenth century, and information about them is very difficult to get. Note, for example, the impossibility of getting facts, outside of certain poems, as to the orders of the Flower and of the Leaf.¹ Similar badges and devices were extremely common. Richard II's white hart, and the Bohun swan are well known, but many others existed about which we now know little or nothing. For example, Thomas, Baron Berkeley, on his brass of 1392 wears a collar composed of mermaids, about which nothing certain is known; Anne of Bohemia on her tomb in Westminster wears a peculiar knot; the study of a wardrobe account of Richard II (1393-94) suggests that green and white were Richard's livery colors, but they are not recorded as such; on funeral monuments and jewelry of the fourteenth century in England appears an eagle in such a way as to suggest that there was once a military order whose device was an eagle.² It is possible that

¹ See Dr. G. L. Marsh's dissertation. It is barely possible that *GGK* was connected with the Order of the Flower, whose color was green. *then what was the colour of the leaf?*

² C. Boutell, *Heraldry*, p. 298; Mrs. B. Palliser, *Historic Devices*, etc., p. 365; *Archæologia*, LXII, 503; and LXI, 166.

the green baldric of *GGK* was a badge used by some noble or some group of people for a short time, and then entirely forgotten.

There are, therefore, the following possibilities: that *GGK* was connected with the Knights of the Bath, with the Order of the Collar, or with some order not yet pointed out; that the poem was written to celebrate some social occasion, such as a Round Table, or Christmas festivities, and that its device, the green lace, was merely a badge used temporarily; or finally, that the poem was written for an individual patron, whose personal badge was a green baldric.

V. THE PENTANGLE

One of the most curious passages of *GGK* is that in which the pentangle on Gawain's shield is described and explained. It constitutes, in fact, practically the only digression in the poem. Elsewhere scarcely a word is wasted; every incident and every description contribute directly to the effect. But beginning with l. 619, the poet devotes fifty-one lines merely to emphasizing and explaining allegorically the device on Gawain's shield. That this is no real part of his tale, the poet acknowledges:

& quy þe pentangel apendeȝ to þat prynce noble
I am in-tent yow to telle, þof tary hyt me schulde.

We are told then that Gawayne's shield was of gules with a pentangle of gold, and the image of the Virgin upon it. As to the last-mentioned item it is important to observe that the figure of the Virgin is mentioned but once and occupies only three lines out of the fifty-one. It might actually have been inserted by a scribe; at any rate, the poet is not interested in it, for whereas he explains the allegorical allusion of the pentangle and describes the pentangle in detail twice, he mentions the image only once.

The origins of the pentangle are very hard to trace, but the ideas attached to it in the Middle Ages are undoubtedly from two sources—Semitic legend and Greek philosophy. According to talmudic story Solomon was a great magician, and had power over all spirits and devils.¹ His power was vested in a seal ring; when deprived of this by the prince of the devils Ashmedai, he became a wanderer. A

¹ See von Vincenti, *Die A. E. Dialoge von Salomon und Saturn*, pp. 5 ff., and the articles in the bibliography there, pp. ix ff., especially Eisenmenger and Weil. See also Salzberger, *Die Salomo Saga*.

similar story appears in the Koran, and there we are told that the ring derived its power from the unutterable name of God which was cut upon it. Solomon presses this seal upon the neck of evil spirits in making them his slaves. In 1137 Petrus Diaconus stated that the ring was to be seen in the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. At some time later than the composition of the Talmud and the Koran, developed the idea that Solomon's seal bore a six-pointed star made of two interlaced triangles.¹ The Arabs are said to have engraved this figure on the bottom of their drinking-cups.² The same device developed among the Jews under the name of David's shield,³ appearing in literary sources first in the twelfth century. In recent times it has been adopted by various Jewish societies and is now widely used as a symbol of Judaism.

In the Middle Ages this device and the name "Solomon's seal" became confused with the pentangle (pentacle, pentalpha, pentagramma), a five-pointed star with the lines of construction retained. This sign seems to have derived its mystic significance from the facts that it can be made by one continuous movement of the pen, that it is composed of three triangles, and that it has five points. At any rate it was used by the Pythagoreans as a symbol of health.⁴ They may also have regarded it as a symbol of truth, and as a protection against evil.⁵ It appears on certain coins of Pitane in place of Hygeia, is on at least one Etruscan coin, and is to be found on coins in Gaul.⁶ It was also used as a symbol by the Gnostics and appears on Abraxas stones, which were in effect amulets.⁷ Perhaps as early

¹ Renaud, *Description des monuments musulmans du cabinet du Duc de Blacas*, Paris, II, 52.

² *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Solomon's Seal."

³ *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v., "Magen Dawid"; also Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphicus*, pp. 1007 ff.

⁴ See Pauly, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. "Pentagon"; Fowler's translation of Lucian, II, 6.

⁵ See S. Günther, *Bull. di bibliogr. e delle scienze matem.*, VI, 313 ff., where evidence of the use of the pentagram among the Pythagoreans is given—in particular a quotation from a scholiast on Aristophanes, and a story of a Pythagorean who when told of the death of someone made the sign of the pentagram; see also Günther, *Vermischte Beiträge z. Gesch. des Math.*, 1876, p. 2. Even before this it is found on amulets. Cf. West-sely, *Neue Zauberpapyri*, pp. 68, 70 and note.

⁶ Pauly, *loc. cit.*; MacDonald, *Greek Coins in Hunterian Collection*, Vols. I and II; Inman, *Ancient Pagan and Modern Christian Symbolism*, p. 40.

⁷ For full discussion and bibliography see Pauly, *loc. cit.*; Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie, etc.*

as this it had become connected with Solomon; at any rate its power as an amulet would suggest such a possibility. That it was connected with Solomon in the Middle Ages is demonstrated by many circumstances. In particular there is a work extant in Latin, German, and French, generally called *Claviculae Salomonis*, which treats of "all kinds of pentacles."¹ Albertus Magnus seems to have known of this work, for he mentions four books of magic said to be by Solomon, and in connection with them a "sigillum ad demoniacos."² A work called *Enchiridion Leonis Papae*, which Albertus also mentions, is said to give the name "pentacle" to a seal pressed on parchment or engraved on precious metal.³ Tritheimius also mentions the *Clavicula Salomonis* and a *Liber pentaculorum*.⁴ In all these cases the pentangle seems to be connected with magic. So it is also in later examples. Schindler quotes a long passage from Agrippa of Nettesheim (1533) in which its uses are explained and its powers against evil spirits and enemies emphasized.⁵ Alstedius (1620) knew it under the name of *Trudenfuss*, and Kepler (1619) reports that Paracelsus knew the *stella pentagonica* or *pes trutta*. The name *Trudenfuss* implies, as will be obvious later, that the device was in use as a protection against evil spirits.⁶

How early the pentangle became connected with Christianity is by no means clear. It appears in the Cimitero di Pretestato at Rome with two other signs, and of the three De Rossi says: "Questi sono segni arcani di Cristo e della sua croce salutifera."⁷ It is likewise thought to be connected with certain old Christian phylacteria,⁸ but of course in such isolated cases it may be merely a remnant of

¹ *Jewish Enc.*, s.v. "Magen Dawid," and "Solomon's Seal"; Fabricius, *op. cit.*, p. 1051; Madden, *Sir Gawayne*, p. 318. The Hebrew form of it has been published recently by the Oxford Press under the title *Maseah Shelomo*, ed. H. Gollancz. My friend Dr. T. A. Knott has examined for me an English manuscript of the seventeenth century (Sloan 3825 Plut. CIII. F.), which contains some seventy-two designs used in conjuring spirits. Among them is the "Pentagonall ffligure of Solomon," a pentangle inscribed in a circle, with the mystic word "Tetragrammaton," and other signs and words on it. The figure is to be worn on the breast to preserve the wearer from danger.

² *Opera Omnia*, ed. Borgnet, X, 641-42.

³ *Nouveau Larousse*, s.v. "Pentacle."

⁴ Fabricius, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Schindler, *Aberglaube des Mittelalters*, p. 124. See also Scot, *Disc. of Witch.*, Ap. II, pp. 533-34.

⁶ Chasles, *Aperçu historique*, pp. 478 ff.

⁷ *Roma sotterranea cristiana*, I, 171.

⁸ J. C. Luzi, *Röm. Quartalschr. f. Christl. Alterthumsk.*, I, 208.

heathendom. By the fifteenth century it was certainly Christian, because it was used then on the seal of the Carmelite Priory of Aberdeen and in the external spaces around it appear the five letters *M A R I A*.¹ In 1630 Alstedius says that the pentangle was written by superstitious people with the five letters of the name *Iesus* distributed about the five points.² Bishop Kennett says that "when it was delineated on the body of a man, it was supposed to touch and point out the five wounds of Christ."³ Various modern writers state that the pentangle symbolized the five wounds of Christ, but I have been unable to find definite evidence of this in mediaeval sources.⁴ Two modern German writers state that the pentangle is a symbol of truth, but they give no evidence for this, and I have been unable to find any.⁵

In modern folklore the pentangle still retains its old value as a protection against evil influences. Under the names *Drudenfuss* (or *Trudenfuss*) and *Alpenfuss* it is widely known in Germany. It is drawn on doors to keep witches away, painted on cradles to prevent the *schlenz* from sucking the babies dry, put on the under side of loaves of bread before they are cut, etc.⁶ The figure is popularly supposed to represent the imprint of a witch's foot. From the Germans, apparently, this superstition has spread to the Slavs of Croatia.⁷ The pentangle is stamped on pottery in modern Greece,⁸ and under the name of Solomon's seal is a favorite amulet against fascination in Portugal and Madeira.⁹ Finally, it was formerly in use in Wales much as it is still in Germany.¹⁰

¹ W. de Gray Birch, *Seals*, p. 227; D. Laing, *Ancient Scottish Seals*, p. 193.

² Günther, *Bullet. di bibliogr. e delle scienze matem.*, VI, 331.

³ Lean, *Collectanea*, II, 427.

⁴ Schindler, *loc. cit.*; Mackay and Singleton, *History of Free Masonry*, II, 800. It occurs as a Mason's mark in Furness Abbey, Malmesbury, and many other places; see *Archaeologia*, XXX, p. 114.

⁵ Creutzer, *Symbolik u. Mythologie*, Part 6, p. 221; Ersch-Grüber, *Encyclopädie*, s.v. "Alfenfuss." F. Krauss, in *Anthropophyenia*, VII, 293-94, gives a phallic origin for the device. He refers to two works on masonry not accessible to me.

⁶ Meyer, *Germanische Mythologie*, pp. 78, 79. Meyer thinks this use has developed since the seventeenth century, but see evidence above. Cf. Grimm, *Mythology*, Eng. trans., pp. 1803, 1810; Ersch-Grüber, *Enc.*, under "Alpenfuss" and "Druden"; Schindler, *loc. cit.* Note its force in Goethe's *Faust*. See Paul's *Grd.*,² III, 268.

⁷ Krauss, *Slavische Volk-Forschungen*, p. 148.

⁸ Lawson, *Modern Greek Folk Lore*, pp. 113, 406.

⁹ *Folk Lore*, XIX, pp. 217, 219, 220.

¹⁰ Marie Trevelyan, *Folk Lore and Folk Stories of Wales*, p. 234.

I have been unable to find anything about the use of this symbol in England, except the references to it in such learned authors as Ben Jonson, Reginald Scot, and Sir Thomas Browne,¹ and its use in magic. The British Museum possesses a wax dish which once belonged to Dr. Dee. On it are inscribed first a heptagon, within that a seven-pointed star with the lines of construction retained, within that, a hexagon, and finally inside the latter a pentangle.² The discussions of the figure in the writings of Athelard of Bath and Thomas Bradwardine seem to be entirely on the geometry of it.³ The word "pantacle," however, occurs in the sixteenth-century English play *Damon and Pythias* with the meaning of "hand," a fact which speaks for its existence in common speech.⁴

It is clear then that from very early times the pentangle has been connected with Solomon, that it was widely known as a protection against evil forces, that it was probably a symbol of truth and of the five wounds of Christ.

Now, what is the meaning of the pentangle in *GGK*? Two writers have discussed the use of it there and have offered theories as to its meaning: Miss Weston in her *Legend of Sir Perceval* and Mr. Isaac Jackson in the article in *Anglia* already referred to. The pertinent passages from Miss Weston's book are as follows: "But now the hardest remains; he [Gawayne] must weld his sword, his Will power, and consciousness, to its hilt, the Pentangle, the mystic sign which gives power over the Unseen, so that, *holding his consciousness*, he may pass on to the highest plane, behold the Mystic 'Holy' Grail.'" "One thing, however, seems certain; Gawain must at a later period have fulfilled the conditions [for winning the Grail], for he bears the invincible sign, the Pentangle."⁵ Of course it is true that the pentangle "gives power over the Unseen." But as to the particular application of it which Miss Weston makes, I can see no proof: certainly there is nothing in the facts pointed out above

¹ See *NED*.

² See *Guide to the Mediaeval Room*, pp. 187-88.

³ Referred to in *Enc. Brit.*, XXII, 25. So also the discussions by Boethius and Kepler have nothing to do with its symbolic character. See Fazzari, *Breve storia della matematica*, pp. 223 ff., 243 ff.; Günther, *Bullet. di bibliogr. e delle scienze matem.*, VI, 313 ff.

⁴ Farmer's edition, p. 51. Farmer thinks it is a mistake for "pantofle."

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, II, 262-64.

concerning the pentangle which indicates that it was a sign of having "fulfilled the conditions." The inevitable comment on this discussion was made by Professor Ker in his review of Miss Weston's book:

The parts of it most open to challenge are those that would explain the Grail by means of occult science which the author herself does not profess to understand and with regard to which she has given no proofs. . . . She refers to oral tradition among occultists, "but no one will give me documentary evidence." "The fact, however, that a mystic . . . can . . . offer an explanation of the perplexing title, the Fisher King . . . is in itself matter for serious consideration" (p. 258). It may be so; but how is one to proceed with the consideration, if one does not know any occultists, and "no one will give me any documentary evidence"?¹

Mr. Jackson compares Gawain's shield in *GGK* with Arthur's arms in *Morte Arthure*.

Instead of the five golden crowns of the Morte Arthur banner Gawain has a golden pentangle. The poet proceeds very gravely to inform us that the pentangle was invented by Solomon as a token of truth—l. 625 f.—and the English call it "the endless knot" (l. 630).²

After discussing a few of its uses, Mr. Jackson continues:

Heraldic works of reference do not speak of a pentangle,³ yet a mullet, or spur-rowel, is practically a pentangle represented as a solid body. Moreover a mullet is one of the marks of cadency, that is, a sign used by sons or relatives to distinguish their arms from the paternal coat (Chambers' Encyclopedia, art. Heraldry); so that if King Arthur carries the Virgin on a gules field his nephew Gawain might very well carry the same arms with a golden mullet for difference. . . . The figure of the Virgin on Gawain's shield reminds us that the order of the Garter was founded in her honour.⁴ . . . The poem, then, may be taken as speaking very plainly to a XIVth century knight of its connection with the order of the Garter, and of the Black Prince as Sir Gawain.⁵

Dismissing for a moment the earlier part of Mr. Jackson's remarks, the reader should notice that last statement. What proof

¹ *Folk Lore*, XX, 502–3.

² Just what Mr. Jackson means by the phrasing of the first part of this sentence, I do not know. The poet is, of course, entirely right—according to mediaeval tradition Solomon did invent the pentangle.

³ Incorrect; see T. de Renesse, *Dictionnaire des figures héraldiques*, VII, 208, for a page of names of families which bore a pentangle on their shields. It does not seem to have been used in England.

⁴ This is of course unconvincing. Nearly all societies and orders in the Middle Ages were connected with the Virgin. In the case of the Order of the Garter, St. George is more emphasized than the Virgin.

⁵ *Anglia*, XXXVII, 410 ff.

does the pentangle afford of connection between *GGK* and the Order of the Garter? Simply the fact that the Virgin's picture is on the shield. What about the Black Prince as Sir Gawain? The pentangle offers nothing in favor of that supposition at all. In fact, if the pentangle is a mullet, and the mullet here indicates cadency, it would be especially inappropriate to the Black Prince, who was an eldest son. A more complete *non sequitur* than Mr. Jackson's conclusion could scarcely be found.

As to Mr. Jackson's interpretation of the pentangle in general, it is of course possible that the pentangle is merely a figurative way of describing a mullet. The mullet is a sign of cadency, particularly used of the third son.¹ Gawain is not a son of Arthur's, but possibly in a less exact heraldic system than the present he might, as nephew, be treated as a younger son.² It should be noticed, however, that the *Morte Arthure* gives Gawain an entirely different device—a griffon (l. 3869). What right have we to leave that out of consideration?

Further, certain features of the description stand against such a view. In the first place, where are the golden crowns of Arthur's arms? In the second place, what the poet says of the device is true of the pentangle and not of the mullet; the pentangle is connected with Solomon, it probably did symbolize truth, the five wounds of Christ, the five senses,³ and was in some way associated with the Virgin;⁴ and in his explanation of the form the poet seems to have in mind a pentangle. In the third place, the particular poet who composed the recension of the story as we have it in *GGK* did not understand that the more important figure in the shield was the image of Mary and not the mullet, for he devotes nearly all his attention to the latter. I am not particularly interested in proving that Mr. Jackson's interpretation is incorrect; I do not know any certainly correct interpretation; but I cannot overlook the difficulties of this view. It may be right, but it is by no means certainly so.

Another possibility is that we should understand the pentangle as a mullet, but not as a mark of cadency. Instead, it may be, as

¹ *NED*, s.v. "Mullet." So also all works on heraldry.

² On the importance of the relation of "sister's son" see Nitze, *Mod. Phil.*, IX, 298 ff. and references in note on p. 299.

³ This last connection is stated by Scot, *Disc. of Witch.*, Ap. II., 533–34.

⁴ Cf. the seal of the priory of Aberdeen, above, p. 148.

the author seems to conceive it, the only important figure on the shield. The figure occurs independently (not as a mark of cadency) on a few English coats of arms and on many Scottish shields. But it never occurs alone in the coloring of the Gawain poet on the arms of an important person. The nearest approaches are: in England, the famous arms of Vere, quarterly gules and or, a mullet argent in the first quarter; and in Scotland, Sutherland, gules, *three* mullets or. The arms of the Sutherlands are said to be derived in some way from a device used by Robert Bruce, whose daughter married an Earl of Sutherland.¹ The proper arms of the Bruces display a saltire and no mullet. But the arms of Robert Bruce, grandson of the great Robert, show a gold mullet on a red ground in addition to the saltire,² and on a copper plate belonging to the coffin of King Robert are four mullets about a cross.³ Perhaps he used the mullet as a badge.

There is still another possibility of heraldic interpretation: the description may refer to a pentangle actually worn as a device. So far as I have been able to discover, the pentangle has never been so used in England, but it does occur on the Continent. According to Rietstap, two families bore gules, a pentalpha or: a German family named Stahler, and a Swiss, named Bory d'Arnex. About the first I have been able to find nothing. The second, however, presents some curious facts. Since the beginning of the fifteenth century it has occupied estates in the Pays de Vaud, which were dependencies of the dukes of Savoy. Though it cannot be traced before the fifteenth century, the family may have extended back into the fourteenth century, or it may have acquired its arms from some other family resident in the domains of the counts of Savoy. At any rate, there is a connection between Savoy and the pentangle in the very colors stated by the poet of *GGK*.⁴

¹ Paul, *Scots Peerage*, VIII, 365.

² *American Historical Magazine*, II, 527.

³ Drummond, *Histories of Noble British Families*, I.

⁴ Rietstap, *Armorial général*, Supplément, V, app., p. 3. It may be pertinent to remark that, though instances of the use of heraldry like that in *GGK* abound in the English metrical romances, they do not seem to be used as references to actual people. I have spent a great deal of time trying to identify the descriptions of figures in *Morte Arthure*, the *Awnters of Arthur*, and other alliterative romances, with English coats of arms, but have been able to find no sure case of such identification. Of course a slight alteration in coloring or an addition to the figures or omission of part of those on any

It is possible, on the other hand, that the pentangle here has no heraldic significance. It will be remembered that its earliest, most persistent meaning is that of an amulet, a protection against evil spirits, and it may have that significance here. From the conduct of the Green Knight, his appearance, and his recovery from the beheading, it would be clear enough to the people of the court that Gawayne had to deal with some maleficent force,¹ and they may have had this device painted on his shield because it was a well-known and powerful charm against evil forces. Heraldry is said to have originated from the use of a device on a shield to protect the warrior from the evil eye.² In the *Perlesvaus*, relics in Perceval's shield on one occasion caused a devil to leap out of a dragon's head on his opponent's shield. According to early Irish stories, in battles devils screamed from the weapons of men, and hence it would be natural to think of some device to exorcise them. As a matter of fact we learn that "charms are preserved in swords" in Irish stories, and that relics were preserved in the hilts of swords (obviously for the same purpose) in French romances.³ The pentangle then may have been meant as a protection to Gawain against the Green Knight or against evil spirits connected with the latter.

If this explanation is accepted, it may be asked, why did the poet explain the device as a symbol of truth rather than a protection against devils? Various reasons might be conceived, but the most natural one is that the poet regarded the charm-properties of the device as so obvious that it would be stupid to recount them, and so, expecting the reader to see at once the fundamental meaning, gave the secondary interpretations. The poet knew that Solomon was

given shield would make a device corresponding to a historic coat-of-arms. But such treatment would be entirely too arbitrary: one could get any results one pleased by such methods. Connections like those made by Mr. George Neilson in his *Huchown of the Awle Ryale*, pp. 134 ff., could be made with almost any shield described in the romances. Only practical identity of description with actual shield would be convincing, and such identity the romance poets seem to have avoided.

¹ In l. 681 the Green Knight is called an "aluisch mon," and in ll. 240, 2191 ff., and 2283-84 it is indicated that people realized that he was not exactly human. Frazer (*Golden Bough: Balder*, I, 185 ff.) gives an account of a Norman festival in which pretense is made of throwing a man clad in green and called the "Green Wolf" into a fire. Evidently he was regarded as a demon.

² Elworthy, *The Evil Eye*, p. 179.

³ Leahy, *Heroic Romances of Ireland*, I, 57, 126, 143; "The Second Battle of Moytura," Rev. Celt., XII, 107; *Chanson de Roland*, ll. 2344, 2503 (see Gautier's ed., II, 117-18).

connected with it, and he knew that it symbolized the five wounds of Christ—both sources of power against evil forces. According to this interpretation, the colors of the shield would have no meaning: any visualizing poet would apply some heraldic colors to his description of a heraldic device.

Whether this explanation is correct or not, I do not think the pentangle has any great importance for the understanding of the fundamental story of *GGK*. The device is not, so far as I have been able to discover, used by the Celts, and it certainly does not figure in extant Celtic stories. It was most probably added by some late redactor, possibly as a reference to some person, possibly as a mere literary embellishment. !

Whatever opinion the reader may have as to the validity of the more minute details of this discussion, it seems to me that the study establishes the following points: (1) *GGK* was not compiled from two stories, but is a transformation of a single primitive tale; and (2) *GGK* was not connected with the Order of the Garter, and any relation which is made between the poem and an order or occasion must account for the green baldric and the emphasis on the Christmas holidays.¹ !

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¹ This article was in page-proof before the publication of Professor Kittredge's *A Study of Gawain and the Green Knight*.

LAEGAIRE MAC CRIMTHANN'S VISIT TO FAIRYLAND

The following tale is found in the twelfth-century *Book of Leinster* [LL.] (*Facsimile*, p. 275, b, 22—p. 276, b, 25) and in the fifteenth-century *Book of Lismore* (167, r., a, 24—167, v., a, 32). Text and translation of the Lismore manuscript, which omits the verse, are given by S. H. O'Grady in *Silva Gadelica* (London and Edinburgh, 1892, I, 256 f.; II, 290 f.). Most of the verse has been translated by Kuno Meyer in the *Voyage of Bran* (London, 1895, I, 180 ff.) and in his *Selections from Ancient Irish Poetry* (2d ed., London, 1913, p. 19). In the English rendering of the LL. version here offered, I have, wherever possible, followed the translations of Dr. Meyer, to whom I am also indebted for personal assistance. In translating the prose I have derived much help from the valuable, though inaccurate, rendering of the Lismore text given by O'Grady. Owing to the large number of errors in O'Grady's transcription, I reprint the Lismore version, which I was able to consult in 1912 through the courtesy of the Duke of Devonshire's agent at Lismore Castle. Summaries of the tale are given by Nutt (*Voyage of Bran*, I, 180 ff.) and by A. C. L. Brown ([Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII [1903], 40, n. 2). The student of folk-lore will be interested in the story as an early example of the fairy world under water—a feature common in later Celtic popular literature (cf. this journal, XII [1915], 603, nn. 2 and 3).

BOOK OF LEINSTER

(*Text*)

Batar Connachta fecht and i n-dáil oc Énloch for Mag Af. Cremthand Cass iss é bá rí Connacht in tan sin. Ansait inan dál in aidchi sin. Otrach-tatar matin moch arnabarach conaccatar in fer chueu triasin ciaig. Bratt corera coiediabulta imbi. Da shleig coscrinni in a lafm. Sciath co m-buali oír fair. Claideb orduirn for a chriss. A moñg órbuide dar a aiss. "Tábraid fáilti dond fhír dothét chucaib," or Laegaire Líban mac Crimthand. Mac-saide is aínem robói la Connachta, in Laegaire. "Fochen don laech nadathgenamar," or Laegaire. "Is bude lim," or se. "Cid immótracht?" or Laegaire. "Do chungid sochraide," or se. "Can duit?" or Laegaire. "Do fheruib side dam. Fiachna mac Retach m'ainm-se. Mo ben iarum

rucad uaim .i. rofuc Eochaid mac Safl. Dorochair-side lim-sa i rróí chátha, condeochaid co mae brathar dó .i. co Goll mac n'Duilib, rí duin Maige Mell. Doratusa secht catha doside, 7 romemdataar form uile. Forruacrad iarum cath lind indiu. Do chungid chobartha iarum dodechadsa." IS and asbert:

"Aildiu maigib, Mag da Cheo,
imma luadet linni cró.
Cath fer side lán do gail,
ni céan dishiu inid fail.

"Tindsamar fuil fichda fland
a corporaib segda sóerchland.
For a collaib ferait brón
bantróchtaid dían derach dímór.

"Cet orggain cathrach da chorr,
imma rabe tóeban toll.
Dorochair co cind fri cath,
Eochaid mac Sáil sreachtach.

"Trén ronbagi Aed mac Find
in n-irgail n-uallaig n-adrind.
Goll mac Duilib, Dond mac Nera,
ronbagi mór caemchenna.

"Maithi m'eich, áilli mo mná.
me fadéin ni hed namma,
Urrand argait 7 óir.
teit lim cach duine dian áil.¹A.

"Findne gela [i]na lláim,
eo comarthaib argait báin,
Co claidbib glanaib glassaib,
cornaib cruachaib comrasaib.

"Co comarlib in chatha
ar beluib a find[f]latha
Ceñgait dar gáo glassa
buidni bana bar[r]chassa.

"Crot[h]ait irgala ecrat,
orcit cech tir fo-n-uapret.
Cáin ceñgait uili don chath,
sluag dian deligthe diglach.

"Deithbir dóib cid mor am bríg;
at meic² rigna 7 ríg.
Fil for a cennaib uile
monga sílle órbuide.

¹ As Meyer observes, the bad rhyme between óir and áil indicates that the stanza is corrupt. The letter A shows that the first of the two poems which are here pieced together ends at this point. The last poem also consists of two fragments, the first ending at the letter A.

² Leg. maic.

“Co corporaib mfnib massaib,
roscaib rélib rindglassaib,
fiaclaib glain[id]ib glanaib,
belaib dergaib tanaidib.

“It maithe fri guin [n-]duine,
binne fri uáir cormhighe.
Sech it suithe for rannaib,
iddera¹ for fidchellaib.” findne.

Lasin imsói úadib. “Mebol dtib,” or Laegaire, “cen chobraid ind fhír.” Fonópairside .l. láech ina diaid. Gaibidside remib fon loch. Gabaitseom dano ina diaid. Conaccatar an dúnad ar a cind 7 in cath in agid araile. Esseom rempo corrancie an dúnad .i. Fiachra (*sic!*) mac Retach. Condranccatar i suidiu na da chath. “Maith, a Fhiachnai,” or Loegaire, “condricub-sa frisin toeseach anall .l. laech.” “Roticub-sa immoro,” or Goll mac Duilb. ImMostuarcat andfb coicdaib cotulaid Loegaire ass a choicait im bethaid iar tuitim Guill con a choecait. Maidid in cath remib iarsin coralad a n-ár. “Caft i tá in ben ??” or Laegaire. “Atá in dún Maige Mell,” ol Fiachna, “7 leth in t-shluaig impe.” “Anaid sund condarisa mo chóicait,” or Laegaire. Luid iarum Loegaire corrancie an dún. Robas immoro oc gabál in dúine. “Bid bee torbai,” or Laegaire. “Dorochair far rf 7 dorochratar far cím. Lecid in mnai immach 7 tabar slan dúb taris.” Dogníther on, 7 is and asbert si oc tuidecht immach .i. osnad ingen Echach Amlabair:

“Nip inmain lá negtar fuidb
fobfth corpáin Guill maic Duilb,
Nech rocharusa, romchar!
ni sceol Laegaire Liban!

“Ba mellchu lim dul [don] dáil,
iñgnais Echada maic Sáil.
Meti ni badam béo
d'iñgnais rig Maige da Cheo.

“Iarsain carvor Goll mac Duilb,
lastgontais, [las] scáiltis fuidb.
Fo reir nDÉ tiagsa immach
dochum Fiachnai maic Retach.”

Luid Loegaire iarsin cotarat a laím i llaím Fhiachna, 7 foid ra Loegaire ind adaig sin .i. Dérgreine ingen Fhiachna, 7 dobreth .l. ban dá choicait laech. Anait leo co cend mh bliadna. “Tiagam do fhís scél ar tiri,” or Laegaire. “Dia tisaid aridisí,” or Fiachna, “berid eochu lib, 7 na tarlinigid dib.” Dogníther ón. Tiagait corrancatar an óinach. Connachta andsin bliadan lán oc a chaínisium.² Condafairnechtar in oendáil ar a chind.³

¹ Meyer suggests a possible connection between the obscure *iddera* and *fithir*, which O'Reilly translates “a doctor, teacher.”

² Leg. cafnisium(?)

³ Leg. cind(?)

Rolingset Connachta do fhailti friu. "Na táet," or Loegaire. "Do chele-brad dís dodechamar." "Nachamfhácaib," or Crimthand. "Rige teora Connacht duit: a n-ór 7 a n-argat, a n-eich 7 a seirn 7 a mna coema dot réir, 7 nachanfácaib." Conid and asbert Loegaire:

"Amra sin, a Chrimthain Chaiss,
carma imthecht da cech *frais!*
Immáin catha cét mflé,
techt arrige irrigé.

"Ceol soer sirectach side,
techt arrige irrigé,
Ól a¹ stábaib glana,
acallaim neich nocara.

"Mescmai fairind oír buide
for fidchellaib findruine.
Donfairic ól meda mind
la fíanlaech n-uabrech n-imrind.

"IS í mo ben-sa féine,
ingen Fhiachna, Dergreine.
Iarsain connécus-[sa] duit
ben cech oenfhír dom choicait.

"Tuesam a dún Maige Mell
trichait core, *trichait* cornd.
Tuesam osnайд canair² muir,
ingin Echach Amlabair.A.

"Amra sin, a Chrimthain Chais,
ba-sa fiada claidib glais.
Oín-adaig do aidchib³ side,
ni thibér ar do rige."

IArsin rosóí uadib is a síd doridise, *conidfil* i llethríge int shída fri Fiachna mac Retach .i. in dún Maige Mell, 7 ingen Fhiachnai inna fharrad.

BOOK OF LISMORE

(Text)

Batur Condachta fecht ann an dáil oc Enloch for Maigh Ai. Crimthand Cass ba ri Connacht in tan sin. Ansat in aigthe sin isin dail. Atrachtatar matun mhoch arnamharach cunfhactatar an fer chuca triasin ciaich. Brat

¹ Meyer would read a[sa], "out of their," to make up the requisite number of syllables.

² As Meyer suggests, *canair* appears to be miswritten for *canas*.

³ Meyer emends to *d'aidchib*.

corera coiediabuile imbe. Dá shleig coicrinn 'na laímh. Sciath co m-buaili oir fair. Claidhiumh ordhuirn for a cris. Mong órbhuidhi dar a ais. "Tabh-raidh failte don fhír dothoet chucaib," for Laeghaire Líbhán mac Crimhthainn. Mac seide is afnemh bui la Connachta. "Focen don loech ná ataithghenmar," ol Laoghaire. "Is buidhe lem," ol se. "Cidh ima tudhchad?" ol Laeghaire. "Do chungidh shochraiti," ol se. "Can duit?" or Loegaire. "Do fheruibh sithe dam," or se. "Fiachna mac Retach mo ainm. Mo ben rorfucadh dom chinn i. rosfuc Eochaid mac Sail. Dorochairsidhe limsa a-raei catha. Condechaid side co mac brathar dhó i. cu Goll mac Duilb, rí duine Muige Meall. Doraduisa vii catha dho 7 romeabhutar form uile. Forfuacrach cath linn inniu, 7 do chuingidh chabhurtha dodheochadair 7 dober uarrann argait 7 uirann oir da gach aoinfher diand ail do chinn techta lem." Lasodhuin imsoi uadhaibh. "IS meabhal duibh" or Loeguire, "cen cabhuir ind fhír ut." Forfhuabuirside coecat loech 'na dhiaigh. Gabh-aidhsidhe reimheibh fon loch. Gabhaisiumh dono 'na dhaighh. Atconnacatar in dunad ar a cind 7 in cath aghaidh i n-aighaidh. Teitsiumh rempa corainic a dunad i. Fiachna mac Retach. Confhacatar na da *chath* i suidhe. "Maith tra," or Loeghaire, "condricabsa frisin toisiuch anall coecat loech." "Rottincubhsa," ar Goll mac Duilb. Imustuaircet andibh coecdaiibh. Doluidh Loegaire ais im bethaid con a coecat iar toitim Ghuill con a coecat ime. Maidhidh in cath reimibh iarsin cu raladh a n-ár. "Cait i ta in ben?" or Laoghaire. "Ata in dunad Muighi Meall," or Fiachna, "7 in t-slaig immpe." "Anaidh sund contarossa 7 mo l.," ol Loeghaire. Luid Laoghaire iarum co dunad Mhuige Meall. Robas immoro oc gabhail in dúine. "Bid bec tarbha," or Laegaire. "Dorochuir bhar rí 7 dorochratar bar coeimh. Lecid in mnai immach 7 tabar slan duib thairis." Dognither on. Is ann isbert oc (?) tuidecht imach i. osnadh ingin Echach Amlabair. Luidh Loegaire iarsin cutard a laimh i llaim Fhiachnai, 7 ro-foidhedh re Laegaire in aighthe sin i. Dergreine, ingen Fiachna, ocus [tuc]ath (?) coecait ban da coecat laech, occus anaid leo co eenn m-bliadna. "Tighuimne do fhios scél ar tfe," oul¹ Loegaire. "Dia tisaidh doridisi," uol Fiachna,² "beridh eocha lib 7 na turlingidh dhíb." Dognither on. Tiaghait currancatar int aenach. Batar Connachta andsin oc cainedh in fhiallaig remraitte i cind na bliadna. Condásairnechtar ar a chind.³ Rolingset Connachta do fhailte friu. "Na toeit," or Laegaire. "Do cheileabhradh duibh dodhechamar." "Nachamfacoibh," ar Crimthann. "Rígiú teora Connacht duit: a n-or 7 a n-arcat, a n-eich 7 a seirn 7 a mna coemai dot rejir, 7 nachamfacaibh." Iarsin rosói uadhbh isin sith doridisi, condofil i lethrígí int shídha fri Fiachna mac Retach, 7 ingen Fiachna 'na fhairad, 7 ni thainic as fos. Finit.

¹ On the margin is written "ar tire oul."

² On the margin is written "doridisi oul."

³ Leg. cind (?).

BOOK OF LEINSTER

(Translation)

Once upon a time the men of Connaught were in assembly at Bird Lake upon the plain of Ai. At that time Crimthann Cass was king of Connaught. That night they remained assembled. When they arose next morning, they saw a man coming toward them through the mist: a purple five-folded mantle about him, two five-barbed spears in his hand, a shield with a boss of gold upon him, a gold-hilted sword at his belt, and a golden-yellow mane behind him. "Give welcome to the man who comes to you!" said Laegaire Liban son of Crimthann. The noblest youth among the men of Connaught was Laegaire. "Welcome to the warrior whom we have not known," said Laegaire. "Thanks!" said he. "Wherefore hast thou come?" said Laegaire. "To seek for a band of men," he replied. "Whence art thou?" said Laegaire. "Of the men of the fairy-mound am I," he answered. "Fiachna son of Retu is my name. My wife, moreover, has been taken from me; i.e., Eochaid son of Sal took her. He fell by me on the field of battle. She has gone to a brother's son of his; i.e., to Goll son of Dolb, king of the fort of Mag Mell.¹ I have given him seven battles and they have all gone against me. Moreover, a battle has been declared by us for to-day. To seek help, therefore, have I come." Then he said:

"Most delightful of plains is the Plain of Two Mists,
On which stir up pools of blood
A battalion of fairy men full of valor.
Not far hence is where it is.

"We drew foaming dark-red blood
From stately bodies of nobles.
Upon their corpses pour out grief
An eager, tearful, countless band of women.

"The first slaughter of the city of Dá Chorr,
Near (lit., around) which was a beloved pierced side
(i.e., body):
He with his head to the battle fell,
Eochaid son of Sal, the wistful.

"Stoutly boasted Aed son of Find
Of the proud spear-attacking(?) battalion,—
Goll son of Dolb, Dond son of Nera,—
Boasted of many noble-headed ones (or 'noble chiefs'?).

"Good are my steeds, delightful are my women.
As for myself, not that only,—
Abundance of silver and gold.
With me goes each swift man who likes.

¹ One of the names for the fairy world of the ancient Irish.

"White shields (they carry) in their hands,
 With devices of pale silver,
 With glittering blue swords,
 With big stout horns.

"In well-devised fashion the hosts
 Before their fair chieftain
 March amid blue spears,
 White curly-haired bands.

"They scatter the battalions of the foe,
 They ravage every land which they attack;
 Splendidly they all march to combat,
 An impetuous, distinguished, avenging host!

"No wonder though their strength be great;
 Sons of kings and queens are they.
 On all their heads are
 Beautiful golden-yellow manes.

"With smooth stately bodies,
 With bright star-blue eyes,
 With pure crystal teeth,
 With thin red lips.

"Good are they at slaying men,
 Sweet at the hour of the ale-house (?)¹
 Apart from being masters in verse-making,
 They are skilled at playing *fidchell*."²

Thereupon he turns from them. "Shame upon you," said Laegaire, "if you do not help the man." Fifty warriors betook themselves after him. He goes before them under the lake; then they follow him. They saw a fort before them, and a battalion face to face with them. He (i.e., Fiachna son of Retu) went ahead of them until he reached the fort. In it they came upon two battalions. "Well, oh Fiachna," said Laegaire, "I will make an attack upon the chief from the other side [with] fifty warriors." "I on my part will answer (lit., reach) thee," said Goll, son of Dolb. In their two fifties they smote each other until Laegaire came out of his fifty alive after the fall of Goll with his fifty. Then the battle breaks before them so that there resulted a slaughter of Goll's band. "Where is the woman?" said Laegaire. "She is in the fort of Mag Mell," said Fiachna, "and half the host around her." "Remain ye here till I reach her [with] my fifty," said Laegaire. Thereupon Laegaire went until he arrived at the fort. Moreover they were a-taking the fortress. "Little will be your

¹ This conjectural rendering I owe to Dr. Meyer, who in his *Voyage of Bran* (I, 181) translates the line: "At all times melodious are they." In *Ancient Irish Poetry* (p. 19) he gives it: "Melodious in the alehouse."

² A game apparently resembling chess.

profit [from resistance]," said Laegaire. "Your king has been slain; your nobles have fallen. Let the woman forth, and safety is granted you thereupon." It is so done, and on coming forth she uttered [the following]: to wit, the plaint of the daughter of Eochaid the Mute:

"Hateful the day on which weapons are washed¹
For the sake of the dear dead body of Goll son of Dolb,
One whom I loved, who loved me!
Laegaire Liban—little he cares!

"It was very pleasant to me to go to the gathering
In the company of Eochaid son of Sal.
Feign would I not be alive (?)
Because of the absence of the king of the Plain of Two Mists.

"Thereafter I loved Goll son of Dolb,
By whom weapons were hacked and split.
Under the will of God let me go out
To Fiachna son of Retu."

Thereupon Laegaire went until he gave her hand into the hand of Fiachna. And Dergreine, the daughter of Fiachna, slept with Laegaire that night, and there were given fifty women to his fifty warriors. They remained with them (the fairy-folk) to the end of a year. "Let us go to seek tidings of our land," said Laegaire. "If you would come back," said Fiachna, "take horses with you and do not get down from them." It is so done. They went until they reached the assembly, the men of Connaught having been there a full year mourning for them, so that they came upon them in one assembly before them. The men of Connaught sprang to welcome them. "Do not approach," said Laegaire. "To say farewell to you have we come." "Do not leave me!" said Crimthann. "The rule of the three Connnaughts shall be thine; their gold and their silver, their horses and their bridles and their noble women shall be at thy command, only do not leave me!" Then said Laegaire:

"A marvel this, O Crimthann Cass,
Beer comes [down] with every shower!(?)²
The driving of a battalion of a hundred thousand,
They go from kingdom to kingdom.

"The noble wistful music of the sid!
Going from kingdom to kingdom,
Drinking from crystal cups,
Holding converse with the loved one.

¹ That is, the day of battle, on which weapons are washed in blood. Meyer.

² Meyer (*Voyage of Bran*, I, 182) renders this line: "When it rains 'tis beer that falls!" He now suggests the possibility that *frais* means 'attack,' but even in that case the line is obscure.

"We mix chess-men of yellow gold
Upon chess-boards of white bronze.
There has come to us drinking of clear mead,
With a proud spear-surrounded(?) warrior.

"My wife, my own unto me,
Is Daughter of the Sun, Fiachna's daughter.
Besides, I shall tell to thee,
There is a wife for each man of my fifty.

"We have brought from the fort of Mag Mell
Thirty caldrons, thirty drinking-horns.
We have brought the plaint that the sea chants (?),
The daughter of Eochaid the Dumb.

"A marvel this, O Crimthann Cass,
I was master of a blue sword.
One night of the nights of the *sid*
I would not give for thy kingdom."

Thereupon he turns from them back into the fairy-mound. Consequently he is now in joint kingship over the fairy-mound—i.e., the fort of Mag Mell—with Fiachna son of Retu, and the daughter of Fiachna [is] in his company (i.e., is his wife).

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TWO MIDDLE-ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS FROM THE ANGLO-NORMAN

I

It is worthy of note that the Middle-English collection of prose homilies known as the *Mirrur*¹ bears a very close relation to the Anglo-Norman *Miroir*² ascribed to Robert of Gretham. Since neither work is in print, a complete line-by-line comparison of the two has not been possible, and their exact relationship, therefore, cannot be stated. The prologues and the beginnings of selected tales from the *Miroir*, printed by M. Meyer in *Romania*, have however been compared with the equivalent sections of the *Mirrur*. These show a close agreement.

Some additions and abridgments appear in the Middle-English prologue, though much of the prologue of the *Miroir* is carried over in an exact translation. The *Mirrur* retains the author's refusal to tell his name, and in both works the pious subject-matter is scornfully compared to the useless vanity exemplified by romances, of which a series is enumerated. The examples chosen in the Middle-English, however, differ entirely from those used in the French. The following is one of the sentences added by the Middle-English: "men saip on old englis pat weneing nis no wisdom." Two of the tales quoted by M. Meyer are lacking in the Middle-English; the themes of the rest, in spite of verbal differences, appear identical in both versions.

¹ The *Mirrur* has been referred to by the editors of the Wyclifite Bible, who made a few short quotations (*The Holy Bible . . . by John Wycliffe and his followers*, ed. Madden and Forshall, Oxford, 1850, I, xx, note); by Miss A. C. Paues, who lists four manuscripts (*A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version*, Cambridge, 1904, p. xiv); and by Dr. M. R. James in cataloguing the copy among the manuscripts of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

² All our information as to the *Miroir* is derived from the researches of M. Meyer, who quotes largely from the work (*Romania*, XV, 296 ff.; XXXII, 28 ff.; *Bull. soc. anc. textes fr.*, 1879, pp. 62 ff.). He lists three manuscripts and two fragments, and two more copies have since come to light among the manuscripts of Lord Middleton (*Hist. MSS. Com.*, 1911, p. 220; noted in *Romania*, XLII, 145). The present writer has in preparation an article discussing the authorship of the *Miroir*.

The following parallel quotations will illustrate the relation between the two works:¹

(PROLOGUE)

Mani men it ben þat han wille
to here rede romaunce and gestes þat
is more þan idelschip. and þat ywil
wel þat alle men it witen. ffor hii ben
contruued þoru mannes wit þat setten
her hertes to folies and trufles as þe
lier doþ. . . .

for god bitt þat man schal ben al
attendaunt for him. ffor he haþ ȝiuen
us bodi and lif seing and hering speking
and spelling and vnderstanding. . . .
We ben alle his spencers for to serue
him of his office. ȝif we serue him
wel an hundrefold schal be oure
mede. And who þat doþ euel bi his
gode wille. ful gret schal be þe uen-
geaunce þatschal be taken of him. And
for þat we wil ben on in god. ichil
fonde to drawen ȝou fram uanite. so
þat we mai ȝelde him in gode what
þat he askeþ of cristen man and
woman. ffor bi ich haue mad þis boke
þat ȝe mai reden on. ffor no þinge ȝe
ne schal finde hereinne bot þat god
is wele ipaied wiþ al and þe saule
itaūȝt and þe bodi also. þerfore whan
ȝe han wille forto reden takeþ forþ
þis boke. þe godspelles of þe sonun-
daies and a parti of oþer massedaies
ȝe schul finde hereinne. first þe texte
and þanne þe vnderstandinge þeroft.
. . .
þis boke is cleped mirrur. Now hereþ
þoru what reson. In þe mirrur a man
seþ his bodi and bi þis writ boþe bodi
and soule . . . [fol. 1 ff.]

A sa trechiere dame Aline
Saluz en la vertu divine.
Ma dame, bien l'ai oï dire
Que mult amez oir et lire
Chaünsçun de geste e d'estorie,
E mult mettez la memorie;
Mès bien voille qe vous le sachez,
Qe ceo est plus que vanitez,
Qe ceo n'est rien for contrevure
E folie de vaine cure. . . .
E Dieu mult (plest?) de sun servant
K'il seit a lui tut atendaunt. . . .
Il nous ad doné cors e alme,
Veer, parler, sens e oïe,
Nus eimes tuz ses despensers
Si nous a gré bien le servum
Cent double en ert le gueredoun;
E q̄i mesfait a escient
Mult en ert dur(e) le vengement.
E pur ceo qe nus eime encé,
Tolir nous veut de vanité,
Que nus lui puissums rendre en bien
Quanqe il demande a cristien.
Pur ceo ai fet cest escrit,
Sur le purrez lire a grant delit,
Ou nul rien ne troverez
Dunt Jhesu ne seit paiez,
Dunt l'alme ne seit conforter
E la char de maus desturner.
Quant vous prendra cele cure,
Treez avant ceste escription:
Les evangeliz i verrez
Mult proprement enromauncez,
E puis les esposicions
Brevement sulum les sens espuns,
Ceste livre *Mirrur* ad noun;
Ore oiez par quel raisoun:
Par le mirrur seit l'em defors,
E par cest escrit alme e cors

[*Romania*, XV, 298 ff.]

¹ The quotations from the prologue of the *Mirrur* are made from notes taken by the writer in 1912 and recently read with the manuscript, Harl. 5085, by Miss E. M. Thompson. The comparison of texts in the body of the two works was made by Miss Thompson, and quotations from the body of the *Mirrur* are drawn from her notes. The punctuation of the manuscript is preserved, but the abbreviations (which are very few) are expanded.

(A TALE FOR THE SECOND SUNDAY AFTER EASTER)

It bifel on a time of a preest of Knaresburgh¹ þat dwelled þerinne. And whan he had long lived he lened him to his bedde and wende forto dien and biforn him com a ȝonge man and toke him bi þe honde and bad him come wiþ him and nold he ne wolde he he went wiþ him. And he ladde him in to mani stedes and schewed him mani þinges . . . [fol. 71 f.]

Dunt avint jadis a un prestre,
Qui de Canterbury estoit mestre.
Quant lungen i out cumversé
Si s'est cuntre lit chuché;
E, quant il quida devier,
Devant lui vint un bachelier;
La mein li tendi, si li dit:
“Vien tei ici ad mei,” et il si fist.
U ne volsit u ne deignast,
Cuvint lui qu'ove lui alast,
E en plusurs lius l'amena
E multes choses lui mustra . . .

[*Romania*, XXXII, 30 f.]

(A TALE FOR THE FIFTEENTH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY)

It bifel so þat it was an hermite and lived fer in þe wildernes. And long he had liued and serued god to wille. And fer he had gon and in mani diuers stedes . . . [fol. 135]

Dunt il a un hermite avint,
Que luns en le deserte se tint.
Grant siecle illuc aveit conversé
E od Deu mult servi a gré;
A grant age venu esteit
Ke trestut ben fluriseit . . .

[*Romania*, XXXII, 36]

II

A manuscript of St. John's College, Cambridge, No. G. 30 (197 of Dr. James's catalogue), contains a version of the Anglo-Norman *Manuel des Péchés* in Middle-English prose, which seems to have passed unnoticed. Dr. James fails to identify the text, though he quotes the name "William Wytinde" and the author's lines as to his origin. This version has not been compared throughout with the original, but the comparison of isolated passages has everywhere found a close agreement. The following parallel quotations will illustrate the relation between the two works:²

¹ The Middle-English here probably does not depart from its original, for M. Meyer notes variant readings from the French manuscripts, and among them "Knanisburch," and "Gnaresbure" (*Rom.*, XV, 303).

² I quote from notes made for me from the manuscript by Mr. Alfred Rogers of the University Library, Cambridge; and from *Roberd of Brunne's Handlyng Synne, with Le Manuel des Pechez, by Wilham of Waddington*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, printed for the Roxburghe Club, London, 1862. Dr. James writes the name of the translator as "William of Wytinde," but I have followed Mr. Rogers' reading, in which the "of" is omitted.

The beginnings are as follows:

þe vertu of þe holi gost be helpynge
to us in þys wrytinge to ȝow seche
þynges to schewe wher of a man
schulde schryue hym. . . .
þe manuel hyt is called ffor in þe honde
hyt schulde be bore. . . . [fol. 1]

La uertue del saint espirit
Nus seit eidant en cest escrit,
A uus les choses ben muster
Dunt hom se deit confesser, . . .
Le manuel est apele,
Car en main deit estre porte . . .

[pp. 1, 4]

The English version, like the French, goes on to the discussion of the Articles of the Faith, the Ten Commandments, the Seven Deadly Sins, etc. The author's references to himself in the epilogue appear as follows:

Of þe vrenche noþer of þe ryme no
man schulde blame me for I was bore
in Ingeland and norschud and ordred
of a lytul town þat is nat nemned
noþer burh ne cite

Of god be blessud evry man þat
prayeth for William Wyntinde¹ [fol. 82a].

De le franceis, ne del rimer,
Ne me dait nuls hom blamer,
Kar en engletere fu ne,
E norri ordine, et aleue;
De vne vile sui nome
Ou ne est burg ne cite. . . .
De deu seit beneit chescun hom
Ky prie pur Wilham de Wadigtoun

[pp. 413, 414].

This text agrees with Harl. MS 4971² in putting the two concluding prayers after the epilogue. The conclusion in this version is therefore as follows:

And ȝyf me myn waryson in ȝowre
swete hows. Evry man sey amen,
amen, amen [fol. 86b, f.].

Si me donez ma gareisun
En votre douce mansiun.
Amen, amen, die chescun homme

[p. 413].

III

It may be useful to add here two other identifications of St. John's College manuscripts which have also escaped Dr. James. No. 181 is the *Speculum Spiritualium*.³ No. 202 is Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*. In the case of No. 181 Dr. James conjectures the authorship of Richard Methley of Mount Grace. This supposition

¹ It will be noted that a new variant is here added to the numerous spellings of this name already known.

² See the *Catalogue of Romances in the British Museum*, III, London, 1910, pp. 272 f. The text of the present version will be more fully discussed in a later paper.

³ See Horstman, *Yorkshire Writers*, London, 1896, II, xl, n. 2.

is untenable because the manuscript in which the work occurs belongs to the early fifteenth century, and works of Richard Methley in Trinity College, Cambridge, MS 1160, and Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, MS 221, are dated in the text at 1487 and 1491, respectively. Dr. James conjectures Methley's authorship also for the translation into Latin of the *Prick of Conscience* in Magdalen College, Cambridge, MS F. 4.14. The dates make this, too, impossible, since Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, MS 273, of the fourteenth century, contains a copy of the same translation.

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